

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

THIRD AFRICAN REGIONAL CONFERENCE

ACCRA  
DECEMBER 1969



# RECORD OF PROCEEDINGS



INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE  
GENEVA  
1970

PRINTED BY "IMPRIMERIES POPULAIRES", GENEVA (SWITZERLAND)

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## INTRODUCTION

The Third African Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation was held in Accra from 8 to 18 December 1969.

On 30 September 1969 the following letter of convocation was sent to the governments of the States concerned <sup>1</sup>:

Geneva, 30 September 1969.

Sir,

Further to my letters No. RC 159-3-100 of 6 September 1968, 10 February and 1 August 1969, I have the honour to invite your Government to take part in the Third African Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation which will be held, at the generous invitation of the Government of Ghana, in Accra from 8 to 19 December 1969.

### *Agenda.*

The agenda of the Conference, as determined by the Governing Body at its 170th Session, is as follows:

- I. Report of the Director-General.
- II. Labour administration, including labour inspection, in Africa.
- III. Technical co-operation in Africa: integrated programme for the promotion of adequate national institutional arrangements.
- IV. Employment policy in Africa.

### *Reports.*

The reports prepared for consideration by the Conference will be forwarded as they become available.

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<sup>1</sup> Algeria, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Kinshasa), Dahomey, Ethiopia, France, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Malagasy Republic, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Portugal, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Tanzania, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Zambia. Letters of invitation were sent at different dates to Mauritius and the United Kingdom.

In addition, under article II of the Agreement between the United Nations and the International Labour Organisation, the United Nations was invited to be represented at the Conference. Similar invitations were sent to the following inter-governmental organisations: United Nations Development Programme, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, World Health Organization, League of Arab States, Organization of African Unity, African Development Bank, East African Community.

In accordance with the decisions of the Governing Body concerning the establishment of consultative relationships with international non-governmental organisations, invitations to attend the Conference were sent to the following: African Trade Union Confederation, All-African Trade Union Federation, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, International Co-operative Alliance, International Federation of Plantation, Agricultural and Allied Workers, International Organisation of Employers, Organisation of Employers' Federations and Employers in Developing Countries, Pan-African Workers' Congress, Postal, Telegraph and Telephone International, World Confederation of Labour, World Federation of Trade Unions, World Young Women's Christian Association.

There were also present at the Conference observers from the following seven States Members of the ILO: Federal Republic of Germany, Israel, Malawi, Spain, USSR, United Kingdom, United States.

*Procedure of the Conference.*

The procedure of the Conference will be governed by the Rules concerning the Powers, Functions and Procedure of Regional Conferences convened by the International Labour Organisation, as approved by the International Labour Conference (1966 edition). A copy of these Rules is enclosed.<sup>1</sup>

*Composition of Delegations.*

As you will note from article 1, paragraphs 1 and 2 of the Rules, each country taking part in the Conference is invited to send a tripartite delegation composed of two Government delegates, one Employers' and one Workers' delegate, accompanied by such advisers as may be deemed necessary. Only delegates have the right to vote.

In this regard, I would draw your attention to the fact that the Governing Body considers it particularly important that countries participating in the Conference should be represented by full tripartite delegations. It may be mentioned that women are equally eligible with men for appointment as delegates or advisers.

I would also bring to your notice paragraph 8 of the same article 1, in which it is laid down that ministers from States or territories represented at this Conference or from the constituent states or provinces thereof whose departments deal with the questions discussed by the Conference and who are not delegates or advisers may address the Conference. The object of this provision is to permit ministers who cannot stay for the whole duration of the Conference to be directly associated with its work.

*Financial Arrangements.*

The travel expenses and subsistence costs of the delegates and their advisers will be borne by their respective governments. The cost of the Conference will be apportioned between the International Labour Organisation and the host Government.

*Decisions of the Conference.*

The conclusions of the Conference will be in the form of resolutions or reports addressed to the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, which will consider the appropriate action to be taken upon them.

*Material Arrangements.*

I will write to you again shortly<sup>2</sup> with details concerning the exact place where the Conference will meet, accommodation for delegates and other matters. Meanwhile it is a useful precaution for members of your country's delegation to procure any necessary passports, visas and certificates of vaccinations or inoculations as soon as they are appointed, well in advance of the meeting.

If you have not already done so, I should be very grateful if you would be good enough to send me, as soon as possible, the names of the delegates and advisers who will represent your country at the Accra Regional Conference.

I have the honour to be, etc.

(Signed) C. W. JENKS,  
Principal Deputy Director-General.

\* \* \*

This record of the proceedings of the Third African Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation is arranged as follows:

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<sup>1</sup> Not reproduced here.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of 14 November 1969.

### FIRST PART

List of the members of delegations, the officers of the Conference, the officers of the committees and the secretariat of the Conference.

### SECOND PART

A verbatim report of the proceedings in the plenary sittings, consisting of stenographic reports of the original speeches in the case of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretations into English given by the official interpreters to the Conference in the case of speeches delivered in languages other than English.

### THIRD PART

Appendices, consisting of the reports of the committees of the Conference and the texts of the resolutions and conclusions adopted by the Conference.

In addition the volume contains a table of contents, which precedes this introduction, and an index to the Second and Third Parts.





**FIRST PART**

**LIST OF MEMBERS OF DELEGATIONS, ETC.**



## LIST OF MEMBERS OF DELEGATIONS, ETC.

### Delegations

#### REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GOVERNING BODY OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE

- Mr. Héctor GROS ESPIELL, Ambassador; Permanent Representative of Uruguay accredited to the United Nations Office and the international organisations at Geneva; Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.
- Mr. Vassili Leonidovich BORISOV, Counselor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR; Representative of the Government Group
- Mr. John MAINWARING, Director of International Affairs, Department of Labour, Canada; Representative of the Government Group.
- Mr. Abebe ABATE, Secretary General, Federation of Employers of Ethiopia; Representative of the Employers' Group.
- Mr. Frank BANNERMAN-MENSON, Deputy Chief Executive, Ghana Employers' Association; Representative of the Employers' Group.
- Mr. ABID ALI, M.P., President, Indian National Trade Union Congress; Representative of the Workers' Group.
- Mr. Mahmoud BENAZZEDINE, Deputy General Secretary, Tunisian General Labour Union; Representative of the Workers' Group.

#### ALGERIA

##### GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

- Mr. Samir IMALAYENE, Secretary-General, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.
- Mr. Abdelaziz BOUCHOUK, *Chargé d'affaires* of Algeria in Ghana.

##### *Advisers*

- Mr. Tayeb LAHDIRI, Technical Adviser, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.
- Mr. Kémal-Eddine YAÏCHE, Assistant Director of Employment.

##### EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

- Mr. Djilali SANSAL, Personnel Director, National Steel Company.

##### WORKERS' DELEGATE

- Mr. Youcef BRIKI, General Secretary, Algiers Regional Union, General Union of Algerian Workers.

#### BURUNDI

##### GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

- Mr. Aloïs KIRAHUZI, Director of Employment and Manpower, Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour.
- Mr. André NDIKUMWAMI, Director of Labour Inspection, Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour.

##### EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

- Mr. Edouard René ROUSTER, Association of Burundi Undertakings.

##### WORKERS' DELEGATE

- Mr. Antoine NIJEMBAZI, First General Secretary, Burundi Workers' Union.

#### CAMEROON

##### GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

- Mr. NZO-EKHAH-NGHAKY, Minister of Labour and Social Legislation.
- Mr. Jean-Pierre TANKOUA JANTOU, Director of General Studies and External Relations, Ministry of Labour and Social Legislation.

##### *Advisers*

- Mr. Ernest KALLA LOTTIN, Delegate of the Ministry of Labour and Social Legislation to Western Cameroon.
- Mr. René EBAKISSE, Chief, Human Resources Service, Ministry of Planning and Developments.

##### EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

- Mr. Isaac MALAFA, Assistant General Manager, Cameroon Development Corporation.

##### *Adviser*

- Mr. Claude BONNEFOY, Representative of the Cameroon Employers' Association.

##### WORKERS' DELEGATE

- Mr. Jacques Henry NGOM, General Secretary, Federation of Trade Unions of Cameroon.

*Adviser*

Mr. Gabriel B. FOGAM, General Secretary, West Cameroon Trade Union Congress; Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

**CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC**

## GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr. Antonio Gabriel FRANCK, Minister of the Civil Service and Labour.

Mr. Louis NGOVON, Director of Labour, Ministry of the Civil Service and Labour.

*Adviser*

Mr. Pascal DJOUBISSI, Inspector of Labour.

## EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Mr. Albert JAMAIS, General Secretary, Central African Employers' Interoccupational Association.

## WORKERS' DELEGATE

Mr. Jean Richard SANDOS, General Union of Central African Workers.

**CHAD**

## GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr. ALI KEKE, Minister of Labour, Youth and Sport.

Mr. Eloi Sylvestre YAMSALA, Director, Cabinet of the Minister of Labour, Youth and Sport.

*Adviser*

Mr. Jacques KADI TOPAN, Director of Labour, Manpower and Social Welfare.

## WORKERS' DELEGATE

Mr. Robert GORALLAH, General Secretary, National Union of Workers of Chad.

**CONGO (Brazzaville)**

## GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr. Charles-Dieudonné SEGGA, Minister Plenipotentiary.

Mr. Joseph KIMBALA, Labour Administrator; in charge of International Relations; Representative of the Government of Congo (Brazzaville) on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office (Deputy Member).

## EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Mr. Christian DIALLO-DRAMEY, President of the Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture of Brazzaville; Substitute Deputy Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

## WORKERS' DELEGATE

Mr. Nicodème EKAMBA-ELOMBÉ, Confederal Secretary for Economy, Organisation

and Management of State Undertakings, Congolese Trade Union Confederation.

**CONGO (Kinshasa)**

## GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr. Charles BOKONGA, Professor, Deputy Minister of Social Affairs.

Mr. Daniel KANINDA, Ambassador of the Democratic Republic of the Congo in Accra.

*Advisers*

Mr. Bonaventure IDI, Cabinet Adviser to the Minister of Social Affairs.

Mr. Fernand MALUNDA, Director, National Employment Service, Ministry of Social Affairs.

Mr. Benoît MIBULUMUKINI, Urban Director of Social Affairs.

Mr. Raphaël KUMBU, Permanent Secretary, Interministerial Economic and Financial Commission, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Co-operation and Foreign Trade.

## EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Mr. Emile KIMBIMBI, Director of Personnel, SEDEC; Representative of the Federation of Congolese Undertakings.

## WORKERS' DELEGATE

Mr. André BO-BOLIKO, General Secretary, National Union of Congolese Workers; Deputy Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

*Advisers*

Mr. Thomas BOOKA, Deputy General Secretary, National Union of Congolese Workers.

Mr. Fernand KIKONGI, National Secretary for External Relations, National Union of Congolese Workers.

**DAHOMÉY**

## GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr. Albert OUASSA, Minister of the Civil Service, Administrative Reform and Labour.

Mr. Joseph DJAÏTO, Labour Inspector.

## EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Mr. Daniel AGBO-PANZO, Chamber of Commerce of Dahomey.

## WORKERS' DELEGATE

Mr. Ludovic AGBAHUNGBA, General Secretary, General Union of Trade Unions of Dahomey.

**ETHIOPIA**

## GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr. Michael AMEDE, Assistant Minister of Labour.

Mr. Yoseph MEKURIA, Assistant Minister of Public Employment Administration.

## EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Mr. Mebratu GEBEYEHU, Assistant Executive Secretary, Federation of Employers of Ethiopia.

## WORKERS' DELEGATE

Mr. Beyene SOLOMON, President, Confederation of Ethiopian Labour Unions; Deputy Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

## FRANCE

## GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr. Pierre LECLERC, Inspector, General Inspectorate of Social Affairs; Assistant to the Chief of the International Relations Division, Ministry of Labour, Employment and Population.

Mr. Michel LE DIRAISON, Foreign Affairs Adviser.

*Adviser*

Mr. Louis BOUGNOL, Inspector, General Inspectorate of Social Affairs; Acting Assistant Director of Occupational Health and Safety, Ministry of Labour, Employment and Population.

## EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Mr. Marc SANDRIER, General Secretary, Union of Sugar and Rum Producers of Réunion.

*Adviser*

Mr. Jean-Jacques OECHSLIN, Chief, Liaison Service of the National Council of French Employers with the International Labour Organisation.

## WORKERS' DELEGATE

Mr. Yves ARCADIAS, Confederal Secretary, International Department, French Democratic Confederation of Labour.

*Adviser*

Mr. Pierre GALONI, Confederal Secretary, General Confederation of Labour-*Force ouvrière*.

## GABON

## GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr. Théophile MBORO ASSOCHO, Director of Labour, Manpower and Social Security.

Mr. Marcel NDIMAL, Chief, Division of Manpower and Accelerated Vocational Training.

## EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Mr. SIPAMIO BERRE, Inter-Occupational Economic and Social Union of Gabon.

## WORKERS' DELEGATE

Mr. Gober WORA, Gabon Trade Union Federation.

## GHANA

## GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

Mr. Jatoo KALEO, M.P., Minister of Labour and Social Welfare.

Mr. A. BADU-NKANSAH, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare.

*Advisers and Substitute Delegates*

Mr. Cephas Yao TUBLU, Deputy Chief Labour Officer.

Mr. Festus K. QUAYNOR, Chief Factory Inspector.

Mr. Seth Edward Akute AZU, Senior Labour Officer.

Mr. E. K. ANDO-BREW, Senior Labour Officer.

Mr. George K. HARLLEY, Director, Management Development and Productivity Institute.

Mr. S. P. AGYARKO, Ministry of Economic Affairs.

Mr. Ebenezer Ato WILLIAM, Labour Officer.

Mr. Joao G. BAËTA, Ministry of External Affairs.

*Conference Liaison Officers*

Mr. J. D. VANDERPUIJE, Chief Labour Officer.

Mr. I. K. AMISSAH, Labour Officer.

## EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

Mr. Charles C. K. BAAH, Chairman, Ghana Employers' Association.

*Advisers and Substitute Delegates*

Mr. Ebenezer B. A. ESSUMAN, Personnel Director, Ghana Industrial Holding Corporation.

Mr. Kwesi Akumenya CATO, Group Personnel Manager, United Africa Company of Ghana Ltd.

Mr. G. A. BOATENG, Valco.

*Advisers*

Mr. Nicholas C. A. THOMPSON, Ghana Employers' Association.

Mr. George A. HAYFORD, Ghana Employers' Association.

Mr. Isaac Edward DANQUAH, Personnel Manager, R. T. Briscoe (Ghana) Ltd.

Mr. Joe-Fio N. MEYER, Ghana Employers' Association.

Mr. Benoni Ayi TAGOE, Personnel Manager, Shell Ghana Ltd.

Mr. J. Erskine AMPAH, Ghana Chamber of Mines.

## WORKERS' DELEGATE

Mr. B. A. BENTUM, Secretary-General, Trades Union Congress; Substitute Deputy Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

*Advisers and Substitute Delegates*

- Mr. Abdul M. ISSIFU, General Secretary, Agricultural Workers' Union.  
 Mr. J. Richard BAIDEN, General Secretary, Maritime and Dockworkers' Union.  
 Mr. Justice F. NORTEY, Head, Industrial Relations Department, Trades Union Congress.

*Advisers*

- Mr. Seth O. NUNOO-QUAYE, Head, International Department, Trades Union Congress.  
 Mr. John AHINFUL-QUANSAH, Head, Education Department, Trades Union Congress.  
 Mr. Jonathan O. TETTEH, Head, Economics Department, Trades Union Congress.  
 Mr. George Kwabena ANIM, Administrative Secretary, Trades Union Congress.

## IVORY COAST

## GOVERNMENT DELEGATE

- Mr. Kouassi Léon KOFFI, Director of Labour and Manpower, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.

## EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

- Mr. Auguste Ignace Germain BASTID, Vice-President, Interoccupational Association of the Ivory Coast; Deputy Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

## WORKERS' DELEGATE

- Mr. Mamadou COULIBALY, Member of the Executive Committee, General Union of Workers of the Ivory Coast.

*Adviser*

- Mr. Vincent MELESS-MEL.

## KENYA

## GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

- Mr. Josephat MUTUGI, Deputy Labour Commissioner.  
 Mr. Joseph Barnabas Otieno OMONDI, Senior Labour Officer.

## EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

- Mr. David RICHMOND, Executive Officer, Federation of Kenya Employers.

## WORKERS' DELEGATE

- Mr. John Ndambuki MUNENE, Assistant National Treasurer, Central Organisation of Trade Unions (Kenya).

## LIBERIA

## GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

- Mrs. C. Leona CHESSON, Legal Counsel; Chairman, National Labour Affairs Agency.

- Mr. Clarence HARMON, Director of Employment and Manpower.

## EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

- Mr. Albert Neplayene NEBO, Assistant Personnel Superintendent, Bong Mining Company.

*Adviser*

- Mr. Douglas Hugh GREVE, Executive Director, Rubber Planters' Association of Liberia.

## WORKERS' DELEGATE

- Mr. Amos N. GRAY, Secretary-General, Congress of Industrial Organisations.

*Advisers*

- Mr. Alexander KAWAH, Secretary, National Mine Workers' Union.  
 Mr. Peter Benjamin SONPON, Chairman, Local No. 1, National Mine Workers' Union.

## MALI

## GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

- Mr. Boubacar DIALLO, Minister of Labour.  
 Mr. Raymond NEGRE, Director-General of Labour.

## EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

- Mr. Balla DEMBÉLÉ, Deputy Director-General, SONAREM.

## WORKERS' DELEGATE

- Mr. Bougouri DIARRA, Chairman, Advisory Committee, Mali National Union of Workers.

## MAURITANIA

## GOVERNMENT DELEGATE

- Mr. Brahim Ould SOUEIDAHMED, Secretary-General, Ministry of Health, Labour and Social Affairs.

## WORKERS' DELEGATE

- Mr. Daha KANE, Mauritanian Workers' Union.

## MAURITIUS

## GOVERNMENT DELEGATES

- Mr. Harold Edward WALTER, Minister of Labour.  
 Mr. Louis Roger TRANQUILLE, Principal Labour Officer.

## EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE

- Mr. Victor LATIMER, Mauritius Employers' Federation.

## WORKERS' DELEGATE

- Mr. Paul Emmanuel PAKIRY, President, Seaport Workers' Union; Treasurer, Mauritius Labour Congress.

**MOROCCO****GOVERNMENT DELEGATES**

- Mr. Abdellah EL KETTANI, Director, Cabinet of the Minister of Labour, Employment and Vocational Training.  
Mr. Mokhtar OULDAMAR, Divisional Labour Inspector.

**EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE**

- Mr. Hassan ZEMMOURI, Secretary-General, Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry; Substitute Deputy Member, Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

**WORKERS' DELEGATE**

- Mr. Abdelkader AWAB, Member of the National Committee, Moroccan Federation of Labour.

**NIGER****GOVERNMENT DELEGATES**

- Mr. Tiekoura ALZOUMA, Ambassador of Niger in Accra.  
Mr. Yacouba ISSA KONE, Director of Labour and Social Security.

**EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE**

- Mr. Henri R. GEORGET, building contractor; Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

*Adviser*

- Mr. Georges MONTEIL, Director of State Undertakings; Permanent Representative of SPEIN.

**WORKERS' DELEGATE**

- Mr. Sido HASSANE, General Secretary, National Union of Niger Workers.

**NIGERIA****MINISTER ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE**

- Chief Anthony ENAHORO, Federal Commissioner for Information and Labour.

**GOVERNMENT DELEGATES**

- Mr. Gabriel Chike OKOGWU, Wages Commissioner, Federal Ministry of Labour.  
Mr. John Adebayo LABINJO, Senior Principal Labour Officer, Federal Ministry of Labour.

*Adviser*

- Mr. Oladapo A. AJAYI, Principal Labour Officer, Federal Ministry of Labour.

**EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE**

- Mr. Abiodun LAMIKANRA, Personnel Superintendent, BP Nigeria Ltd.

*Adviser*

- Mr. Joseph Olawole OLUSHOGA, Personnel Manager, Dunlop Nigeria Industries Ltd.

**WORKERS' DELEGATE**

- Mr. Abayomi Alabi ISHOLA, President, Labour Unity Front.

*Adviser*

- Mr. J. O. JAMES, Deputy President, United Labour Congress of Nigeria.

**RWANDA****GOVERNMENT DELEGATES**

- Mr. Charles KANYAMAHANGA, Minister of Families and Community Development.  
Mr. Damien SEYOBOKA, Director-General of Labour and Social Security.

**SENEGAL****GOVERNMENT DELEGATES**

- Mr. Abdoul N'DIAYE, Minister of the Civil Service and Labour.  
Mr. Mamadou CISSÉ, Director of Labour and Social Security.

*Adviser and Substitute Delegate*

- Mr. N'Diougua KONATE, Regional Inspector of Labour and Social Security.

*Adviser*

- Mr. André J. COULBARY, Ambassador of Senegal to Ghana.

**EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE**

- Mr. Marc DIALLO, representing UNISYNDI and SIMPEX.

**WORKERS' DELEGATE**

- Mr. Doudou N'GOM, President, National Confederation of Workers of Senegal; Member, Economic and Social Council.

*Adviser*

- Mr. Mohamed Abdoulaye LY, Confederal General Secretary, National Confederation of Workers of Senegal.

**SIERRA LEONE****GOVERNMENT DELEGATES**

- Mr. C. A. KAMARA-TAYLOR, Minister of Lands, Mines and Labour.  
Mr. L. C. GREENE, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Lands, Mines and Labour.

*Adviser*

- Mr. Joshua Theobald NOTTIDGE, Commissioner of Labour.

**EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE**

- Mr. Tommy Ambrose BLAKE.

**WORKERS' DELEGATE**

- Mr. Marcus Chamberlain GRANT, Sierra Leone Labour Congress.

**SUDAN****GOVERNMENT DELEGATES**

Mr. Taha BAASHAR, Minister of Labour.  
Mr. Osman Mohamed AHMED, Chief, International Labour Relations Division, Ministry of Labour.

*Adviser*

Mr. Isseldin MAHGOUB, First Secretary, Sudan Embassy, Accra.

**EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE**

Mr. Ibrahim Mohamed AHMED, Secretary, Sudan Employers' Consultative Association.

**WORKERS' DELEGATE**

Mr. Mohamed Ahmed OMER, Member, Sudan Federation of Workers' Trade Unions.

**TANZANIA****GOVERNMENT DELEGATES**

Mr. R. S. WAMBURA, M.P., Junior Minister, Ministry of Communications, Transport and Labour.

Mr. S. R. M. MAKUTIKA, Labour Commissioner.

*Adviser*

Mr. Bruno J. MPANGALA, Acting Assistant Labour Commissioner.

**EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE**

Mr. Hassan Omari KIFILE, Director, Federation of Tanganyika Employers.

**WORKERS' DELEGATE**

Mr. Peter Sakia MACHA, Director of Economics and Research, National Union of Tanganyika Workers.

**TOGO****GOVERNMENT DELEGATES**

Mr. Michel SIMTEKPEATI, Ambassador of Togo to Ghana.

Mr. Mathieu TAMÉKLOE, Civil Administrator; Principal Inspector of Labour and Social Legislation.

*Adviser*

Mr. Charles BRENNER, Head, Employment, Manpower and Vocational Training Division.

**EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE**

Mr. Paul Koffi AMENYAH, Technical Adviser, Togolese Development Bank.

**WORKERS' DELEGATE**

Mr. Félix AWUTE, National Union of Workers of Togo.

**TUNISIA****GOVERNMENT DELEGATES**

Mr. Hédi RIAHI, Director of Labour and Social Welfare, Secretariat of State for Social Affairs and Housing.

Mr. Azouz CHÉRIF, Assistant Director, Office of the Secretary of State for Planning.

**WORKERS' DELEGATE**

Mr. Habib BENMILED, Secretary, Tunis Regional Union of Trade Unions; Member, Administrative Committee, Tunisian General Labour Union.

**UGANDA****MINISTER ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE**

Mr. Eric Yonacani LAKIDI, Minister of Labour.

**GOVERNMENT DELEGATES**

Mr. Eldad John Basaza MPYISI, Permanent Secretary/Labour Commissioner; Representative of the Government of Uganda on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office (Deputy Member).

Mr. Valentine Kikafunda NTANDAYARWO, Senior Labour Officer (International Labour Affairs).

*Advisers*

Mr. Moses Stephen OWOR, Assistant Labour Commissioner (Industrial Relations); Substitute Representative of the Government of Uganda on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office (Deputy Member).

Mr. Justin Ayere Olwedo OKOT, Senior Assistant Secretary and Personal Assistant to the Minister.

**EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE**

Mr. Eridadi William W. NAKIBINGE, Assistant Executive Officer, Federation of Uganda Employers.

**WORKERS' DELEGATE**

Mr. Lawrence K. SENKEZI, General Secretary, National Union of Clerical, Commercial and Technical Employees.

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Mr. Amin Ezz El-Din DAROUG, representing the Director-General of the Foreign Relations Department, Ministry of Labour.

*Adviser*

Mr. Hassan Hafez HASSANEIN, Director of the Organisations and Conferences Section, Foreign Labour Relations Department, Ministry of Labour.

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**WORKERS' DELEGATE**

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Mr. François de Sales SOMDAH, Deputy Director of Labour, Manpower and Accelerated Vocational Training.

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**WORKERS' DELEGATE**

Mr. Joseph OUEDRAOGO, President, CATC.

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Mr. Edward James PHIRI, Senior Labour Officer, Department of Labour, Ministry of Labour and Social Services (Labour Division).

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**WORKERS' DELEGATE**

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Mr. Arieh WOLF, Senior Assistant Legal Adviser, Ministry of Labour.  
Mr. Amos GANOR, First Secretary, Embassy of Israel in Accra.

**MALAWI**

Mr. Samuel Donald KALIYOMA, Principal Labour Officer, Ministry of Labour.

**SPAIN**

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Mr. Juan Alfonso ORTIZ, Second Secretary, Embassy of Spain in Accra.

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Mr. Victor Vassilievich ABRAMOV, Second Secretary, Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in Accra.

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Mr. John E. D. SLATER, First Secretary (Labour); Regional Labour Attaché, British High Commission, Accra.

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Mr. John R. DAVIS, Second Secretary, United States Embassy in Accra.

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Mr. Dalton POTTER, Consultant on Training, Training and Fellowships Office, Office of Technical Co-operation.

Mr. Nicolas V. GLEBOFF, Chief, Training and Development Section, Office of Technical Co-operation.

**UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME**

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Mr. James J. BERNA, Project Officer, Human Resources Programme.

**FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS**

Mr. Yohannes HABTU, Deputy Regional Representative, FAO Regional Office for Africa, Accra.

**UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL,  
SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL  
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Human Resources Analysis Division, Office  
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**WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION**

Dr. David Jackson AMAH, Representative in  
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**LEAGUE OF ARAB STATES**

Dr. Abdel Wahab EL ASHMAWY, Director  
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Mr. Petit-Pierre MFUNI, Chief, Social Affairs  
Section, Economic and Social Affairs  
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<sup>1</sup> For the composition of the Committees see: Selection Committee: Second Part, second sitting; Credentials Committee: next section of the present list; technical committees: Third Part, Appendix I, point (1), Annex.

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**SECOND PART**

**VERBATIM REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS**





# VERBATIM REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

## FIRST SITTING

Monday, 8 December 1969, 10 a.m.

*Presidents: Mr. Gros Espiell,  
Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office,  
and Mr. Kaleo*

### OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE

*Interpretation from Spanish:* Mr. GROS ESPIELL (*Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office*)—As Chairman of the Governing Body of the ILO I have the pleasure to declare open the Third African Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation.

I have the honour to call on the Deputy Chairman of the Presidential Commission of Ghana, Mr. J. W. K. Harlley, O.V., to address the Conference.

### ADDRESS BY MR. J. W. K. HARLLEY, O.V., DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION OF GHANA

Mr. HARLLEY (*Deputy Chairman of the Presidential Commission of Ghana*)—On behalf of the Presidential Commission, the Government and people of Ghana, I have the greatest pleasure in welcoming you all to Ghana and to the Third African Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation. We are pleased that, by accepting our invitation, the Governing Body has given Ghana the opportunity of playing host to this Conference. This is an honour which we sincerely appreciate. Furthermore, the convening of this Conference in our country has enabled us to demonstrate the significance which the Government and people attach to the work of the International Labour Organisation.

We are also happy to welcome to Ghana Mr. C. W. Jenks and Mr. Albert Tévoédjrè from the ILO Headquarters in Geneva, who are here to represent the Director-General, Mr. David A. Morse, and who are also officiating as Secretary-General and Assistant Secretary-General, respectively, of this Conference.

Today, the continent of Africa is a major focus of the thinking and activities of the International Labour Organisation. Twelve years ago, a mere fraction of ILO technical co-operation activities was devoted to Africa; in recent times, however, the level has now risen to about 40 per cent.

Ghana is proud and fortunate to be counted among the beneficiaries of these technical co-operation activities of the International Labour Organisation. The Organisation has over the years provided technical assistance to Ghana in a wide range of fields. Apart from fellowships which the Organisation has granted to officials to improve their skills overseas, it has advised the Government of Ghana on the improvement of the National Employment Service, the training of apprentices in the country and the setting-up of our National Social Security Scheme.

Other examples of technical assistance which readily come to mind include the provision of experts for industrial health schemes for the prevention and treatment of silicosis or chest diseases in mines and occupational diseases in general. The establishment of the Management Development and Productivity Institute as well as the preparation of a National Vocational Training Programme are further testimony of the valuable contribution which the International Labour Organisation has made to the progress of Ghana.

The International Labour Organisation occupies a unique place in the world today. The diversity of problems with which it has to cope in international relations and labour matters makes its survival and success vital for the peace and progress of mankind. In this connection, I would like to congratulate the Director-General and his very able lieutenants on their untiring efforts in steering the affairs of the Organisation to the unique position it occupies today. Ghana, as a full member State of the Organisation, is determined to lend her full support to the Organisation to enable it to achieve the noble objectives enshrined in its Constitution and to continue the humanitarian activities which the Organisation started fifty years ago.

It is indeed a remarkable achievement in our strife-torn world for the International Labour Organisation to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. We warmly congratulate the Organisation on this deserved award, which is a fitting tribute to its efforts in improving the economic and social well-being of all peoples and promoting the observance of the basic human rights by all its member States.

It is significant that the Third African Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation is meeting here at a momentous period in the political evolution of Ghana. We have just recently promulgated a new Constitution for this country and installed a democratically elected civilian Government. For over three years this country was ruled by the National Liberation Council. The circumstances which led to that situation are well known and boldly written in the annals of the country. I would, therefore, refrain from boring you with them. It is, however, pertinent to remark that the new Constitution bears the stamp of a deliberate and conscious effort by the framers to incorporate checks and balances against excessive use of power by any person or group of persons and thereby to create the required conditions under which we may be able to develop the country in an atmosphere of freedom and stability.

In this connection the paramount task before the Government is the introduction of an equitable social order which will meet the needs of our people and encourage a higher standard of living compatible with the welfare and happiness of all. We are endeavouring to build a nation dedicated to the emancipation of man from exploitation, cruelty and oppression. In our foreign relations we are pursuing policies which will enable us to contribute our share in promoting the objectives of international organisations like the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity which are dedicated to the cause of peace, friendship and good neighbourliness.

As you are no doubt aware, Africa is engaged in a quest for progress, based on peace and social justice. In this exercise the International Labour Organisation has a major role to play if it is to serve the urgent needs of the developing countries and, in particular, contribute to the fulfilment of the aspirations of Africa.

The acceleration of the development process in Africa depends not upon the efforts of African States alone but also upon the active participation of the International Labour Organisation, which has acquired tremendous experience in the technique of the planning and implementation of effective programmes. The ILO must seek to aid Africa in speeding up the process of economic growth. Although the ILO has made a remarkable contribution in improving working conditions, raising living standards and promoting economic and social stability, we hope it will continue to intensify its activities by offering more assistance to African countries in finding solutions to their problems.

It is now an acknowledged fact that the developing countries of Africa are making every effort to devise new methods of accelerating economic growth in order to relieve the worst conditions of poverty existing in the continent and to give real meaning to economic development in human terms. In these efforts, however, we call upon the developed nations to redouble their efforts to assist Africa in bridging the ever-widening gap between the rich and the poor countries. To this end Africa will continue to make fervent appeals to the developed nations to reduce their enormous expenditures on armaments and devote the huge amounts which would thus be saved to assisting the poor countries. Steadily and consistently the majority of African countries are building up a better and richer life for their people. They are developing societies free from racial discrimination, societies in which people of different races and different religious beliefs can work together without prejudice and blind hatred, societies in which relations between man and man are fundamentally based on tolerance and mutual respect. Their chief concern now is to maintain this harmony so that the plans which have been initiated for progress, happiness and development may bear abundant fruits for the benefit of all.

Some years ago such sentiments would have been dismissed as mere fantasies or idle dreams, but this is the age in which science and technology have harnessed the forces of nature to change man's environment and opened up vistas of abundance and progress for all nations. The spectacular achievements of the developed nations have raised the hopes and expectations of all developing countries in their struggle for economic survival.

A new era has dawned in contemporary Africa—a period in which the peoples of Africa are demonstrating their determination to wage this relentless battle against poverty and underdevelopment, within the context of international co-operation and multilateral assistance. It is in this area of international relations that the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and other regional organisations have an important role to play.

Against this background of determination and in a spirit of awakening this Conference should formulate plans and policies which will assist African countries to speed up development in their areas. It is in this sense also that Ghana welcomes the promotion of regional conferences such as this, since they provide a useful forum for the appraisal of the needs of each region and encourage a more intimate and detailed consideration of specific problems. The International Labour Organisation will thus be helped to formulate solutions which will fit into the over-all programme for effective implementation. After all, the economic and social development of the African Continent must be studied and promoted from the standpoint of Africa as a whole within the framework of the world economy. It would thus be most desirable if the International Labour Organisation and the other specialised agencies of the United Nations could extend a helping hand to supplement the spontaneous efforts and initiative of the African countries.

The tripartite approach of the International Labour Organisation has been its source of strength throughout the fifty years of its existence, and affords concrete evidence that employers, workers and governments can co-operate in promoting economic and social progress for the benefit of man. There is no doubt that if this spirit of co-operation and mutual help is embraced by all peoples the world can be assured of peace and tranquillity, as a stepping-stone to the attainment of the goals of the Second Development Decade.

For the duration of this Conference you will be devoting your attention to some of the most crucial problems confronting our continent in particular and the world in general. I have no doubt whatsoever that in your deliberations you will be inspired by mankind's desire to achieve maximum progress without sacrificing the freedom and dignity of the human personality. The conclusions and recommendations of this Conference will certainly provide useful guidelines for the International Labour

Organisation in preparing its programmes and for the member States of Africa in formulating their labour and industrial policies. It is your essential duty to find ways and means of bringing sustained progress to Africa.

Once more, on behalf of the Presidential Commission, the Government and the people of Ghana, I welcome you and wish you a happy stay in our country. You will find Ghanaians friendly and cheerful. We will do our best to give you a taste of our traditional hospitality and to make your brief stay among us memorable.

And now I shall leave you to your deliberations. May Providence guide and assist you in working for the welfare of the peoples of Africa and the world.

ADDRESS BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE GOVERNING BODY  
OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE

*Interpretation from Spanish:* Mr. GROS ESPIELL (*Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office*)—I think I shall be interpreting the feelings of the whole Conference in expressing to Mr. Harlley our very profound gratitude for the important declaration he has just made to us.

It is a pleasure and an honour for me, as Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, on the occasion of the inauguration of this Third African Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation, to make a number of observations regarding the problems with which the Organisation and this Conference have to deal; but before I go into any further detail I should like to say how much I, as a Latin American, feel that I am joined by strong and close bonds of solidarity and friendship with the countries of this great African Continent which are Members of the ILO. It is therefore especially gratifying for me to be here together with you. My sole regret is that I am unable to remain here for more than twenty-four hours in Accra, this hospitable and generous African capital, but, as you are aware, I have to leave for Oslo to attend the ceremony at which the Nobel Peace Prize is to be awarded to our Organisation. This prize demonstrates the recognition bestowed upon the work which the ILO has tenaciously and indefatigably performed in the interests of peace through its efforts for social justice and human fraternity throughout the fifty years of its existence. It is a happy coincidence, and one which I wish particularly to emphasise here, that this historic Conference in Accra is being held at the same time as the International Labour Organisation is to receive the Nobel Peace Prize.

We all know that it is not one of the traditions of our Organisation to be easily satisfied. This is no mere attitude; it is also the firm policy of the ILO untiringly to press on with the common task of improving the lot of the less privileged, whether nations or social groups, by means of the promotion of economic and social progress. To put it in concise terms, the ILO helps the peoples to help themselves.

Regarding Africa more specifically, I would venture to observe that the ILO's record in this continent is brilliant. Not only does Africa receive a very substantial share of the ILO's technical co-operation programmes, but also I have been repeatedly assured by my friends and colleagues among you that they are satisfied with what the ILO has achieved with the resources available to it and in the existing circumstances. In other words, the ILO has done what has been expected of it.

But, to return to the question which I raised a moment ago: are we complacent about our achievements? Even now, when the value and the content of our work have been duly acknowledged in a manner which I regard as highly flattering to the whole of the international community in general, do we intend to give way to self-satisfaction and to rest on our laurels? No, of course not. On the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary the ILO has launched a project which is perhaps the most ambitious which has ever yet been undertaken in the whole annals of the Organisation. I refer to the World Employment Programme.

In America, the Eighth Conference of American States Members of the ILO adopted the Regional Employment Programme for Latin America and the Caribbean. In Asia, the Sixth Asian Regional Conference approved the Asian Manpower Plan. It is now for you to complete this global plan and, so to speak, to put the finishing touches to it, which is a matter of great importance in any creative undertaking. This you will do by drawing up a jobs and skills programme for Africa.

I certainly do not intend in any way to underestimate the importance of the other items on your agenda. However, I believe that this is the most burning question which we have to face up to in the developing countries, and we must therefore give it all due priority. Millions of persons are at present unemployed or underemployed. Apart from the purely economic consideration of the wastage involved in such a situation, this problem also has its human aspect and hence has always been a centre of concern for the ILO: the deplorable degradation of people who have no work and who are thus denied their rights of contributing to the material and spiritual welfare of their fellows. Man cannot live from charity alone, whether such charity is distributed by complex state authorities through complicated procedures and a maze of forms, or whether it comes from the simple solidarity of the family or the group. Clearly these forms of support can be necessary in some cases, but this situation must be avoided wherever it is possible. This is the serious and immense problem which each of you has to confront in his own country: how to draft plans, how to establish an effective machinery that is capable of creating conditions conducive to the application of a policy of full productive employment.

The whole world now agrees that the problem of employment is a problem of high priority and of great magnitude which demands the most vigorous and sustained national and international action if a solution is to be found. The ILO proposes to tackle this problem energetically and for that purpose to seek the active and concerted co-operation of all the other organisations within the United Nations system.

The Report of the Director-General, the first item on the agenda, is entitled *Social Change and Social Progress in Africa*. This document, I feel certain, will constitute a suitable basis for your discussions. The subjects dealt with by the Report include, alongside the problems of rural development, those relating to the departure of people from rural to urban areas in search of a new form of life and work. The Report also contains a chapter concerning participation of employers and workers in national development. The fullest attention must clearly be devoted to this question. Taking into consideration the progress which has been achieved by some countries in this respect, we must emphasise the importance of participation by employers' and workers' organisations in the process of national development. The Report further examines the position and the policy of the ILO with regard to human rights. This subject, which is of permanent concern and immediate interest, will provide an opportunity to consider how, in the last fifty years, the ILO has been in the spearhead of effort in this field and how sound results have been obtained by its action undertaken in this respect. When the question is examined in the light of African reality it is to be hoped that profoundly interesting conclusions will be drawn on which the future action of the Organisation in this great continent may be based.

The second item on the agenda relates to "Labour Administration, including Labour Inspection, in Africa". The document submitted to you on this question represents the results of the discussions held at the Third Meeting of the African Advisory Committee, which was held in Dakar in October 1967. This is also the case with the third item on the agenda, entitled "Technical Co-operation in Africa: Integrated Programme for the Promotion of Adequate National Institutional Arrangements".

Regarding the latter item I wish merely to place on record the obvious fact that the success of any policy of technical co-operation demands not only proper provision of assistance but also the capacity to absorb that assistance. This is a problem of

which you are all only too well aware and on which you will be required to draw up conclusions and recommendations which I feel sure will be of the highest interest.

I believe it is essential in the course of this Conference to bear in mind three fundamental ideas. First, I think I shall express the feelings of you all when I refer to the sincere, profound aspiration of the African Continent for unity. Of course, I do not mean unity only in the matter of political institutions, for Africa is vast and diverse. It is that very physical size and the wealth of its material and human resources which accord Africa its powerful, irrepressible originality. So the utopian and undesirable idea of formal unity is replaced, and rightly, by the idea of substantial units, richly diverse and complementary in that diversity. The objective remains indivisible: it is the development of this rich, vast continent and its accession to the place which it justly claims in the world of today. That objective has to be reached for the benefit of all mankind by organised national effort on the part of all Africans, an effort which, without prejudice to the unity of the whole, has to be made in conformity with the original, unique personality of each one.

Secondly, I would remind you that life today hardly admits of weakness or vacillation. To occupy its place in the contemporary world and to play the part which only a healthy viable economy will enable it to assume, Africa must organise itself rigorously. It must produce and sell. These are concrete requirements which impose concrete and concerted action. There can be no question of aiming at economic prosperity as an end in itself. On the contrary, we must consider it as a means of obtaining the basic equilibrium which is the only thing which will enable human creatures to live like men. The final objective is to achieve, through sound economic development, the free development of the personality, whether one thinks of the individual human being or of those innumerable multitudes which are at the same time the resource and the preoccupation of the African countries.

To live like men: but man does not live by bread alone. If fundamental economic development is indispensable to ensure the survival and the free and happy development of human beings through satisfaction of their elementary needs, it is no less necessary to satisfy that appetite for dignity which Africans feel as much as—and perhaps even more than—other men and women. Ignored for so long, and sometimes even stifled, African culture, original and powerful in its diversity, aspires to that confirmation which must come primarily of awareness of it on the part of Africans today. In wealth, in creative force, in brilliance, African culture has nothing to envy other cultures, many of which are indeed less deeply rooted in the very hearts of the peoples. That culture must flourish freely today, contributing its values to the world after sustaining and enriching the lives of its own people. It is that which will give to the development of the various countries of Africa that faceted variety and that profundity in essentials which will carry them to a future which will be the more secure the more solidly it is based on the right foundations.

It is urgent to give African culture its fair place in the heritage of mankind. Yet that alone cannot fully satisfy our conception of justice.

Therefore, thirdly, I should like to remind the Conference that although the African Continent is a great, rich entity, it is also an inseparable part of a more complex world into which it must wisely and suitably integrate itself. The work of economic and social organisation, a long and serious job, is the only means which will enable this objective to be reached by replacing on sound bases those economic exchanges which have been diverted to the undue advantage of the countries of greater economic and social development. The resources of the African Continent are immense: it is necessary that they be exploited mainly by Africans for the advantage of Africans. To enter into full possession of their rich inheritance Africans must work hard, whether as individuals, as peoples, or as groups of peoples. To work according to the precise directives of scientific organisation is first of all to submit to the requirements of vocational training, to seek the skills which will facilitate access to useful productive employment, to avoid

waste of material wealth and, above all, human wealth; it is to be fully aware of the objectives and to join together for the achievement of those objectives, rejecting both passive submission to external conditions and disorderly efforts which are doomed to partial sterility. If they can accept these harsh requirements of the modern world, Africans will better be able to improve their conditions of life, will thus gradually reach the level of social and material development already achieved by the more economically advanced regions, and finally will be able to play the part which they merit in the international community.

Such a programme presupposes long and hard effort. Africans will not be the only ones to make that effort, since Africa is a land of dialogue and understanding. Sustained by mutual good will and by appropriate institutions, that understanding will lead the way to a more just world and carry with it the specific promise of balanced development.

I hope I may be forgiven for having spoken at such length, not only on the agenda of the Conference but also on how I see the problems of Africa as Chairman of the Governing Body of the ILO and representative of a developing country of Latin America, Uruguay, which also struggles for progress and fraternal independence. Naturally my words cannot prejudice the results of your proceedings, nor was that my intention in speaking. But in this memorable year of the ILO's fiftieth anniversary, to which this historic Conference will be a brilliant closing event, I feel moved by a strong sense of solidarity and justice, which I have sought to express with all the conviction that I feel.

To conclude, I only have to say that I believe I am interpreting the feelings of all my colleagues on the Governing Body and of all the rest of the world community which makes up the ILO in wishing this Conference full success in the performance of its important tasks.

*(Mr. Harlley withdraws from the hall.)*

#### ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE

*Interpretation from Spanish:* Mr. GROS ESPIELL (*Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office*)—The Conference will now proceed to the election of its President. Are there any proposals?

Mr. NZO-EKHAH-NGHAKY (*Government delegate, Cameroon*)—I come to this rostrum to propose the nomination of Mr. Jatoe Kaleo as President of this important and historic Conference. Mr. Kaleo is the Minister of Labour and Social Welfare of the Republic of Ghana. He was born in 1928, and after a very brilliant school career, which ended in 1945, he was trained as a teacher and exercised his function brilliantly until he rose to the more responsible position of Head of the Naro Primary School in 1954. In that year he won a most brilliant victory in the parliamentary elections, standing for the Northern People's Party, and in Parliament he played a most important role in the debates and discussions.

In addition to his political career, Mr. Kaleo has served in other important positions. He was Director of the Board of the Graphic Corporation and recently served on the Electoral Commission just referred to by His Excellency the Deputy Chairman of the Presidential Commission.

I have no doubt that, in view of his wide experience, his personal charm and his telling qualities, the election of Mr. Kaleo as President of this important Conference would be an asset to the Conference.

Mr. SHEHATA (*Government delegate, United Arab Republic*)—It is a great pleasure and honour for me to second the motion for the election of the Minister of

Labour and Social Welfare of Ghana as President of the Conference, following the description of his brilliant record which we have just been given by the Minister of Labour and Social Legislation of Cameroon.

*Interpretation from French:* Mr. GEORGET (*Employers' delegate, Niger*)—I am very happy to be able, on behalf of the Employers' group, to second the nomination of Mr. Jatoe Kaleo, Minister of Labour and Social Welfare of Ghana, the country which is now offering us its warm hospitality. I do this with the greatest pleasure because Mr. Kaleo represents a great African country and I come from a nearby African country—Niger. Under his direction our Conference will undoubtedly perform very successful work not only for the African Continent but for the whole world.

*Interpretation from French:* Mr. BO-BOLIKO (*Workers' delegate, Congo (Kinshasa)*)—I should like to say on behalf of the Workers' delegates to this Conference that we, too, very warmly support the nomination of the Minister of Labour and Social Welfare of Ghana as President of the Conference. The Workers are convinced that under his authority our Conference, which is to deal with such important matters for the whole of our continent, will reach very successful conclusions for the promotion of the welfare of Africa.

*Interpretation from Spanish:* Mr. GROS ESPIELL (*Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office*)—The proposal that Mr. Jatoe Kaleo, Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, Government delegate of Ghana, be elected President of this Conference has been made and duly seconded. As there are no other proposals, I declare Mr. Kaleo elected President of this Third African Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation. I have pleasure, therefore, in asking him to come to the rostrum and take the presidential Chair.

*(Mr. Kaleo, Government delegate, Ghana, is elected President and takes the Chair.)*

#### PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The PRESIDENT—I accept with pleasure the great honour you have done me by selecting me to preside over this Conference. I deeply appreciate the honour, as this unanimous election to the Presidency is a clear indication of your desire to pay a tribute to Ghana, the country which I represent. To me this is a national honour and I can assure the Conference that I shall endeavour to do my very best to discharge the onerous duty to the best of my ability. In this exercise, however, I count on your co-operation, as the success of this Conference will reflect favourably not only on Ghana, the host country, but on the whole continent of Africa.

I thank the Minister of Labour and Social Legislation of Cameroon who nominated me to fill this unique position and the Under-Secretary of State for Labour of the United Arab Republic, who seconded my nomination. I should also like to thank all of you for supporting my nomination.

The tradition of holding ILO regional conferences is now well-established and I would say that conferences of this nature create the necessary forum for ideas and experiences to be exchanged for the benefit of all.

With so many distinguished representatives from all parts of Africa and many more observers and well-wishers gathered here this morning in the spirit of the ILO's aims and objectives, we cannot but succeed in arriving at worth-while decisions for the solution of our many problems.

The tripartite structure of the ILO and indeed of this Conference is an added advantage in the successful tackling of our problems in a more practical and realistic way.



The weight of the agenda before the Conference and the burning items for discussion place a heavy responsibility on all of us. It is my fervent hope that with your sympathy and loyal co-operation we shall achieve results which, if translated into concrete and practical terms, will not only be of great benefit to our peoples but will also be an important contribution towards our common endeavour to advance the cause of social progress. The Conference is asked to consider, apart from the Director-General's Report, *Social Change and Social Progress in Africa*, the following items: labour administration, including labour inspection, in Africa; technical co-operation in Africa: integrated programme for the promotion of adequate national institutional arrangements; and employment policy in Africa.

The Third Session of the African Advisory Committee, which met in Dakar, Senegal, from 10 to 20 October 1967 in accordance with the decision of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, fully discussed these items, and the most valuable documents which were prepared by the International Labour Office on the conclusion of the Committee's work will provide the basis and guidelines for our deliberations. I have no doubt that this preparatory work of the African Advisory Committee will prove to be a most important contribution towards arriving at a common agreement by all countries represented here.

The interest which you have shown in the objectives of the Conference reveals your awareness of the importance of labour and its problems and I am sure this awareness will further be revealed in your approaches to the discussions here.

Perhaps the most serious problem facing African countries is that of unemployment among our people. We cannot afford to disregard this problem in the course of our discussions, since it is a matter which is urgent and needs careful study. You will agree that we cannot achieve economic and social progress if we do not find ways and means of providing employment opportunities for our people. I venture, therefore, to express the hope that the suggestion of the African Advisory Committee to place the item concerning employment policy in Africa on the Conference agenda will encourage full and frank discussions of the subject so as to find an effective answer to the problem.

Africa has faith in the action of the International Labour Organisation in its struggle against poverty everywhere in the world. The people of Africa therefore expect the ILO to make a special effort, within its competence, to advise and assist us in the solution of the great problems of unemployment and underdevelopment. This requires that the Conference arrive at conclusions on which the ILO can base an effective strategy not only for the creation of employment opportunities for our peoples but also for the development of our human resources.

It is my fervent hope that the Conference, in the course of its deliberations, will endeavour to examine objectively all the items on the agenda. I believe that if we can do this we will help the Director-General in his efforts to achieve the objectives of the World Employment Programme, which was the subject for discussion at this year's session of the General Conference.

Much as African countries have tried to help themselves, it is true that they have succeeded only within the limits of their financial resources in meeting the requirements of their countries' social and economic development programmes. In this regard, it is only fair to say that since the problem of fluctuations in the prices of primary commodities, with resultant adverse effects on our financial resources, still plagues African countries, we cannot achieve the results aimed at in our development plans. While we accept the fluctuations with fortitude, we hope that the ILO, in its unique position, will assist in arresting the factors which contribute to this situation, since there is a general realisation that these fluctuations are caused by the unwillingness of the developed nations to pay reasonable, fair and stable prices for our primary products. I believe that this is an area which should engage the attention of the ILO since we are all aware that there can be no social progress without economic development. African

countries want to plan development with confidence and this largely depends on prospects of fair and stable prices to finance our development efforts.

Fellow-delegates, once more I should like to thank you warmly for the confidence you have placed in me by electing me to preside over the deliberations of this Conference. While I shall try my very best to give you satisfaction, I would ask again for your support and co-operation, since it is only by your common endeavour that we can do justice to the full importance and the full meaning of the items on the agenda before us.

#### APPOINTMENT AND COMPOSITION OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE

The PRESIDENT—The Clerk of the Conference will now make an announcement concerning the appointment and composition of the Selection Committee.

The CLERK OF THE CONFERENCE—Article 9 of the Rules concerning the Powers, Functions and Procedure of Regional Conferences Convened by the International Labour Organisation provides that each regional conference shall appoint a Selection Committee consisting of the President of the Conference, three members of the special delegation of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office elected by this delegation, and an equal number of representatives of each of the three groups, fixed by the Conference.

It is suggested that the number of representatives of each of the three groups should be twelve, with such deputy members as may be deemed necessary by the groups. The number of these deputy members should not, however, exceed six per group.

These suggestions are made in accordance with the precedents established at the First and Second African Regional Conferences of the ILO, held in Lagos in 1960 and in Addis Ababa in 1964.

The PRESIDENT—Delegates have heard the suggestions just made regarding the number of representatives of each group to be members of the Selection Committee. May I take it that the Conference approves these proposals?

*(The proposals are adopted.)*

*(The Conference adjourned at 11 a.m.)*

## SECOND SITTING

Monday, 8 December 1969, 4 p.m.

*President: Mr. Kaleo*

### ELECTION OF THE VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE CONFERENCE

The PRESIDENT—The first item on the agenda is the election of the Vice-Presidents of the Conference. The Clerk of the Conference will read the nominations made by the groups.

The CLERK OF THE CONFERENCE—The nominations for Vice-Presidents of the Conference made by the three groups are as follows:

*Government group: Mr. Franck (Central African Republic).*

*Employers' group: Mr. Georget (Niger).*

*Workers' group: Mr. Awab (Morocco).*

The PRESIDENT—If there are no objections, I shall take it that these nominations are approved by the Conference.

*(The proposals are adopted.)*

### APPOINTMENT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE

The PRESIDENT—The second item of business is the appointment of the Selection Committee. The Clerk of the Conference will read the nominations made by the groups.

The CLERK OF THE CONFERENCE—The following are ex officio members of the Selection Committee: the President of the Conference, three representatives of the special delegation of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office: Mr. Borisov (Government member), Mr. Abate (Employers' member) and Mr. Benazzedine (Workers' member).

The following nominations have been made by the three groups for membership of the Selection Committee:

*Government members:*

*Algeria.*

*Cameroon.*

*Chad.*

*Ethiopia.*

*Kenya.*

*Mali.*

*Niger.*

*Nigeria.*

*Rwanda.*

*Sudan.*  
*Tanzania.*  
*Tunisia.*

*Deputy members:*

*Gabon.*  
*Mauritania.*  
*Morocco.*  
*Sierra Leone.*  
*Uganda.*  
*Zambia.*

*Employers' members:*

Mr. Agbo-Panzo (*Dahomey*).  
Mr. Baah (*Ghana*).  
Mr. Bastid (*Ivory Coast*).  
Mr. Blake (*Sierra Leone*).  
Mr. Georget (*Niger*).  
Mr. Jamais (*Central African Republic*).  
Mr. Kifile (*Tanzania*).  
Mr. Kimbimbi (*Congo (Kinshasa)*).  
Mr. Lamikanra (*Nigeria*).  
Mr. Nakibinge (*Uganda*).  
Mr. Nebo (*Liberia*).  
Mr. Richmond (*Kenya*).

*Deputy members:*

Mr. Bonnefoy (*Cameroon*).  
Mr. Sansal (*Algeria*).  
Mr. Sipamio Berre (*Gabon*).

*Workers' members:*

Mr. Awab (*Morocco*).  
Mr. Bentum (*Ghana*).  
Mr. Bo-Boliko (*Congo (Kinshasa)*).  
Mr. Briki (*Algeria*).  
Mr. Coulibaly (*Ivory Coast*).  
Mr. Hassane (*Niger*).  
Mr. Kane (*Mauritania*).  
Mr. Macha (*Tanzania*).  
Mr. Ouedraogo (*Upper Volta*).  
Mr. Sandos (*Central African Republic*).  
Mr. Senkezi (*Uganda*).  
Mr. Solomon (*Ethiopia*).

*Deputy members:*

Mr. Agbahungba (*Dahomey*).  
Mr. Diarra (*Mali*).  
Mr. Simwanza (*Zambia*).

The PRESIDENT—May I take it that these proposals are adopted?

*(The proposals are adopted.)*

## ELECTION OF THE OFFICERS OF THE GROUPS

The PRESIDENT—The Clerk of the Conference will now read the names of the officers elected by the Government, Employers' and Workers' groups.

The CLERK OF THE CONFERENCE—The following officers have been elected by the groups:

*Government group:*

*Chairman:* Mr. N'Diaye (*Senegal*).

*Vice-Chairman:* Mr. Wambura (*Tanzania*).

*Secretary:* Mr. El Kettani (*Morocco*).

*Employers' group:*

*Chairman:* Mr. Baah (*Ghana*).

*Vice-Chairman:* Mr. Ahmed (*Sudan*).

*Secretary:* Mr. Lagasse (*International Organisation of Employers*), assisted by Mr. Chandrasekharan (*International Organisation of Employers*).

*Workers' group:*

*Chairman:* Mr. Bentum (*Ghana*).

*Vice-Chairmen:* Mr. Macha (*Tanzania*); Mr. Ouedraogo (*Upper Volta*).

*Secretary:* Mr. Ngom (*Cameroon*).

The PRESIDENT—The Conference takes note of these appointments.

*(The Conference adjourned at 4.15 p.m.)*

### THIRD SITTING

Tuesday, 9 December 1969, 9.30 a.m.

*President: Mr. Kaleo*

#### FIRST REPORT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE: SUBMISSION AND ADOPTION<sup>1</sup>

The PRESIDENT—The first item on the agenda this morning is the first report of the Selection Committee and I call upon the Chairman, Mr. Amede, to submit the report.

Mr. AMEDE (*Government delegate, Ethiopia; Chairman of the Selection Committee*)—I have the honour to submit the first report of the Selection Committee, which has been distributed to delegates.

The report deals with the election of the officers of the Selection Committee, the setting-up of the technical committees of the Conference, the usual arrangements for the discussion of the Director-General's Report and the arrangements for the consideration of the two resolutions submitted under article 13 of the Rules, which it is proposed should be referred to the relevant technical committees of the Conference.

I would draw the attention of all members of the Conference to the fact that the list of speakers in the discussion of the Director-General's Report will be closed on Friday of this week, 12 December, at midday. I would urge all delegates who wish to speak to hand in their names to the Clerk without delay, and would express the hope that delegates will be prepared to speak early in the discussion.

Congo (Brazzaville) has been added as regular member of the Committee on Labour Administration, as deputy member of the Committee on Technical Co-operation and also as deputy member of the Committee on Employment Policy.

I commend the first report of the Selection Committee to the Conference for adoption.

The PRESIDENT—The first report of the Selection Committee is now open for discussion. If there are no objections, I shall take it that the report is adopted by the Conference.

*(The report is adopted.)*

#### REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL: DISCUSSION

The PRESIDENT—The next item of business is the opening of the discussion on the Director-General's Report.

*Interpretation from French:* Mr. NZO-EKHAH-NGHAKY (*Government delegate, Cameroon*)—I transmit to this Conference through you, Mr. President, the greetings and best wishes of the people of Cameroon, its Government and its President, El

<sup>1</sup> See Third Part, p. 181.

Hadj Ahmadou Ahidjo. In their name, and in the name of the delegation which has accompanied me, permit me to congratulate you on your very well-deserved election to the office of president of this Conference. Your personal qualities, which have induced the authorities of Ghana to entrust heavy responsibilities to you, are a guarantee for us of the success of our Conference. We shall co-operate with you with a view to ensuring that our work at this great meeting will lead to the positive results expected both by the ILO and by Africa.

Once more the Director-General in his Report has proved his far-sightedness, his perfect knowledge of the social problems facing Africa at the time when we are struggling to escape from underdevelopment and trying to ensure a better life for our citizens. His Report on social change and social progress in Africa is both precise and rich in content. It gives a complete review of a subject of burning topicality. We congratulate the Director-General warmly and pay tribute to his creative spirit, which we feel more strongly every day through the work of this Organisation. It is that spirit which merited the award of the Nobel Peace Prize for 1969. May this Third African Regional Conference meeting at Accra give formal expression to its gratitude towards this distinguished servant of mankind for his devotion to the cause of social justice in Africa and his tireless work for its promotion.

As the Director-General says clearly in his Report, it is particularly fortunate that the Third African Regional Conference should have coincided with the celebration throughout the world of the fiftieth anniversary of the ILO. In his Report the Director-General sums up the results of ten years of participation of African States in the action of the ILO and outlines the future prospects. We cannot adequately thank him and all those with him who have helped us to solve the complex problems facing us in our advance. This is not the place for me to review the work of the ILO in our various countries during the last ten years. The least that one can say, however, is that the balance is positive, that we are on the whole satisfied with what has been done, and that the ILO can be proud of it. But, as we all know, the road is long and hard, and we cannot but urge the Director-General and his staff, with all the persuasion at our command, to go forward despite all the different obstacles which lie in their path.

At Dakar in 1967 the African Advisory Committee had an opportunity to discuss the problems on our present agenda. I shall not speak at length on those problems, therefore, and shall confine myself to recalling briefly the major ideas which won acceptance on that occasion.

As regards labour administration, it has been made clear that social policy cannot be fragmented into separate divisions and that the over-all progress of all sectors depends on the harmonious progress of each. The same importance must be given to the social sector as to the political, economic, financial and other sectors. Therefore, action of an institutional nature should be taken so that the social aspects are given special attention. In any case, the need for political stability, economic prosperity and social progress calls for a more dynamic approach in the effort to revalue the tasks of labour administration. So our work should enable us to draw up guidelines aimed, on the one hand, at giving labour administration its proper place in the general organisation of the State and, on the other hand, at giving it appropriate structures so that it may be of optimum efficacy.

Efforts have already been made by governments of African countries, particularly at the level of certain subregional groups, to harmonise our legislation on labour administration. These should certainly be encouraged, for success in this regard will facilitate the movement of individuals from one region to another without prejudice to any bilateral agreements concluded between particular States.

Although the African countries differ in a number of respects, they have in common certain important economic and social characteristics which largely condition technical co-operation and justify common action at the continental level. Such co-operation is absolutely necessary to help our countries to strengthen their national economies and

thus promote their economic and political independence. Technical co-operation, far from being an act of charity, is an act of universal solidarity on which depends, in the final analysis, the preservation of peace throughout the world. However, it should be considered as complementary to the national effort and as being essentially temporary in nature. Our own countries remain the principal element and the source of the impetus towards development. We are properly appreciative of the technical co-operation activities of the ILO on behalf of our young countries and we thank the ILO very warmly. We must seek, at the regional and subregional levels, ways and means of bringing about co-operation in order to expand our markets and make the best possible use of our means of production.

Viewed in this light, technical co-operation should enable our countries to strengthen their economic and political independence and thus enable the populations to reach a higher level of economic and social well-being. Although we do not underestimate the aid given to us by the more developed countries, it is nevertheless regrettable to note every day a deterioration in the terms of trade and to see the gap between us growing daily wider. This situation is a cancer afflicting the developing countries and we can never condemn it in strong enough terms, for what is at stake is our very survival. An eminent economist has said that the best way of helping the Africans is not to rob them. However, there is every reason to believe that they are, in fact, being robbed, to judge from the falling prices of our raw materials and rising prices of the goods we have to import. This vicious circle in which our countries are trapped will certainly do nothing to promote our economic and social development; rather does it serve to keep us in a state of permanent dependence. It is high time for the industrialised countries, which claim that they wish to help us, to revise their policies and pay us fair prices for our raw materials. It is then that we shall be able accurately to measure the aid they give us in the form of technical co-operation intended to promote our economic and social development.

I cannot conclude this speech without mentioning a problem which is certainly one of the gravest facing Africa: I refer to the problem of employment. As everyone knows, unemployment and underemployment hamper social and economic development and are at the same time a threat to political and social stability. Of course, this problem, like all others, cannot be solved in the short term for many reasons: lack of investment capital to create new employment, a considerable population increase, the need for progress in education and public health, etc. It is therefore important to take concerted action for the progressive elimination of those scourges which beset our countries. It is particularly in our economic and social development plans and our economic policies that we must uphold the principle that man is more important than the economy and that labour is valuable as an instrument of emancipation, development and protection of the individual. The utilisation of human resources which are a prime means of production is absolutely imperative. Some countries such as my own, Cameroon, have not hesitated to lay down in their social legislation that every citizen has the inalienable right to work and that the State must do everything to help him to find employment and to keep it. We do not doubt that, as in other fields, the ILO will help us to establish criteria which can be effectively employed in our regions to struggle against those evils, and we have confidence in international action in general.

All the African countries are aware of the problems posed by their economic and social development and all are determined to devote their energies to the solution of those problems. What we ask of the richer countries is to help us to establish universal social justice, without which the maintenance of peace in the world is impossible. That social justice is not restricted to the mere satisfaction of the material needs of man; it includes also the development of human dignity. Alas, there are still countries in Africa where the black man is the victim of the most humiliating persecution, this despite the fact that the Declaration of Philadelphia states that the central aim of any



national or international policy must be to attain the conditions in which all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, may pursue their material well-being and spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity. We are sure that the ILO will pursue its efforts to attain those objectives and will do all it can to induce the States concerned to put an end to their odious behaviour.

In the name of the Government of the Federal Republic of Cameroon and of the delegation accompanying me, I voice the wish that our work may go forward in an atmosphere of mutual comprehension for the honour and greatness of Africa.

*Interpretation from French:* Mr. DIALLO (*Government delegate, Mali*)—It is a very great pleasure for me to speak on behalf of the delegation of Mali at this Third African Regional Conference of the ILO. I should like to take this opportunity to address to you, Mr. President, my warm congratulations on your election to the Chair of this Conference. I am convinced that the qualities and the competence which distinguish you and to which delegates referred yesterday are sure guarantees of the success of our future work.

I am also very pleased to emphasise the particular interest which my country attaches to the regional conferences organised by the ILO, because they make it possible to approach with greater reality the problems which face the ILO in the various regions of the world. The Third African Regional Conference will be called upon during the coming days to examine problems of particular importance for the future of our continent, which now stands on the threshold of the Second Development Decade.

Therefore the Report of the Director-General is of considerable interest as regards the examination of the various items on the agenda of the Conference. It presents a general and objective study of the most urgent problems which the African countries will have to face in the next few years and deals more particularly with several important aspects of social organisation in Africa. The description it contains of the economic and social situation of the African countries reveals how, despite all the efforts that have been made—sometimes disappointing, sometimes successful—an enormous task still remains in both the economic and social spheres if the continent is to attain a higher level of development. The Report very rightly devotes some attention to a number of original experiments which have been undertaken in several areas and which can help the African countries in their development. Despite certain features peculiar to each country, generally speaking the same problems occur in the majority of African States, and it is a good thing, therefore, to compare the solutions which have been adopted and the results which have been achieved.

Instead of dispersing our efforts over too wide a range of problems it is preferable to concentrate on some questions fundamental to the progress of the African Continent. Accordingly we agree with the Director-General when he states that the great problem continues to be that of laying down an order of priority and of establishing a coherent and evolving range of economic and social programmes. Therefore it is through a joint effort, and comparing our experience as regards the dominant problems of concern to us, that we shall be able to find the ways and means whereby it will be possible to promote rapid progress in the developing countries. It is through genuine co-operation that the African States will be able to formulate solutions adapted to local conditions.

Collaboration with the ILO, as with other international organisations, is thus becoming more important than ever, and must be strengthened, as suggested by the Director-General, in order to promote the improvement of the living conditions of our peoples. It is because we are pursuing the same objective that we are firmly convinced that the efforts made by the ILO will make an efficacious contribution to the building of our nations.

A considerable part of the Report—Chapters II and III—is devoted to rural development and urban growth, which stand at the centre of concern in most of the African countries. The Report points out very pertinently that the development of the towns is closely linked to that of the rural areas, and that many of the difficulties at present being experienced by the towns are the result of rural underdevelopment. Therefore priority must be given to the task of reducing the gap between the towns and the rural areas by giving everybody equal opportunity, by improving the living conditions of the population and by developing education and training. This problem is linked to a certain extent to that of employment, which, as the Director-General pointed out at the Second African Regional Conference in Addis Ababa, remains the dominant one in Africa. To solve the problem of employment is to take a decisive step forward towards economic and social progress; at the same time it will help to remove idleness and delinquency.

For that reason the African countries place their hopes in the rapid implementation of the World Employment Programme and the Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa, which will make it possible to provide the urban and the rural workers who have remained outside the development process with the skills necessary to engage in useful and productive work. The delegation of Mali will follow with particular interest the discussions on the question of employment policy in Africa.

Rural and urban development are essential, therefore, in order to check underemployment. They presuppose the implementation of a whole range of economic and social reforms—such as the creation of new jobs for young persons, the development of the co-operative movement, the extension of handicrafts and the development of small-scale industries. It is particularly important, therefore, rapidly to set up new structures which will make it possible to ensure participation in development by a larger proportion of the population, while at the same time improving their conditions of work and of life.

In Mali efforts are being undertaken in both rural and urban areas in order to accelerate social progress. The recovery programme embarked upon by the Government has introduced new measures dealing with vocational training and promotion and animation activities. As regards training, we are convinced of the need to draft an over-all plan of vocational training in order to obviate the possibility of certain sectors, such as agriculture or small-scale industries, being neglected. Vocational training planning must not be separated from other aspects of planning, in particular from that relating to education. An effort has been made in this direction in our country with the ruralisation of education, which will make it possible to allow a number of young persons to remain in rural occupations. Two projects of this kind are at present being carried out with ILO assistance. The first relates to the training of agricultural instructors and advisers. This project will make it possible to improve the system of training provided through rural training centres for the education of young rural workers, who receive co-operative, vocational and agricultural training which enables them, once they have returned home, to exert an influence on the population in regard to rural education. At present there are ninety-two rural training centres with twenty young persons in each centre, but the number of such centres is due to increase to 120 by 1973.

The second project to which I referred—and this is a very new one—also deals with the creation of centres for practical training, which take over boys and girls who have finished their primary studies but who are unable to continue in secondary education. These young persons are thereby prepared for agricultural or other rural trades which will permit their harmonious integration within the rural community where they will be able to engage in activities related to those which they have learnt in the centre. This project is also designed to help to give a rural direction to basic education, by organising the training of supervisors for agricultural and handicraft work. Centres of this kind need to be adapted to the region and established in agricultural develop-

ment areas. It is intended to establish thirty such centres, each with 120 pupils, over a three-year period, i.e. two in 1970, eight in 1971, ten in 1972, and with another ten planned for 1973.

As regards the urban centres, the Report stressed the fact that demographic increase is greater than the rate of output. The urban "population explosion" does indeed raise social problems which have to be urgently resolved. Often young persons from urban areas, who have in many cases been unable to obtain the necessary diplomas to pursue their studies, are scarcely better off than young persons from rural areas and are unemployed. An increasing number of jobs must be found for them. The administrative services, frequently top-heavy, can use only a small number of them. In our present urban centres, alongside industry but concomitant with it, a number of utility handicraft trades such as repair workers for machinery, household electrical equipment, electronic equipment or refrigeration apparatus are developing. It is therefore intended to promote supplementary training schemes designed to prepare young persons for these new trades, as well as providing further training for adults who have acquired practical experience only. In the enterprises themselves training systems will be developed in order to enable workers to perfect their abilities and to achieve higher output.

The Government of Mali has, moreover, promoted the establishment of new industries outside the capital, in secondary towns or areas such as Diamou, thereby helping to establish the population in specific sectors, stop the rural exodus and combat underemployment in those areas which have so far been underprivileged. In order to improve the situation for urban workers, canteens and day nurseries have been established in the larger state companies and enterprises, and literacy courses have also been organised in these concerns with the help of occupational organisations.

With regard to social security, occupational medicine has been developed in the course of the past few years and new inter-undertaking medical centres have been set up to provide care to workers and their families. An Act was adopted on 13 June 1968 to improve the situation of workers in the event of sickness. Henceforth hospital care is to be free of charge for any person suffering from tuberculosis, leprosy, cancer, neuro-psychiatric disorders or any other chronic disorders which may constitute a threat to the health of the population. Similarly, a Bill to establish a sickness insurance scheme for workers covered by the Labour Code is at present being studied.

Chapter IV of the Report stresses the essential role which the occupational organisations will have to play in the drafting and implementation of development plans or programmes. In Mali the employers' and workers' organisations are closely associated in the drafting and application of economic and social policy. They participate in the implementation of the planning policy for management training and vocational training, which it will be possible to receive through a number of administrative and social reforms. The occupational organisations are represented not only on the bodies which have general competence in labour matters but also on the planning committees which have been organised at the level of the Ministry of Planning and on all the other committees and working parties whose aim is to establish new structures which are adapted to the policy of recovery that has now been initiated. The trade unions also participate actively in the adult literacy programme, in the co-operative movement, and in vocational training and guidance.

In Chapter V the Report considers that concern for economic development must never override concern for human rights. Mali applies a policy free of any form of discrimination in matters of employment and occupation. It has ratified the principal Conventions relating to human rights. However, it is very sad to note that little progress has so far been achieved in our continent since the last African Regional Conference with regard to eliminating the revolting practice of *apartheid* pursued by the Republic of South Africa, which has merely consolidated its inhuman policy in the last few years.

With regard to international labour standards, the Director-General expresses surprise that certain Conventions—even though drafted in very flexible terms—have received only a small number of ratifications. True enough, States frequently encounter difficulties in the application of standards. For example, application of the Social Policy (Basic Aims and Standards) Convention, 1962, postulates that a number of practical measures be taken in establishing economic development plans; this implies preliminary studies and the need to overcome certain difficulties which may delay the ratification of the Convention. We are therefore happy to note that the ILO is prepared to provide its assistance in this respect to member States in order to help their governments to discharge the obligations which they assume when they ratify a Convention. This initiative will enable the African States to ratify a greater number of Conventions and thereby accelerate their evolution.

Concerning technical co-operation, the Government of Mali once again thanks the ILO for the effective aid which it has given to our country in a number of fields. In addition to the projects I have already mentioned—namely, training of agricultural instructors and leaders and the creation of practical training centres—the Government of Mali has obtained ILO assistance for the establishment of a centre for the training of office and bank employees and for the implementation of a project now being carried out for the modernisation and reorganisation of state companies and enterprises. The Government has also requested the assistance of a statistical expert in setting up a labour statistics office in the Manpower and Personnel Training Department. That office will, in conjunction with the planning authorities, play an important part in carrying out the human resources planning programme.

Those are the few observations which we wanted to make in the light of the Report submitted by the Director-General of the ILO and which the delegation of Mali submits for your indulgent attention as its contribution to the work of the Conference.

Before concluding I would request you, Mr. President, to transmit to the Government of Ghana the thanks of my delegation for the warm welcome which we received on our arrival. I should like to include in this expression of thanks the organisers of the Third African Regional Conference, for the efforts they have made to ensure that the Conference will be successful.

*Interpretation from French:* Mr. YAMSALA (*Government delegate, Chad*)—Before I turn to discussion of the Director-General's Report I should like, in the name of my delegation, to inform the Conference that His Excellency Ali Keke, Minister of Labour, Youth and Sport, who intended to lead our delegation to this Conference, has been prevented from coming by other obligations arising out of his duties and begs the Conference to excuse him.

The choice which the delegations have made, Mr. President, in entrusting to you the highest office of the Conference is not the result of chance or of a combination of circumstances. Many of us know your personal qualities, your dynamic character, your sense of initiative, justice and fair play and the important part which your courageous country has played both in the ILO and in the Organization of African Unity. Therefore, I should like to congratulate you warmly on behalf of my delegation. In electing you, Sir, to the presidency we have the conviction that we shall during these few days achieve what our respective countries expect from us in our discussion of the important questions on the agenda which are of mutual concern to us.

My delegation also wishes to thank the Government and people of Ghana for the efforts they have made to help the International Labour Office in the material organisation of the Conference and for the warm welcome extended to us.

The Director-General of the ILO calls upon us to examine, at the level of our own region, important and complex questions concerning the harmonious development of our countries. Those questions—technical co-operation, employment policy, labour administration and, above all, those raised in the analytical Report of the Director-

General on social change and social progress in Africa—are in our opinion problems the importance of which can only be measured at a conference on the scale of the present one.

The Government of Chad, which I have the honour to represent here, has examined with due attention the documents prepared for the Conference by the International Labour Office. Having regard to our geographic position and to the character of the key sectors of our economy, we have naturally analysed more carefully those aspects of the Report which relate to rural development and connected problems, without underestimating the role which other critical areas may play in accelerating our economic and social development, because the Government of Chad is aware of the fact that if social conditions are not adjusted to economic changes they will prevent those changes coming about, or at least will be a brake upon them. To meet this economic requirement we have integrated our social programme into our national plan.

We share the Director-General's view that in our countries the development of agriculture is the critical factor in economic growth. Increased and improved agricultural production is expected to provide a source of national savings and of hard currency earnings for investment in industry and other essential sectors, as well as to supply the food required by industrial workers and the urban population.

Many measures have been taken in this field since our accession to independence. Our first five-year plan recognised the priority of developing agriculture, which is at present the main wealth of the country. At the practical level I should mention that the Chad Development Bank has for some years been extending the credits required for the acquisition of the equipment and material which the primary sector needs in order to modernise.

A large-scale rural development programme is being carried out in the east of our country. This programme, which has been under way for more than five years with the financial and technical co-operation of the ILO, started to make real progress in 1968, thanks to allocations from the United Nations Development Programme for the preliminary operations. It seeks to increase and improve agricultural output in the Ouaddaï region by the use of modern techniques and equipment and by the training of the farmers in the region.

The first result of these joint efforts has been a considerable reduction in the rural exodus, which had been leading to an excessive increase in the number of unemployed or of persons insufficiently absorbed by the urban industries and had thereby created a number of social and economic problems whose solution required action which was often unpopular.

But we have also recognised the urgency of other problems of various kinds, the solution of which must accompany any action intended to bring about a significant change in agricultural development. I refer in particular to road-building and the organisation of markets.

My Government has always been concerned to give the country a sound and efficient network of roads, an element of the infrastructure indispensable for development. One of the priorities of the intermediate development programme and the first five-year plan was to create the main highways around which our national road network could be organised and developed. We may say at present that since the beginning of the plan progress—limited but nevertheless very encouraging—has been made. As regards the organisation of the market, the National Marketing Corporation and the Rural Development Fund are gradually extending their supply and selling points throughout the territory in order to improve the marketing of national products, the volume and quality of which are improving year by year.

We believe that all efforts should be made to permit the transition from subsistence agriculture to a market and industrial economy which will, in their turn, facilitate capital formation. But our means are limited and we cannot achieve this in a reasonably near future without external assistance.

In the framework of general economic and social development, and particularly as regards the mobilisation and utilisation of national resources, the Government of Chad has taken extensive measures to encourage, finance and launch activities in many sectors of the national economy. I can quote as examples the Lake Development Corporation, the Textiles Corporation, the Meat Industries Corporation, the Development Bank, the National Marketing Corporation, the Sugar Corporation, the Logone Breweries and the Abéché Oil Works. These undertakings, which meet the ordinary needs of the population, have been set up on state initiative, either because of their national importance or because private enterprise had not developed sufficiently in that sector.

As for the burning problem of employment, the ILO report sets out particularly clearly, coherently and objectively the present situation in Chad. We cannot but support the Director-General's suggestion that efforts should be made, in particular as regards employment, to offer young people, whose numbers grow year by year, more promising prospects for the future and to enable them to avail themselves of new opportunities of productive employment by giving them the necessary training and finding them jobs. My Government's policy is in accordance with the employment situation at the present time, characterised by the shortage of skilled personnel in the private sector and of medium-grade supervisors in the public sector. State intervention takes the form of systematic grants of scholarships to all young persons who have completed their secondary education for training either inside the country or abroad. Furthermore, there are commercial and industrial schools and a national vocational training centre, which also provides advanced training for intermediate levels with a view to promoting a better use of available manpower. The crucial problem for my country's authorities is not that of employment viewed as the possibility of engaging in an occupation and drawing an income from it; it is the problem of training senior and medium-grade supervisors. Therefore we approve the proposed practical programme which the ILO submits to us because we are certain that training will lead to employment, employment to social well-being, and social well-being to social justice and political stability, as has been so tellingly stated by the Assistant Director-General of the ILO, Mr. Albert Tévoédjrè.

As regards labour administration, I will merely say that a labour administration department has been set up under our legislation; it is responsible to the Minister of Labour for all questions concerning the conditions of the workers, labour-management relations, employment policy, vocational guidance, selection and training, social advancement and social welfare.

From the institutional point of view, our labour administration, which is based largely on the relevant international labour Convention, satisfactorily meets the suggestions contained in the Report. Nevertheless, we recognise that the material and personnel resources available to us do not enable the Department of Labour to carry out entirely the standard-setting, informational and advisory roles which the laws have assigned to it. However, one must view this shortcoming against the general framework of the country's economy, which has many urgent problems to solve all at once.

As regards social security, there is no doubt that, if well-conceived and co-ordinated, it has a very favourable effect on output and employment stability, which in their turn can increase productivity and so contribute to economic progress. Our efforts at present are directed towards adapting existing institutions, whether traditional or inherited from a more recent past. We are aware that this adaptation will have to be accompanied by a great creative effort and a readiness to apply new solutions, so that our present social welfare system may really correspond to our national conditions and requirements.

We live in an age in which the interdependence of States and intergovernmental organisations is becoming a necessity and an obligation. In this second half of the twentieth century no State can live in isolation. However, inter-state co-operation can be a valid concept only to the extent to which the machinery of co-ordination at the

national and international levels permits of such co-operation without casting doubt on the independence of each State and the neutrality of each organisation. My Government is glad to note that it has already benefited from such co-operation in many fields.

I take this opportunity of sincerely thanking the International Labour Office for its financial and technical co-operation with the Government of Chad in the training of labour inspectors, office workers, rural artisans and, above all, in the economic development of the Ouaddaï region.

*Interpretation from French:* Mr. BOKONGA (*Government delegate, Congo (Kinshasa)*)—Please allow me, Mr. President, to address to you on behalf of the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo my sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of this Conference.

My country is happy to participate in this Conference which enables us to study together—I may say at the level of the African Continent—the means of working towards the social progress of our populations. More specifically, we have endorsed the World Employment Programme, which is to be established by the international community under the auspices of the ILO, and we have come here to lay the foundations of the African part of that Programme. In the light of the economic, social and institutional context in which we find ourselves, we must review the favourable and the unfavourable factors present in our countries and which we have to take into the fullest consideration.

First of all, as regards the Report of the Director-General I should like to congratulate Mr. Morse on the particularly interesting Report he has placed before us. I shall merely place on record our complete endorsement of the principle stated in the conclusion of the Report, to the effect that social development calls for full participation by the whole of the population. It requires an awakening of the national awareness of all individuals and all the social groups making up the nation. While the public authorities are fully aware of the responsibilities incumbent on them, they are also convinced of the need to secure the determined assistance of the population, which has itself to take the initiative and to devote all its energy to the future of the nation. This, of course, implies that the various elements in the social community must be constantly associated in the decisions relating to development. Social participation is a principle to which we are particularly attached and which we endeavour to put into practice at all levels. This participation finds its corollary in the constant concern shown by the Head of the State to ensure that all of the elements of the population enjoy a just share in the fruits of progress, thereby strengthening the feeling of a shared national destiny.

With regard to labour administration, including labour inspection, in Africa, the second item on the agenda of the Conference, the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo endorses the conclusion to the effect that the existence of an administrative infrastructure is the prior condition for any attempt to achieve progress. The labour administration in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is composed of planning services (central services) and of executive and supervisory services (external services) relating to various fields such as labour inspection, employment, wages or social security. The labour inspectorate, as the body supervising the implementation of legislation, has been in operation in the Congo since 1951. As soon as our country became independent our Government ratified the Labour Inspection Convention, 1947 (No. 81), which concerns labour inspection in industry and commerce. The new Labour Inspection (Agriculture) Convention, 1969 (No. 129), has already been submitted for approval by the competent authority. The national legislation based on Convention No. 81 set up a single labour inspectorate for all the sectors of economic activity. Its members are officers of the public administration; they are responsible for the traditional and essential function of supervision, and the provision of advice and information as well as prior conciliation both in individual and collective disputes. On the institutional level my country, therefore, faces no major problem, because the

structure of the labour administration and labour inspection systems is such as to enable them to discharge effectively their many different functions in the achievement of social justice and social peace. In this respect the Democratic Republic of the Congo may express its gratification at the fact that ever since it achieved national independence it has benefited from the valuable technical assistance that the ILO and other international bodies or foreign governments have provided in helping it to establish an effective system of labour administration.

Nevertheless, it must be admitted that in practical terms our labour administration is often hampered by the traditional problems of the developing countries, one of the most serious of which is undeniably that of the training of competent senior staff. Therefore, bearing in mind the wishes expressed by labour inspectors when they met at a seminar in Yaoundé from 7 to 20 September 1969, the Government is endeavouring to the full extent of its ability to meet these wishes. It is therefore proposed to increase the financial resources allocated for labour administration in general and labour inspection in particular, and also to increase the number of labour inspectors and supervisors and of subordinate and executive staff. It is intended, too, that there should be a continual improvement in equipment, particularly as regards transport facilities, together with better vocational and technical training (theoretical and practical) and further training courses for labour inspectors. In addition, a contribution will be made to the development of workers' education.

With regard to employment policy and in order to mark its support for the World Employment Programme, my Government has endeavoured to provide an appropriate legal and technical infrastructure for the National Employment Service. We have tried to provide it with skilled staff capable of adapting themselves to the new methods made necessary by the rapid development of labour problems. It is certainly true that before 1965 labour problems had not received sufficient attention from the Congo authorities of that time. It required the greatest determination and energy on the part of the new régime to endow the Democratic Republic of the Congo with a National Employment Service, which was established by Legislative Ordinance No. 67/310 of 9 August 1967 and has the appropriate legal and technical infrastructure.

The essential function of this Service is to institute the best possible organisation of the employment market, but this is possible only if, in addition to the legal and technical infrastructure, the Service has qualified staff and adequate material resources at its disposal. Thus, in accordance with paragraphs 2 and 4 of Article 9 of the Employment Service Convention, 1948 (No. 88), which my country ratified in May 1969, the Department of Labour and Social Affairs has joined with experts from the ILO—whom we wish to thank once again—in the task of training supervisors and executive personnel of the National Employment Service in the various techniques and working methods. The culmination of this training plan will enable us to establish, as from January 1970, regional employment services in each provincial capital, the central service having been established some eighteen months ago; we can thus look to the future with confidence.

In more positive terms, the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo is endeavouring to promote the creation of new jobs by means of a dynamic investment policy, both national and foreign. It was with this aim in view that an Investment Code was promulgated on 26 June this year; this Code respects the interests and rights of both partners. It promotes the founding of new companies approved by the Investments Commission. The participation of the Department of Labour and Social Affairs in the work of this Commission enables us to guide employment and vocational training policy in the light of the new activities launched throughout the national territory, because it is essential to guide the active population, and particularly young persons, towards these new jobs.

Therefore, in accordance with section 3 (*f*) of the Labour Code, which relates to the protection of the national labour force, the competent authorities now have before



them a draft ordinance concerning the protection of national manpower and the regulation of the employment of foreign workers, as well as a draft order to be issued under that ordinance laying down the maximum proportion of foreign workers who may occupy remunerated employment, and the possible exceptions to that limit.

My Government in no way practises any form of sterile xenophobia; it wishes simply to show its concern to provide work first of all—as is done in practically all the countries of the world—for its own nationals who are at a disadvantage because of the force of circumstances, without in any way ignoring the indispensable technical contribution that can be made by foreigners in many sectors of activity.

In order that the employment market may be investigated more rationally and valid employment statistics obtained, orders have been issued specifying the procedures for the declaration of the opening and closing of enterprises, for the declaration of the hiring and departure of workers and for the annual manpower returns. These three orders provide the Government with information concerning the labour force of existing establishments and, in consequence, concerning the jobs which exist or are to be created by those establishments. This makes it possible to follow changes in the employment situation and the volume of manpower employed during the year, by occupational sector and by branch of activity. All this makes it possible for us to envisage an employment policy which will be based on the factual situation and will be in accordance with our economic expansion plans.

But although it is a good thing to provide new jobs for the active population, it is necessary, and even essential, to stabilise those jobs. For this purpose my Government established a National Vocational Training Institute long before the establishment of the National Employment Service. This Institute provides vocational training for senior staff in the public and private sectors and effectively complements technical training and general education for thousands of our nationals who wish to obtain further training in various fields of economic activity. Here again, the ILO's contribution has taken the specific form of the provision of a considerable number of experts, who carry out the dual task of organising the various forms of vocational training, as necessary, and training national counterparts who can carry on the work once the expert has departed.

This rapid survey will enable the Conference to appreciate the thorough and realistic manner in which the Democratic Republic of the Congo has endeavoured to overcome the employment problems with which it is confronted. We again stress our endorsement of any concrete action to promote a policy of full employment which will help the economic expansion of our country and of the whole African Continent.

Mr. AMEDE (*Government delegate, Ethiopia*)—The Director-General's Report examines some of the urgent problems that African countries are facing and will face in the future. It may be said that the building of suitable forms of social organisations and the development of new social values and attitudes which are needed for economic and social progress for the population as a whole are in the forefront of the problem. Areas for policy are examined and action to promote healthy and orderly social change is called for.

As we can see from the Report, many African countries have initiated plans for economic development. They are observing that if social conditions are not adapted to economic change, they slow it down. On the other hand, social progress may be a factor which stimulates economic growth. Political stability is another factor essential for development. In strengthening these factors which promote integration and development, social organisation and participation and the establishment of social and economic institutions which enable individuals and bodies representing them to play a positive role in the life of the nation have considerable importance.

In 1966 the gross domestic product of African countries (the total of the goods and services produced) was US\$112 per head of population. The rate of growth was

about 1 per cent per annum. This is among the lowest growth rates in the world. (In comparison, Ethiopia's rate of growth of gross domestic product was 2.5 per cent per head during 1961-65. In absolute terms, national income per head in 1967 was Eth. \$156 per annum). One reason for the low rate of growth may be that substantial resources are devoted to the development of economic and social infrastructure and to strengthening government machinery. These activities do not in the short run add to the rate of growth of the domestic product. Another reason would be the high rate of growth of the population which is growing at about 2.3 per cent per annum for Africa as a whole. The latest estimate for Ethiopia is that population is growing at the rate of 2.3 per cent per annum.

Industrialisation has made considerable progress in most countries during recent years. This has taken place both in large-scale and small-scale industries. A few years ago it was estimated that small-scale industry accounted for more than nine-tenths of the total number of industrial units located in Africa as a whole and in the early 1960s provided 32 per cent of the total employment in manufacturing industry in developing Africa. In Ethiopia small-scale industries and handicrafts accounted for 4.8 per cent of the gross domestic product in 1967 as against a 3.8 per cent share of large-scale manufacturing industry. Modernisation of small-scale industry thus appears to be a major factor in promoting industrial growth.

Social planning is tending increasingly to become a part of national planning in a number of countries. In Ethiopia social planning is accepted as an integral part of development planning. The Third Five-Year Plan has as one of its major goals "better dietary levels, better clothing and better housing conditions, better health standards and educational opportunities". A community development programme is one of the instruments for achieving economic and social development, particularly in the rural areas. A basic approach in this programme consists of the motivation of the population to partake in the process of development so as to improve their economic, social and cultural conditions. The establishment of necessary institutional arrangements to promote social development and higher levels of living is also one of the aims of the development policy of the Imperial Ethiopian Government.

Other programmes under the Third Five-Year Plan in the field of social welfare include legislation for the protection of the young, the destitute and the deserted and registration and supervision of charitable societies. Schemes for the provision of recreational and cultural facilities especially for the young and the setting-up of a National Youth Service are also to be established during the Third Five-Year Plan.

Improvement of the health and nutrition of the Ethiopian people is one of the major goals of the Government's development policy. Various health services will be improved considerably during the Third Five-Year Plan while special projects for malaria eradication and tuberculosis control will continue. Targets of the Third Plan include an increase of over 1,000 hospital beds, an 82 per cent increase in the number of health centres and a 72 per cent increase in medical personnel during the Plan period.

The policy regarding education in the Third Plan is to relate it at all levels to the manpower needs of the Third Plan period and beyond. Extra emphasis is placed on scientific, technical and vocational education, particularly at the secondary level. During the Plan period enrolment in all educational institutions is estimated to increase by some 62 per cent and classroom units by 74 per cent, while the need for additional teachers is expected to be 90 per cent of the number employed at the beginning of the Plan period. There are, however, various problems connected with the achievement of these targets, particularly in the training, recruitment and employment of teachers.

A work-oriented national literacy campaign as a means of adult education has also been organised under the Third Five-Year Plan.

The incomes of the majority of African countries are derived from agriculture. In 1960, 77 per cent of the economically active population of Africa were engaged

in agriculture and this sector accounts for 40 to 55 per cent of the gross domestic product in the central, eastern and western regions. In Ethiopia over 75 per cent of the economically active population are engaged in agriculture and 56 per cent of the gross domestic product in 1967 arose from agricultural and related activities.

These facts have various implications for employment and social policies. A major part of the population live in rural areas and follow the traditional stage from traditional society into modern market economy.

One of the crucial problems is the flight of rural youth from the land to cities and towns under the impact of powerful sociological and cultural factors and the influence of urban values. The traditional rural sector is mostly subsistence farming. Old institutions of land tenure militate against modernisation of agriculture. So does the fact that a substantial part of the rural economy is now monetary.

Apart from traditional farming, a modern, commercial farming sector is developing. This sector includes the big plantations. The development of commercial farming contributes towards national development. But it should not be carried to the limit where food production is sacrificed.

One of the rural institutional arrangements by means of which the economic and social condition of rural people is sought to be improved is the community development programme. The essence of this programme is to motivate the people towards self-help and participation in development projects, the Government providing technical and other services. It naturally covers all aspects of rural life. There is essentially a concentrated educational effort to prepare the rural population for active participation in development.

Other aspects of rural development are agrarian reform (to reduce the inequalities in land ownership and to avoid large inefficiently cultivated or uncultivated holdings on the one hand and large numbers of landless workers on the other), development schemes and land settlements, co-operatives and farm organisations, and rural crafts and small-scale industry. Action is required on all these fronts to enable the rural sector to contribute to national development and growth and at the same time to have the rural population benefit from the fruits of economic development. The ILO is carrying out research in these fields with a view to determining the best lines of approach to the solution of the problems. The ILO is also assisting various countries in the establishment of programmes for creating and strengthening rural institutions and carrying out projects of rural development.

From the Report it can be seen that Africa is the least urbanised of all the continents, but towns are growing rapidly everywhere in Africa. It was estimated in 1960 that 13 per cent of all Africans lived in towns of 20,000 or more inhabitants. There is a wide variation from country to country, but as a rule the larger towns are growing at a faster rate than the smaller ones.

In Ethiopia an estimated 8 per cent of the population lived in towns in 1967. Industrial development has led to the emergence of various towns and the growth of others. Various social problems arise as a result of the unbalanced growth of towns, including unemployment and underemployment, with their evil consequences; pressure on municipal services in regard to medical care, sanitation, public health and housing; overcrowding and the growth of shanty towns; social maladjustment leading to social and political unrest; unequal distribution of the sexes; and a preponderance of unemployed young persons who are migrants from rural areas.

African countries are tackling problems of city growth as part of their general economic policy. Town planning, slum clearance, urban reconstruction, location of industry and regional development policies are often aimed at removing the evils of uncontrolled growth of urban centres. In Ethiopia plans are in hand for building forty new towns.

Some form of co-operative action may prove to be a more realistic way of tackling the problems of work and life in towns than an approach which relies on labour

legislation. Thus co-operative housing schemes, craftsmen's co-operatives, credit and consumer co-operatives and even labour co-operatives can be of considerable use.

There are three major requirements of social policy in regard to urban development. They are, firstly, that there should be a development policy, since towns should not be dissociated from the policy for the countryside; secondly, that the implications of action for urban development should be analysed beforehand in relation to the effect of that action on the wage-earners and town-dwellers; and, thirdly, that possibilities for the future should be kept in mind. Methods of increasing employment, the provision of social, cultural and welfare services, leisure-time activities, and so on, are factors that should go into consideration of social policy.

Participation by workers and employers is essential if development plans are to be implemented efficiently. The necessary machinery also needs to be established if such participation is to be effective. In Ethiopia there is no institutional arrangement by which workers and employers are automatically called into consultation in the formulation of development plans or their implementation. They are, however, represented on the consultative committees set up by the Ministry of National Community Development and Social Affairs. The co-operation of workers and employers in activities with which that Ministry is concerned has been readily forthcoming.

Thanks to the co-operation of employers and workers, the industrial climate in Ethiopia during the recent past has been favourable. During 1968-69 there were industrial disputes leading to temporary work stoppages in seven establishments, with the loss of thirty-six working days. Two undertakings locked out their employees for a total of eight days. During the same period six collective agreements were signed between employers and their workers.

The Director-General's Report says that "social change does not... necessarily lead to social progress unless it is based on, and continually inspired by, a respect for the freedom, equality and dignity of man". The Ethiopian Constitution affirms the principle that discrimination with respect to the enjoyment of all civil rights is prohibited. Freedom of association and the right to engage in any occupation, and to that end to form or join associations, are permitted in accordance with the law. In addition the Constitution, together with those international treaties, conventions and obligations to which Ethiopia is a party, is the supreme law of the Empire.

It has been said that the full enjoyment of human rights depends on the existence of the material conditions in which those principles can become a reality. All socio-economic development efforts in Ethiopia are geared to produce those conditions. Care must be taken, however, that during the difficult process of social change man is not forgotten.

While we can look back and perhaps be justifiably and modestly proud of our achievements in the last Development Decade, the challenge facing us is indeed great. We are dealing not only with economic development but with social change in all its forms. What parts of our traditional *mores* are we to retain? What are we to receive, if anything?

The first item on the agenda, social change and social progress in Africa, may indeed be Africa's first concern. We feel that, working together, we will answer the challenge from Africa itself.

Last but not least, please allow me, Mr. President, to add my congratulations and those of my delegation to you on your election to the highest office in this Conference and to express my delegation's sincere appreciation to the Government of Ghana for the excellent welcome afforded to us upon our arrival.

Mr. EDOKPAYI (*representative of the United Nations (Economic Commission for Africa)*)—It is a great honour for me to represent the United Nations at this important Conference and to convey to the Conference the greetings of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and his good wishes for the fruitful outcome of your deliberations.

May I also take this opportunity, Mr. President, to congratulate you and all the elected officers of this Conference upon your meritorious appointment to your high offices, and to wish you success.

All delegates will be aware of the concern of the United Nations for the improvement of the economic and social conditions of the developing countries and, in particular, the development of their human resources, as the greatest asset in achieving the accelerated improvement of the material conditions of the Third World. In this connection one might recall the preoccupation of the Economic and Social Council with action and measures of an international nature aimed at improving the economic and social conditions of developing nations in particular. At the risk of mentioning the obvious, permit me to call attention to the following areas of United Nations activities that are concerned with human resources development: (a) studies and reports on the world situation which take into consideration, among other things, trends in common in employment, education, literacy, housing and so on; (b) the Secretary-General's reports on the training of national personnel for industrialisation; (c) the United Nations Fellowships Programme for training in order to build up adequate executive capacity for development; and (d) the United Nations-supported training centres for manpower development in the fields of statistics, demography, management, public administration and so on.

It is the conviction of the United Nations that the search for meaningful world peace can be realised only when, among other things, the peoples of the developing countries and the economically disadvantaged people the world over have the means—and the employment that ensures the means—of better and adequate housing, better education, adequate and nutritive food and the minimum of those essential facilities and amenities that make the good life—in short, only when the underprivileged peoples are assisted to be self-supporting and able to narrow to reasonable proportions the present wide gulf that separates the haves from the have-nots within the same country and among nations.

Coming to the purely African scene, it is also my privilege, Mr. President, to convey to you, and through you to the Conference, the greetings and good wishes of the Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa.

For the balanced and sustained development of Africa, it is neither possible nor realistic to consider economic development without social development. There cannot be one without the other. Economic and social goals have to be conceived in their interdependence. In practical terms, the experience of frustration stemming from the unrealised development plans has made African countries conscious that accelerated economic development cannot be achieved without a simultaneous development and mobilisation of the region's human resources and cultivation of attitudes that accept change and innovation as the way to bring about development. This is why the Economic Commission for Africa has a considerable concern for Africa's human resources: the training and utilisation of African manpower, the motivation of the masses to desire and participate in development, and the design of economic development objectives to improve man's welfare. The ECA's concept of human resources development and the employment of labour is seen within the broader framework of our over-all national development planning. Human resources constitute the region's most valuable asset for realising the objective of better living standards for the people. It is therefore necessary that the development, mobilisation and utilisation of this valuable asset be rationally planned in order to avoid waste due to unemployment and underemployment.

Perhaps, of all development bottlenecks thus far identified, the shortage of trained manpower and the growing numbers of unemployed persons, especially school-leavers, constitute the most imponderable and least amenable to direct planning. It is easier to borrow billions of dollars from the international money market than to secure adequate numbers of the desired trained manpower from the international labour market. It is

not realistic development if billions of dollars of investment leave us with unemployed school-leavers and with some 80 per cent of the total labour force unemployed and having a submarginal standard of living.

ECA's views on the seriousness of the manpower and employment situation are set out in an information document available to the Conference and entitled *Critical Manpower Development and Utilisation Problems in Africa*. Mr. President, permit me to summarise the issues set out in the document.

We see the major manpower problems in the continent to be the following:

- (a) substantial present and future shortage of middle and high-level managerial, professional and technical personnel, especially of teachers, instructors and persons with training in science and technology;
- (b) the problem of what to do with jobless primary- and secondary-school leavers;
- (c) lack of financial and institutional capacity for adequate manpower development and training;
- (d) the problem of inadequate preparation—or lack of preparation—of educated persons for jobs, largely because the content, structure and orientation of educational programmes are not designed for rapid economic development;
- (e) the inefficient utilisation of available trained manpower;
- (f) the seeming neglect to develop appropriate training programmes for the bulk of the labour force—the uneducated, unskilled manpower whose production efforts determine, to a considerable extent, the size of the national income;
- (g) finally, the sheer lack of clear national policies and programmes on population, manpower utilisation, income and employment as integral elements in national over-all economic and social development policies and programmes.

ECA's human resources development programme is therefore designed to enable member governments to resolve the problems noted above. This is achieved through —

- (a) advice to member States in developing appropriate manpower policies and effective administrative machinery for manpower planning;
- (b) identification and assessment of manpower and training needs, especially for multi-national development projects;
- (c) training African administrators and executives in specific areas of development planning and administration;
- (d) securing bilateral fellowships and scholarships for training Africans in critical areas of manpower shortages;
- (e) promotion of multi-national institutional facilities for specialised training and research in Africa;
- (f) undertaking appropriate studies to set guidelines for human resources development and utilisation;
- (g) promoting international co-operation and concerted action in developing programmes aimed at mitigating Africa's manpower and employment problems at regional, multi-national and national levels.

In short, ECA's programme is meant to encourage, enlighten and guide African governments to take appropriate manpower planning action.

I need now briefly comment on the Conference reports, particularly reports III and IV (1) and (2). These are reports of considerable interest to the ECA in terms of our dedication to co-operative effort in seeking solutions to Africa's human resources development and utilisation problems.

Regarding report III, although I have not had time to study the details, I am in a position, at least, to congratulate the ILO for its pragmatic approach in co-operating with other agencies and organisations, particularly the ECA. In this connection, I should like to endorse paragraphs 78 to 80 of the report as reflecting the true state of meaningful collaboration between the ILO and the ECA. We have found co-operation with the ILO most fruitful and in the best interest of Africa. We wish for further intensified action in areas of common interest and hope that joint programming and implementation of specific projects will be possible in the near future. In this respect, we particularly found the Office of the ILO Regional Co-ordinator in Addis Ababa ever ready to hold discussions with the ECA Secretariat. I might mention that we have some three or more projects listed for discussion shortly with the aim of exploring possibilities for joint effort.

We in the ECA feel convinced that African human resources development and mobilisation problems are so complex that only comprehensive and well co-ordinated programmes through concerted action by all interested parties, both national and international, stand a chance of success. It is in this regard that we share the ILO's concern for technical co-operation in Africa. We are convinced, judging by the active participation of the ILO in ECA-initiated inter-agency forums for promoting concerted action in rural development and in new programmes and in ECA training activities, that the ILO means business and is willing to co-operate.

Report IV (1) is a most valuable document and the ILO deserves praise for its synthesis of the salient problems and the attempts to find a solution for them. We in the ECA have undertaken various studies, as can be seen from the references in the report, which have confirmed some of the findings in the report. For instance, regarding action in rural areas, the ECA supports the idea of appropriate economic infrastructure, rural animation and attitude cultivation, the injection of skills into rural economies, the place of effective local administration to give leadership and guidance as well as the need to plan and develop rural economies on an integrated basis and for all organs of government to work together for rural and agricultural modernisation.

As regards employment creation, the ECA's industrial studies indicate that there are immense new economic opportunities awaiting exploitation through the development of viable small-scale industries: I mean real economic activities for a living and not for cultural exhibition. The ECA 1969 Small-Scale Industries Exhibition in Addis Ababa is a testimony of our firm belief in the employment and income potentials of small businesses.

We share the concern of the ILO that inefficient utilisation of Africa's highly educated manpower, due to multifarious constraints, including unrealistic colonial wage policy and wage structures, accentuates the manpower shortage and reduces productivity. The ECA feels that formal education in the Africa of today cannot be an end in itself for education is expensive and the African countries are poor. We would like to see education used as an instrument to foster more rapid economic and social development, thus contributing to a more rapid increase in the national income and making it possible thereby for greater resources to be made available for educational expansion. We would like to see training programmes designed to cope with needs and for programmes to be formulated to meet the requirements of those who largely influence productivity, such as factory charge-hands, foremen, managers, farmers, etc. There is a crying need for vocational and technical training of school-leavers. In this regard the government alone cannot shoulder the responsibility and employers of labour should help. Workers' organisations should also help. Joint action is needed to train enough manpower for industrialisation and agricultural modernisation.

Regarding report IV (2), the ECA wishes further to congratulate the ILO for its initiative in coming forward with proposals for a jobs and skills programme for Africa. We regard the programme proposals as a demonstration of the determination of the ILO and of African countries lending their support to it to see that Africa's human

resources are rationally mobilised and fully utilised to secure better living standards for all. When it is effectively integrated in national development plans, we think the programme will be a positive measure towards finding gainful employment for young persons, especially school-leavers. Such complete mobilisation of the region's human resources will accelerate the pace of economic and social development.

The ECA believes that the success of the Jobs and Skills Programme will depend on the sense of commitment of African countries, the realistic way in which they go about achieving its objectives. External systems will be necessary but the main effort must be at the national level. Equally, it is a programme that is a great challenge to any organisation or agency which is interested in improving Africa's economic and social conditions. It calls for realistic co-operation—not for areas of jurisdictional authority, but areas for concerted action. In this connection the ECA wishes to assure the Conference that it is willing and prepared to co-operate at the regional level with the ILO in achieving the objectives of the Jobs and Skills Programme.

Finally, Mr. President, I wish to end this statement with a word of appreciation through your good offices to the host Government for its generous hospitality and to thank the organisers of the Conference for all the arrangements made to ensure its success.

*(The Conference adjourned at 11.45 a.m.)*



## FOURTH SITTING

Wednesday, 10 December 1969, 5 p.m.

(in the presence of Mr. K. A. Busia, Prime Minister of Ghana)

*President: Mr. Kaleo*

### SPECIAL SITTING OF THE CONFERENCE TO MARK THE AWARD OF THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE TO THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

The PRESIDENT—I am pleased to invite Mr. C. W. Jenks, Secretary-General of the Conference, to make a statement on behalf of the Director-General of the International Labour Office and the International Labour Organisation on the occasion of the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the International Labour Organisation.

#### ADDRESS BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE CONFERENCE

The SECRETARY-GENERAL—It is a great privilege, Mr. Prime Minister, to welcome you here today on this historic day in the life of the ILO. You will, I trust allow me to say something of the significance which it has for us, and the significance which it may have for the perennial adventure of the human spirit to achieve peace through justice.

Today, the Director-General of the ILO, accompanied by the Chairman of the Governing Body and by the Employers' and Workers' Vice-Chairmen, is receiving in Oslo on behalf of the International Labour Organisation the Nobel Peace Prize for 1969. There could be no greater tribute to half-a-century of collective effort by successive generations to achieve peace through social justice and no clearer recognition of the stake of the common man in peace. This much is beyond cavil; but have we any better title to such recognition than the old maxim that effort is more important than achievement? Never during the last half-century has the world been wholly at peace. Nowhere has social justice been the consistent keynote of high policy. The problem is in many respects more baffling than it was when we first began. Have we earned the Nobel Prize? And if we are not wholly unworthy to receive it, how can we continue to be worthy of it?

The award of the Nobel Prize to the ILO is, above all, an unequivocal recognition of the nature of the problem of peace and the nature of the collective effort by the peoples of the world necessary to achieve peace.

Peace is more than the absence at any particular moment of open war. It is the equivalent on the world scale of good government within the State. By peace we mean a political, legal, economic and social order which enables man to fulfil his moral nature in fellowship and freedom.

This being the nature of the problem, we cannot achieve a stable peace by negotiating the settlement of the particular dispute which represents the most immediate threat to peace at any particular time, or by taking any other action which is focused

on the occasions rather than the fundamental causes of armed conflict. The world will not be at peace because we have liquidated the political problems arising from the Second World War, the cold war, decolonisation, or the changed balance of the continents; it will be at peace only when we have given reality on the world scale to Aristotle's concept of the purpose of the State, when we have developed the emerging world order forced upon us by the "bare needs of life" into a community of the "good life" for all mankind.

This is not a task for a year, a decade, or even a half-century; it is a task for successive generations of the peoples of the world, a task involving a massive mobilisation on a wholly new scale of the most profound moral currents and the most powerful social forces of human society. It includes both the immediate task of preserving the precarious peace which, by averting the final calamity of the utter disintegration of civilisation, preserves the possibilities of the future, and the long-range task of building a future of freedom, justice and welfare for all mankind.

How effectively are we, the ILO, relevant to so immense a task?

What has the ILO contributed, and what can we reasonably expect it to contribute, to an enduring peace conceived in these terms?

What has been our impact on the philosophy of peace, on the institutional structure of peace, on the law of peace, on the psychology of peace? What has been our impact, and what is our potential impact, on peace itself?

There has clearly been a fundamental reevaluation of the philosophy of peace during the last half-century. Preoccupations which were peripheral have become central. The daily life of the common man, which half a century ago statesmen were only too content to leave to the ILO, has now become the central theme of national and world statesmanship. Social justice, then almost a discordant note, has become the keynote of the philosophy of peace.

Social justice cannot prosper without a reasonable political stability. There can be no stability in a rapidly changing world without orderly processes of change. We no longer believe that peace consists in perpetuating the *status quo*, anywhere or in any respect. We therefore seek to maintain a reasonable political stability by facilitating orderly processes of change. We seek an honourable equilibrium of stability and change as a vital element in an enduring peace.

Social justice embraces and stimulates economic growth. Unless social justice is founded on economic growth, its content will be too stunted to satisfy any reasonable sense of justice. Without social justice, no process of economic growth can develop the momentum necessary to make it self-sustaining. Frustration and injustice spell tension and conflict, and humanity is now too alert to the gap between performance and possibility to acquiesce in stagnation. We no longer believe that there can be peace without more balance in the enjoyment of prosperity. We seek a more balanced prosperity for all mankind as a vital element in an enduring peace.

Social justice presupposes and betokens freedom. It cannot be a reality without civil liberties, but civil liberties alone cannot make it a reality. Political freedom, civil liberties, social justice and cultural vitality are all mutually complementary expressions of the freedom of the human spirit. We no longer believe that there can be peace without freedom. We seek freedom for all mankind as a vital element in an enduring peace.

The philosophy of peace which the ILO has upheld and proclaimed for half a century embraces all these things; all are now regarded as vital elements in an enduring peace; they have become the philosophy of the whole United Nations system. This is not a little, but it is not enough. How effective has the philosophy of peace become in action?

What has been the ILO contribution to the institutional structure of peace and what potentialities of further development are suggested by that contribution?

Organising the world for peace implies intermeshing international with national action over the whole range of activities represented by the functions and responsibilities

of government in the modern State. The world has outgrown the police state and the assumption that wealth is synonymous with welfare. We must accept the logic of this in our concept of world organisation. The fundamental organisational problem of the United Nations system is to reflect the whole life of man in a manner which combines the purposive consistency of the whole with the vitality and effectiveness at the point of impact of the parts.

To organise the world effectively for peace we must bring the whole of the processes, functions and departments of government into a partnership of peace, constantly multiplying the contacts which unite men. It has been the historic service of the ILO to the institutional structure of peace to furnish the prototype for the whole concept of autonomous specialised agencies, which is the only practical plan yet devised for doing this. The ILO has also been, and will remain, a pioneer in evolving the intimate partnership within a general world organisation without which such an approach would substitute the parts for the whole. The pattern is not frozen; it requires, and is in process of, constant adjustment and development to new and changing needs; but the reflection in a balanced manner of the whole life of man is among the fundamentals of an effective institutional structure of peace. To have furnished such a prototype is a major contribution to the institutional structure of peace.

Organising the world for peace implies more than interlocking the executive action of governments; it is equally necessary to embody in the structure of peace the processes of opinion formation, accountability for governmental decisions and legislative action. Parliaments fully conscious of the wider setting of national policy and their share in the responsibility for peace are essential participants in the institutional structure of peace, with a vital part to play in maintaining civilian control of military policies and action, in upholding procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes and accepting as a lesser evil the compromises and disappointments inherent in such procedures, in securing respect for internationally recognised civil liberties, in providing resources for international development programmes, and in many other ways. The Constitution of the ILO has given parliaments a recognised constitutional place in the institutional structure of peace. By bringing the people, represented through parliaments, into peace-building, the ILO has made a significant contribution to a second of the fundamentals of an effective institutional structure of peace.

Organising the world for peace implies mobilising the economy for peace. The ILO brings the responsibility of management for producing the world's wealth and the claim of labour that the common wealth should become the common welfare into an effective partnership with the responsibility of government for the welfare of the whole community; and in so doing it affords a means of drawing the vitality of the whole community into the building of peace in a way not yet paralleled in a comparable manner in any other sector of international life. Fiscal and monetary policy, trade, investment and employment are all matters vital to peace, in respect of which the willing co-operation of organised economic life can make a vital difference. By bringing organised economic life into peace-building, the ILO has made a significant contribution to a third of the fundamentals of an effective institutional structure of peace.

The vitality and effectiveness of any institutional structure depends on the inter-meshing of its parts in a recognised pattern of orderly and disciplined co-operation. In a well-governed State the political executive, the legislature, the judicature and the public service play their respective parts in co-operation with each other within the rule of law. In world organisations, the parts are not fully comparable, but the importance of fulfilling them in harmonious co-operation is no less imperative. In the ILO we have a healthy tradition that the Conference, the Governing Body, our regional conferences and regional advisory committees, the Industrial Committees, our varied quasi-judicial bodies, and the International Labour Office are not rivals competing

with each other for authority but partners in a common task to which each makes its indispensable and unique contribution. In a changing world, adaptations will remain constantly necessary and have, indeed, been constantly taking place. But there is a fundamental consideration by which the wisdom and expediency of all proposed structural alterations must be judged. The contribution of the ILO to peace will depend in large measure on the extent to which the structure of the ILO continues to draw vitality and effectiveness from the mutual co-operation of all its parts and of the constituent elements of all its parts, in the pursuit of the aims and purposes set forth in the Constitution of the Organisation and the Declaration of Philadelphia. By furnishing a prototype of disciplined and orderly co-operation of the parts in the whole, with each organ playing its allotted part in loyal co-operation with the others, the ILO has made a significant contribution to a fourth of the fundamentals of an effective institutional structure of peace.

No less significant has been our contribution to the law of peace. We have been pioneers in reshaping to modern needs the whole concept of the law of peace, its life-giving processes, and its content.

The law of peace is passing through a fundamental transformation from a law governing the foreign relations of States into a common law of mankind which is the legal framework of an organised world community. In this fundamental transformation the ILO has played, and continues to play, a pioneer role.

If we so conceive the law, the law must move with the times. Almost a century ago a leading international lawyer declared that "the ultimate problem of international jurisprudence" is to find "international equivalents for the factors known to national law as legislation, jurisdiction and execution". This remains true. We cannot hope for a stable peace without a living law which is responsive to changing need both in its spirit and by the vitality of its legislative, judicial and administrative processes. The ILO has not created, even for social policy, a world legislature, a world judicature, or a world inspectorate, but it has developed procedures and arrangements which are a significant contribution to the evolution of the legislative, judicial and administrative processes indispensable for an effective law of peace. The ILO has no legislative power, but it has a unique legislative procedure with a unique record of achievement. The ILO has a wide range of judicial, quasi-judicial, and fact-finding procedures which have commanded general respect by the fearlessness of their integrity. The ILO has a procedure of proved impartiality and thoroughness, based on a unique balance of disinterestedness and direct interest and knowledge, for ascertaining whether the obligations assumed by the ratification of Conventions are being carried out and for assessing the general impact of ILO standards. These are important contributions to the fundamentals of a dynamic and effective legal system founded on reason and morality and giving full expression in its rules of conduct to the equality of man and the unity of all mankind, without distinction of race or colour, creed or confession, tribe or tongue.

The test of processes of legal growth and effectiveness is not their institutional structure but their practical result. What has been our contribution to giving the law of peace the specific content so essential to its reality? The *International Labour Code* has been a major formative influence on the social legislation of the greater part of the world. It has given to many of the economic and social rights now formulated in the United Nations Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights a reality and practical application which they would otherwise lack. It has given a basis in principle, widespread acceptance and broad experience to the world-wide programme of technical co-operation for development which now constitutes so essential a part of the activities of the ILO, and has provided a policy framework for technical co-operation activities which might otherwise have remained at the level of a recruitment and placement service for expertise. The value of the ILO impact on the law of peace is attested by the impact of ILO standards on everyday life.

No philosophy of peace, no institutional structure of peace, no law of peace, will suffice to preserve the peace unless there is an overriding will to peace, expressed in a relaxed maturity in living with complex problems, which becomes an accepted psychology of peace. What can the ILO contribute to the psychology of peace?

You, Mr. Prime Minister, have spoken eloquently of building not only the continent of Africa but the world community "in mutual respect and willing co-operation, on the common moral language which humanity shares". What is the common moral language on which we seek to build peace?

The question confronts us with fundamentals.

Men of peace are men of passion; they know that the most fundamental change in world politics since history began cannot be achieved without utter devotion and determination; to achieving it they have pledged their souls.

Men of peace are men of patience; they know also that the path to peace will be steep and long, and that if they can avert the worst and prepare the better, leaving it to their successors to achieve the best, they will have done their part.

Men of peace are men of principle, guided by principle whatever the temptation to seek apparent advantage by disregarding it and knowing that only in principle can passion and patience be reconciled in consistent conduct.

Men of peace are men of reason, testing by reason the persuasiveness of principle, the impulses of interest and the pretensions of power.

Men of peace are men of responsibility, who weigh consequences before action and calculate costs and risks before counting gains.

Men of peace are men of restraint, as fearful of power when invested with it as when confronted with it.

Men of peace are men of justice; they follow the classical precepts of the law, to live honestly, wrong no one, and give each his due.

Men of peace practise tolerance; they do not seek to mould mankind in the pattern of their own preconceptions; they recognise that the preferences and interests of others may differ from their own; neither condoning nor condemning human imperfection, they seek to cure it by sympathetic understanding without loss of values.

Men of peace live in good-neighbourliness, doing unto others as they would that others should do unto them, consulting with their neighbours on all matters of common interest, and pursuing in fellowship the freedom and dignity of all.

Men of peace observe fair play; they may play, as they are entitled to play, to win, but they play according to the rules.

Men of peace are men of humanity, conscious at all times of the supreme obligation to temper policy by the avoidance of suffering by man, woman or child.

To be men of passion but men of patience, men of principle but men of reason, responsibility and restraint; to do justice and practise tolerance; to manifest good-neighbourliness in fair play; to be at all times men of humanity: these are the fundamental obligations of the man of peace. Only by fulfilling these obligations, fulfilling them with consistent courage, and fulfilling them in full, can we create the psychology of peace, without which there can be no peace.

In none of these fundamentals have we in the ILO an unblemished record, but in all of them we have a high standard, not yet perhaps applied with unflinching consistency irrespective of the prejudices with which it may conflict, but clearly accepted as our standard. By that standard, and by our consistency in conforming to it in all circumstances, we must expect men to judge the value, and indeed the sincerity, of our contribution to the psychology of peace. In this we cannot be content with a noble failure, still less with good intentions never pressed to any real test. When we are dealing with the destiny of man it is not true that "the journey not the arrival matters". Unless we create a true psychology of peace there will be no peace.

The philosophy of peace, the institutions of peace, the law of peace, the psychology of peace, are a long-term matter. Peace through social justice may be a valid and endur-

ing long-term policy, but the immediate challenges to peace are specific. They arise in situations in which long-term policies have not averted the fact or threat of present violence. What can the ILO contribute to the peace of Europe, the peace of the Middle East, the peace of South-East Asia, the peace of Southern Africa, the peace of West Africa? What can the mutual recognition of human need contribute to the adjustment of conflicting interests? The ILO cannot create the will to negotiate, or the high courage of a tentative willingness to explore the possibility of mutual confidence where all has been distrust and hatred. The modalities of military disengagement and political settlement lie beyond its range. The ILO can contribute, must contribute, to the common purposes, the common bonds, the common tasks, through which alone healthy new growth can heal the scars of war and of conflicts which leave scars comparable to those of war.

The common purposes which sustain us include our common love of freedom and our common faith that freedom and welfare are inseparable and neither can be enjoyed by the few at the expense of the many.

The common bonds which unite us include within the broader and deeper appeal of our common humanity the more tangible perennial internationalism of trade and labour: the common interest of all who trade in increasing each other's wealth so that they may trade more profitably with more prosperous partners; the common interest of all who work in the unity which gives them the strength to win by their common toil and sweat their common freedom and their common welfare.

The common tasks which await us include the whole unfinished business of mankind: the devotion of political freedom to personal economic and social freedom; the fuller and broader utilisation of the world's productive resources; the more equitable distribution of the good things of life; the protection of natural and human environment against the reckless misuse of knowledge and technology; the full participation of all in the vitality of the community.

These things transcend clashes of political and strategic interest, differences of race and creed, divergencies of ideology and economic and social structure; they are not to be dismissed from the immediate agenda as long-term solutions which can become operative only when the immediate tensions have been resolved; they are no less essential for resolving the immediate tensions than for creating a lasting basis for an enduring peace.

Let us then apply ourselves with renewed vigour to all these things: to giving new breadth and depth to the philosophy of peace; to strengthening the institutional structure of peace; to developing the law of peace; and to creating a true psychology of peace. The great tribute which we have now received to half a century of collective effort by successive generations calls for nothing less than a solemn rededication of the whole Organisation to its fundamental purpose—to seek peace and pursue it by translating economic growth into social justice and promoting the freedom and dignity of all mankind. This, Mr. Prime Minister, is the broad context of our daily task of promoting employment, improving living and working conditions, and developing social institutions. Today is the twenty-first anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is a particularly appropriate occasion on which to welcome your presence among us to reaffirm with us the dedication of the ILO and, may I presume to add, of each and all of its member States here in Africa, to “freedom and justice” achieved through the “dignity and worth of the human person”.

The PRESIDENT—I have great pleasure in thanking Mr. Jenks, Secretary-General of the Conference, on behalf of the Conference, for this important and forward-looking address.

I now have the honour to call on His Excellency the Right Honourable Dr. K. A. Busia, Prime Minister of Ghana, to address the Conference.

ADDRESS BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE DR. K. A. BUSIA,  
PRIME MINISTER OF GHANA

Dr. BUSIA (*Prime Minister of Ghana*)—Today, as you know, is Human Rights Day when throughout the world we celebrate the twenty-first anniversary of the historic document, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is no doubt the most notable achievement of the United Nations. It has the greatest impact on the thinking of our contemporary world. It is enshrined in many national constitutions, including our own.

When we come to consider the origins of the international concern over human rights, we must recognise the significant role which the ILO has played. Under the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Members of the League undertook, under article 23, to endeavour to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women and children both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend. Even before the First World War an International Labour Office had existed to collect information concerning labour practices in different States. The ILO, established immediately after the war, devoted itself above all to preserving labour standards, reducing hours of work, ensuring safety and health protection, the conditions of work of women and children, occupational diseases, social insurance, the promotion of collective bargaining procedures and other matters affecting the welfare of individual workers.

The influence of the ILO upon the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is obvious from the catalogue of the concerns of the ILO. It is therefore fitting and appropriate that today, as we have learned, the distinguished Director-General of the ILO, Mr. David Morse, should be in Oslo with representatives of the Organisation to receive the Nobel Peace Prize on behalf of the ILO.

I am very happy to have the honour to address your Conference on this occasion and to be able to repeat our sincere expression of a warm welcome to you, already expressed to you by the Deputy Chairman of our Presidential Commission who addressed you here last Monday, and to add our congratulations on your earning this coveted award for the ILO's service to mankind in the cause of peace.

There are two things that your achievement emphasises for me. The first is that the International Labour Organisation is based on the recognition of the unity of mankind, of the common basic needs of our common humanity. Here all men are at home; all workers, employers and governments find a common recognition of their basic concerns. Here, in short, all men are brothers. It is through an active concern for one another and service to one another, as exemplified in the activities of the ILO, that we can hope to build a peaceful, harmonious world. The second thing that your winning the Nobel Peace Prize emphasises for me is that the ILO recognises and works on the principle that differences can and must be settled through negotiation rather than war. It is the forum which holds before mankind the light that right and reason can replace force and might as principles of justice and peace.

Permit me to mention one example of the practical ways in which my Government is trying to express its adherence to the enlightened principles for which the ILO stands. Some of you may have heard that the Ghana labour movement had lodged a complaint against the Government for violating some of those principles in a matter of a labour dispute at Tema Harbour. Notwithstanding the legal rights of the Government, we have proposed a solution that will make it quite clear that we respect the right of workers not to be arbitrarily treated. The proposals of my Government have just this morning been accepted by the leaders of the labour movement who have recognised them to be generous proposals. We made them as our small contribution towards the recognition of the rights of workers to be respected and treated with dignity. I am glad that they have proved acceptable. The Government can now look forward to a period of industrial peace and harmony in Tema and in other parts of our country, on the basis of mutual respect between worker, employer and government.

We in Africa, who at this period of world history suffer from poverty and the disabilities which contribute to it, look to the ILO to inculcate the virtues of hard work, of honesty and justice in our human relations and of respect for the dignity of all men, on which we can build free and prosperous nations in which every man and woman can live a life of dignity in freedom.

The ILO Constitution proclaims social justice as a foundation of enduring peace. You will therefore permit me to take this opportunity to clear another matter which has obviously caused some anxiety, particularly in some African countries, and which no doubt has commanded the attention of some of the delegates here. I refer to the recent action by my Government to enforce Ghana's aliens regulations. I believe such an explanation to be appropriate in a forum like this. To an audience such as yours, I can rightly assume that all of you appreciate the need for every country to make regulations to govern immigration. Our immigration regulations, as they exist now, require that aliens desiring to take up or continue in employment in Ghana or to engage in any trade, business or profession, or who otherwise desire to remain in Ghana for an indefinite or a substantial period, should be in possession of valid residence permits issued by our immigration authorities. It is this requirement that my Government is seeking to enforce. Our present political and economic situation makes the enforcement of the regulations necessary.

In a statement to clarify the Government's action issued by my Minister of External Affairs he pointed out that persons who were without residence permits but who were engaged in certain specific activities would be issued with residence permits for limited periods and subject to periodic review. These include employees of government, city, municipal and local authorities and employees of various corporations and universities, domestic servants, watchmen, sanitary and conservancy labourers, farm and dock labourers, laundrymen and employees of companies in the private sector.

We are aware also that there are many in our country who are aliens but who were born here or have lived here for long periods. In a country with a population of 7 million there are at present over a million aliens in our midst.

I should also tell you that our prison statistics show that of the criminals who are either serving sentences in our prisons or who are persons known to have criminal records 90 per cent are aliens. Those who are familiar with the sociology of crime will find in this support for the sociological explanation of crime propounded by the French sociologist Durkheim. Our interest as a government is, however, the responsibility for protecting our nationals from such undesirable aliens.

Unfortunately, many aliens have left who would have qualified for residence permits if they had stayed to ask for them.

I may say also that six months ago we asked all foreign embassies to see to it that their nationals were recognised. Some paid scant attention to this, with the result that many aliens have now to rush to seek the necessary documents. They either misunderstood the law or were driven to panic through a misunderstanding or misinterpretation of the law, and so many of them have left.

It is erroneous to describe the order that our immigration regulations should be complied with as an order to quit. We had no such intention. The rush to Accra and the rush away have indeed created problems: people lying in the streets, people queuing up. We are human enough to be concerned about these problems. We are doing everything we can to mitigate the hardship caused to the aliens through panic or through delays in the enforcement of the regulations. By my order we have set up camps in Afienya, near Accra, where soldiers are providing food, services and medical aid for some of the aliens while they wait either to leave or to obtain residence permits. We have had similar camps erected in Dormaa, Aflao and Bawku, on the borders with neighbouring countries at terminals which most of the aliens are crossing on their way back to their respective countries.



My Government appreciates the anxiety that has been shown by our neighbours whose nationals have come in large numbers to reside in Ghana without fulfilling our immigration regulations. We are doing all we can to assist them. I can tell you that since last week over 20,000 residence permits have been issued and at present 2,000 are being issued daily. I should like to assure you that my Government does not contemplate a mass expulsion of aliens. As I told our National Assembly last Friday, our international policy is based upon a vision of the brotherhood of all nations and peoples. That vision derives inspiration from the faith that all nations and peoples, in spite of cultural and historical differences, belong to the same species of man, share a common humanity, and can dwell together in brotherly amity. We believe that human life cannot reach its highest level except in a world in which the barriers to friendship and brotherhood have been broken down.

We have taken note of the fact that the scientific and technological advances of our contemporary world not only increase the interdependence of the nations of the world but also compel and make possible closer co-operation among the nations. A rational reflection on the possibilities both for good and for evil opened to mankind by the knowledge and the power at present available to man make the efforts to build a world community based on brotherhood and on responsibility one for another the only alternative to destruction and annihilation. So we share the beliefs and hopes which motivated the founding of the United Nations and which provide the basis for its existence as an instrument for human understanding, human co-operation and world peace, as well as the reason for its specialised agencies such as the ILO.

However, you will appreciate, I hope, that in pursuing this policy our first and primary consideration as a government must be the interest of our own country within the context of our international obligations. As its Government we must, you will appreciate, put the interests of that country with which we have been charged above all others and then, secondly, we must of course consider also the welfare and peace of the world, on which our progress and prosperity ultimately depend. I assure you that in taking the step we have taken we were aware of what it might cost, but you will appreciate the fact—and many of you are in positions of responsibility—that there are times when the responsibilities you must discharge are painful, but when they are right you must get on with them.

From this you will see that my Government and I are in full sympathy with the ILO, its work, its objectives and its aspirations, and we pray that the world's recognition, symbolised by the award of the Nobel Peace Prize, will spur you on, each one of you, in your lives and in your self-giving service for others in the cause of social justice and world peace.

May the ILO be the forum for increasing human understanding and brotherliness. I wish you well. Thank you for inviting me to address you and for listening so tolerantly.

The PRESIDENT—Your Excellencies, fellow-delegates, Secretary-General, I am sure that I am interpreting the feelings of the whole Conference in thanking most deeply the Rt. Hon. Dr. K. A. Busia, Prime Minister of Ghana, for coming here to make the important statement we have just heard.

*(The Conference adjourned at 6 p.m.)*

## FIFTH SITTING

Thursday, 11 December 1969, 9.30 a.m.

*Presidents: Mr. Kaleo and Mr. Franck*

### SECOND REPORT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE: SUBMISSION AND ADOPTION<sup>1</sup>

The PRESIDENT—The first item on the agenda this morning is the second report of the Selection Committee. I call upon the Chairman, Mr. Amede, to submit the report.

Mr. AMEDE (*Government delegate, Ethiopia; Chairman of the Selection Committee*)—I have the honour to submit the second report of the Selection Committee, which has been distributed to delegates.

The report deals with changes in the composition of Committees. I commend the second report of the Selection Committee to the Conference for adoption.

The PRESIDENT—The report is now before the Conference for discussion. If there are no objections, I shall take it that the report is adopted by the Conference.

*(The report is adopted.)*

### REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL: DISCUSSION (*cont.*)

The PRESIDENT—The second item on the agenda is the continuation of the discussion of the Director-General's Report.

Mr. NKANSAH (*Government delegate, Ghana*)—First of all I wish, on behalf of the Ghana delegation, to extend a cordial welcome to all the delegates and observers attending this Conference and to say how happy we are to receive them in Ghana. I hope they will find it possible during the course of our deliberations to see something of the Ghanaian way of life.

In his Report to the Conference the Director-General, in his usual manner, has not only given an objective exposition and evaluation of the problems and needs of African countries in their development efforts but has also given some guidelines for the formulation and direction of policies at the national level for the advancement of economic and social progress for our peoples. I would venture to say, therefore, that his critical and masterly analysis of the economic and social conditions and his most valuable suggestions for the solution of the problems facing us are evidence of his vision and deep concern for the peoples of Africa.

There is no doubt that although African countries are faced with social and economic problems there is much evidence of our determination to put an end to the conditions which create poverty and want and to improve our conditions of life. There is a genuine endeavour among African countries to harness all their resources to accelerate economic

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<sup>1</sup> See Third Part, p. 185.

and social progress. Nevertheless, we find that the needs of our countries are so great that we cannot reach our desired goal as quickly as we would wish for lack of adequate capital and technical know-how, which are the necessary prerequisites for economic development.

In this regard it has to be pointed out that nations which have been generous in offering aid should be magnanimous in their thinking and should assist African countries more generously still. This would be a vital contribution to our development progress.

There is also a serious obstacle which richer countries place in the way of African countries in their attempt to diversify their economies. This is the tariff barrier policy. Such a policy puts a brake on our economic and social progress since it only makes the rich nations richer and the poor nations poorer. Therefore, if the rich nations wish sincerely to assist in the economic and social advancement of Africa it is imperative that there should be some flexibility in their tariff policies. In short, the question of the economic development of Africa has been engaging the attention, we hope, of some advanced nations of the world and it is up to them to create conditions which will provide the African countries with the necessary capital and technical know-how.

In Ghana limits are set to what we can do by the present state of our country's economy. However, the Government of Ghana, like the governments of many other countries in Africa, subscribes to the policy of full productive employment and believes that everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment. The overriding importance of the human factor in our development policies cannot be overemphasised. The question of the proper development and utilisation of our potential human resources is of strategic importance, since it is clear that the wealth of the nation depends mainly on the skills, knowledge and aptitudes of its peoples. Any wasteful or improper utilisation of our human resources constitutes an irretrievable loss to the country, both economically and socially.

Ghana has a population which is growing comparatively rapidly, at a rate of about 3 per cent. About 40 per cent of the population constitute the active labour force, and of these about a quarter are unemployed. About 60 per cent of the employed labour force is engaged in agriculture. The problem of unemployment has been unavoidably aggravated by the laying-off of a large number of redundant workers through the stabilisation programme of the Government. For various reasons, the economy has for some time been stagnant and has not been able to generate many more employment openings to absorb the teeming numbers of young persons turned out by the educational system. Excessive differentials and the distortion of wage scale structures are other factors which greatly inhibit further expansion of employment opportunities. Employment in agriculture also, for various reasons, has not expanded enough to absorb more labour.

Similar difficulties are experienced also in the construction and manufacturing industries. In actual fact, employment in construction has declined since 1966. The manufacturing industry also has been found in many cases to be capital- rather than labour-intensive, although the number of manufacturing establishments has increased over the years.

It is clear that there can be no single solution to the problem. Various factors have to be taken into consideration in dealing with the problem facing the country. The drift of educated unemployed persons from the rural into the urban areas has further aggravated the social and economic conditions in the latter areas. Urban unemployment is increasing. A careful analysis of the situation, however, brings to light the fact that the rural areas have not had their fair share of economic and social development. This fact has been realised and my Government is aware also that any meaningful economic and social development which would have a wider impact on the whole country should take into serious consideration the rural areas, in which the majority of the population

live and will continue to live for some time. Therefore our development plans and investment policies will have to take into account the employment creation aspects.

There is an urgent need to gear our educational and training facilities to meet as far as possible the needs of the employment market. At present, in addition to the technical institutions already existing in the country, a national vocational training project with ILO technical assistance has been established with the object of organising a national industrial vocational training institute and apprenticeship and in-plant training programmes, and improving our training and trade-testing standards.

In pursuance of these policies the Government will continue to make every effort to ensure the availability of the relevant data promptly and will try to strengthen the appropriate government agencies responsible for the collection of the required data. Similarly, the machinery for the co-ordination of the various efforts directed towards ensuring the satisfactory implementation of projects will be improved. The Government is also mindful of the necessity for ensuring a constant feedback of information on the implementation of projects so that remedial measures may be taken quickly to relieve strains and bottlenecks in the implementation of projects.

With the return to a popularly elected democratic civilian government, the country has been ushered into a new era in which it is hoped that much progress will be made, both economically and socially.

My Government is fully aware of the necessity of enlisting the willing and intelligent participation of the whole population in its development programme, since it is realised that government action alone cannot generate the requisite momentum for social and economic progress. In this connection my Government will ensure that responsible and autonomous organisations representative of the various sections of society are involved in making decisions on development issues and also in sharing the benefits of such development. Already my Government has embarked upon a programme of decentralisation in its administrative machinery to give effect to these policies.

In conclusion, I should like to reaffirm my Government's faith in the ILO in assisting the young nations of the world to achieve the conditions for sustained economic growth. While economic and social development is primarily a national responsibility, my Government subscribes to the idea that by aligning economic nationalism with a concert of bilateral, regional and international co-operation, we can achieve striking results from our economic and social development programmes.

*Interpretation from French:* Mr. N'DIAYE (*Government delegate, Senegal*)—I should like, first, Sir, to congratulate you on your election to the highest office of the Third African Regional Conference of the ILO. It was a particularly happy choice and a well-deserved tribute to your brilliant qualities, to which my colleague, the Minister of Labour and Social Legislation of the Federal Republic of Cameroon, referred the other day in such felicitous terms.

Senegal also wishes to congratulate and thank the Director-General of the ILO for his excellent Report, which is a document of lasting value and a precious instrument for our States in their march towards economic and social development.

My Government has greatly appreciated the constant work of the ILO in the field of economic and social development. In 1960, when most of our countries were reaching independence, the First African Regional Conference was already studying the needs of Africa and suggesting means which would enable the ILO to bring to this region its assistance in building up an economic and social policy aimed at human welfare. Other questions—labour-management relations, vocational training, human rights and the application of international standards—have been examined in their turn, both at Lagos in 1960 and at the Second African Regional Conference at Addis Ababa in 1964. A good many African countries have since made noteworthy progress in their struggle against poverty. Plans of economic and social development, which originally were only catalogues of priorities, have become the framework for the attainment of the

society of tomorrow. Institutions have been strengthened and the working masses have been granted a considerable voice in the bodies which are responsible for guiding and sustaining national action.

The ILO, for its part, has at the same time accomplished unprecedented work in our countries: it has guided our social policy by influencing our labour legislation; it has made interesting experiments of co-operation in agriculture; and it has obtained encouraging results in the field of employment and manpower, strengthening our labour administration services by means of the research undertaken and the valuable advice given by its experts. Its policy of decentralisation and the establishment of regional offices has made a big contribution to the achievement of all this progress.

The task of the ILO has not stopped there. The 53rd Session of the International Labour Conference approved unanimously the World Employment Programme, which is a great offensive against poverty and hardship with a view to promoting development in peace.

As a result of all this, the foundations for the harmonious development of the region have been laid. However, this progress does not hide the immensity of the task remaining to be done and the present and future difficulties which will have to be faced.

As the Director-General's Report relates to the economic and social development of the region, it will be desirable for each of us to give an accurate picture of the social and economic situation of each country and state its future programme, for the purpose of our meeting here is to compare our ideas and experiences in order better to understand what we can expect from human brotherhood.

First, what have we in Senegal done since those foundations were laid, what remains for us to do and, above all, what can we expect of the ILO and the other international agencies? Senegal has now reached its third four-year economic and social development plan, which began to operate on 1 July this year. Immediately before, we had sought to detect the main factors which impeded the full achievement of the two preceding plans, particularly the second plan. Of course, many facts inherent in underdevelopment acted as a brake on our action. I may quote climatic hazards, because the main crop of our country, groundnuts, requires a certain steady rainfall for optimum yield. In addition to drought there is the general phenomenon of the deterioration of the terms of trade; while again, the alignment of the price of our groundnuts to world rates, decided upon by the European Economic Community, also aggravated the situation. I should also remind you that the economic living space of Senegalese industry has been reduced because factories whose production was destined for a market comprising the eight territories of former French West Africa have been obliged to content themselves with our national market alone.

The rate of expansion of the gross domestic product has been affected by all these circumstances. It was in such a context that we have decided to take energetic action to enable us to attain the objectives defined in our third four-year economic and social development plan. We wish to reach an economic growth rate of at least 5.4 per cent per year on average. To achieve this we have decided to aim essentially at the development and diversification of agricultural output in order to improve the income of the rural population, which represents 75 per cent of the total population of the country.

This plan may be summarised as aiming at the following objectives: in the industries sector, to encourage new investment, to increase the value of our agricultural production (crops, livestock, fishing and forestry); to promote national undertakings and to engage in a joint policy with those responsible for them. As regards infrastructure we will aim, above all, at the proper maintenance of what already exists so as to make it as profitable as possible and to restrict investments in this field to those linked to production or to indispensable social measures. In the field of training, we aim to improve the quality of our human resources and to develop them by promoting a system and a programme of education and training which will be adequate and effective and in accordance with our needs and national requirements. Other objectives are to provide

health and sanitary services for the population, and to develop and methodically guide all our study and research programmes in order that science and technology may make a substantial contribution to our economic and social development.

However, our ambition is not restricted to the internal development of our own country. We should like, within the framework of African unity, to pursue at the regional level efforts aimed at real economic co-operation, both as regards trade and as regards the harmonisation of all the development plans of our countries, particularly those of the Organisation of Senegal Riparian States. As may be seen, in general the objectives defined in our third economic and social development plan are in conformity with the analysis made by the Director-General and with the conclusions of his Report on social policy in the region. We are justifiably glad of this.

The problems raised in the chapter of the Report which deals with rural development deserve greater attention. The major preoccupation of our country, as I have said, is the development of the rural sector. Since 1964 we have undertaken agrarian reform, bringing all land into the national domain. We have introduced rural extension services. We have established institutions such as the Economic and Social Council, on which the rural population is adequately represented. Rural co-operatives have been established and are managed by public bodies of an industrial or a commercial nature. The marketing of agricultural produce is ensured by a public body set up for this purpose.

We have undertaken the education of the rural masses by strengthening and reorganising the bodies responsible for rural promotion. Practical experiments in rural development have been undertaken in some villages with the aid of the United Nations Development Programme and the ILO.

Thus we have developed the framework required for the agricultural development of our nation, which is also in conformity with the Report. It still remains for us to accelerate this development and co-ordinate our efforts with those of our neighbours in the Senegal River area, in accordance with the Charter of the Organisation of Senegal Riparian States, with a view to attaining the wider objective of African unity.

The Director-General's Report refers to experiments in agrarian reform and development undertaken throughout the region. It would be of interest for the Conference to note those which have had the greatest success and which may serve as examples for all of us in our efforts to seek a harmonious path towards rural development. It would be helpful if we were to question each other on the most recent results obtained in any given field.

We would, in any case, support an interesting idea stated on page 38 of the Report, namely that "the modernisation of rural socio-economic institutions appears indeed as a prerequisite for rural development". This modernisation is described as an effective weapon against the rural exodus. We think it is also an effective weapon against unemployment, since most of the urban unemployed are people from rural areas who have gone to the urban areas to seek employment. It is in this rural context that we should place the greatest part of the World Employment Programme worked out by the ILO for the next decade.

The ILO should continue the studies which have been undertaken since the African States became independent. Those studies deal with various institutional aspects of rural development, as mentioned in the Report. Study and research will provide the fuller information necessary for the formulation of the most satisfactory programmes. We therefore recommended, last June, that in the case of Senegal the World Employment Programme be broken down into as many elements as there are administrative regions of the country. It seems to us that this will result in greater efficiency, in view of the difficulties already met with in working out an employment policy at the national level.

As regards international action, co-ordination between the activities of the various institutions seems more necessary than ever. As far as we are concerned, here, very briefly, is what we expect of the ILO: a structural reform to permit a greater repre-

sentation of the African States within the organs of the institution; a closer link between the regional offices and the officials responsible for labour and manpower problems; a strengthening of technical assistance, provided the experts are chosen from among the most competent, the most broad-minded and those most able to understand our problems; continuity in the experiments made by those experts, for an uncompleted project is often abandoned when the expert leaves and the new expert has to start the project from scratch; a strengthening of the action of the ILO in the rural areas, for most of our States have a peasant population of more than 70 per cent, and priority should be given to that sector.

To succeed in this the ILO should launch an appeal to the international agencies, as the Director-General has already done once, so that the Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa may receive the aid and support of all. It should also exert pressure on the great Powers and the international agencies so that at last there may be in the world equitable international commercial policies enabling the African countries, and other underdeveloped countries, to increase their exports of goods to the industrialised countries at prices fixed by common agreement.

All this would require the ILO to be the co-ordinator of all the social measures undertaken by all the international agencies on behalf of the underdeveloped States.

Lastly, the final chapter of the Director-General's Report, dealing with human rights and international labour standards, calls for some observations on our part. We agree with the Director-General when he says: "... social change does not, of course, necessarily lead to social progress unless it is based on, and continually inspired by, a respect for the freedom, equality and dignity of man." In the name of these principles and those of the Declaration of Philadelphia, our country has always condemned *apartheid* as practised in South Africa and Rhodesia and anywhere where this institution, which is the greatest social injustice of all, still exists.

We recognise, with the Director-General, that the full application of the international labour Conventions concerning social matters may help to promote a policy of harmonious economic and social development, and the interest of these instruments has not escaped us. Senegal ratified in 1968 the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958 (No. 111); the Social Policy (Basic Aims and Standards) Convention, 1962 (No. 117), and the Employment Policy Convention, 1964 (No. 122), have been ratified by my country also and have already begun to be applied, as our first reports to the ILO under the Constitution bear witness. As the Director-General suggests, the Conference should invite member States which have not yet ratified those instruments to re-examine them with a view to future ratification.

Of course, certain difficulties may hamper ratification and strict application of these instruments but, in this context, the system of direct contact instituted by the ILO should be encouraged, and the regional offices could play an effective role in this regard. Such contacts should be based on genuine co-operation aimed at giving the best advice, so that a Convention ratified by a member State which meets difficulties in incorporating the provisions of the Convention in its national legislation may be applied in a flexible manner without offending accepted opinions and established practice.

I am sorry to have taken up so much of your time. I should like to close my speech by drawing your attention to the importance of the resolutions and decisions about to be taken at this Third African Regional Conference. Of course, the evolution of the African Continent must be along the path of modernisation, as any objective analysis of the situation will indicate. But that modernisation should certainly not be to the detriment of our traditional institutions or of our culture. Modernisation, if it were mere imitation and patching-up, would certainly be a failure. Africa has its own personality, to which regard must be had in the elaboration of any policy intended to ensure the well-being and prosperity of all our social classes.

*Interpretation from French:* Mr. KANYAMAHANGA (*Government delegate, Rwanda*)—For me it is an honour and great joy to be able to speak here during this Third African Regional Conference of the ILO, which I consider is of special importance for the African world of labour in view of the topicality of its agenda.

First of all, I must take this opportunity to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your unanimous election. I should like also to present to the people of Ghana, through you, the greetings of the people and the Government of Rwanda.

I must also congratulate the Director-General of the ILO on the excellent and concrete Report which he has submitted for discussion. My congratulations also go to his outstanding colleagues, who have spared no effort with a view to the best possible preparation of this Conference and who expect us to put forward objective criticism of their work, because this will guide our governments with regard to economic and social development.

The Director-General's Report is a document rich in information concerning the economic and social development of the African Continent. The previous speakers have stated, in very brilliant, clear and concise terms, what they consider to be the essential points in the Report, and they have been able to recapitulate the specific situations in their respective countries. I know that I cannot in any way equal their eloquence, but please allow me to speak for some minutes on the Report.

The different economic and social situations which the Report outlines by using the most recent statistical information oblige me to dwell for a moment on the early chapters. My Government has found that, despite its efforts and those of other States, its financial capacity is still very low and cannot enable us to contemplate a happier economic and social future unaided. The multiple reasons for this dark future are clearly stated in the Report and we do not need to revert to these at great length.

Nevertheless, despite these statistical data, which do not point to more promising prospects, my Government feels that any declaration of incapacity to overcome these difficulties would be dishonourable; like your governments it therefore devotes unceasing attention to the most active measures with a view to achieving an economic take-off that would be rapid and continuous and that would ensure that our populations enjoy a reliable, constant and progressive improvement in their conditions of life. The task is enormous, the road ahead is difficult and long, the efforts to be undertaken are very great, but we take the view that "nothing venture, nothing win". In order to attain this aim, various banking and social institutions have been created by my Government, with the aim of helping citizens to participate in the economic and social development of their nations. The results are not yet tangible but we feel certain that in a more or less near future specific results will appear.

My Government is convinced that economic and social development cannot be achieved without the full support and participation of our population in the general and national effort. That is the general line followed by it in economic and social matters.

National development, in all areas of national activity, must be undertaken with the population, by the population and for the population. This is my Government's approach to the problem.

Dealing with the problem of rural development, the Report gives us a faithful picture of the present situation. In most of our countries, alongside the general effort regarding industrial and commercial crops, there is also cultivation on a very wide scale of traditional crops which cannot provide the necessary standards of welfare for those concerned. The African population being, for the most part, agricultural, our States have taken appropriate action to improve the conditions of peasants by bringing them into the modern social and economic circuit.

In my country, since independence, economic and social policy in the rural sector has been one of the major concerns of the Government, which appreciated that the rural population could not improve its situation unless the Government were directly



and wholeheartedly to concern itself with their interests. Therefore, national community development services have been created and training centres for the staff of these services have also been established throughout the country. All the personnel of these various services have the task of preparing the rural population, both men and women, to understand and accept the instructions concerning the development of their environment. The means utilised include rural extension, adult literacy programmes and training for women and girls in the social centres. Co-operative organisers and those responsible for youth services have the task of bringing home to the population the need to associate themselves in the economic development of their world and to feel involved in the general effort undertaken with a view to the development of the whole nation.

With the constant, firm desire to help the peasant to improve his income and his living standards, my Government has taken courageous action, which has now proved successful. For example, land has been drained and improved and made available to the peasant population. The Government has promoted the introduction and diversification of industrial and commercial crops, which it is proposed to produce on a large scale. It has not underestimated the problem of the small extent of the national territory and the rapid population increase. In order to provide work for peasants and improve their standard of living it has developed and improved certain regions previously uninhabitable and has split them up into agricultural holdings. Many peasants have thus been enabled to acquire land which they can work and which is now considered sufficient for their livelihood.

We agree with the Director-General regarding the institutions to be established in order to bring about rapid, integrated rural development for all members of the peasant population, thanks to such methods as those I have mentioned above.

Turning to the chapter on urban development and social change, we also note that the Director-General deals with the problem in concrete terms and gives an accurate picture of the present situation in our towns and urban centres. The principal causes of the rapid urbanisation of Africa, according to the Report, and the various consequences are those which we ourselves see every day.

My Government wishes to stabilise society and in order to do so it has had to take measures against begging, vagrancy and idleness. It has taken action to prevent people from living in urban centres and in the chief towns of the provinces if they have not found remunerative work within a month or if they have been unable to prove to the satisfaction of the authorities that they can provide for their own needs. The surveillance is very strict and no person without a residence permit may remain in our urban areas, under pain of sanction; periodic inspections by the authorities prevent idle people from living without working, or committing offences to the prejudice of the urban population as a whole. My Government is also contemplating other measures aimed at correcting social inequalities and at putting an end to juvenile delinquency, thus avoiding the presence of social misfits who would be a threat to the future of our society.

Since we have abundant manpower, which at present almost totally lacks vocational skills, my Government proposes to draw up labour regulations designed to prevent and eliminate the flight from the land, with the threat it represents to urban centres. What we want to do is to prohibit the recruitment of manpower, since each region has plenty of manpower. We want to prevent adolescents working in certain branches of industry and night work by women, in accordance with the international labour Conventions on the subject. With regard to wages, we also wish to establish a standard vocational classification of workers and fix minimum interoccupational guaranteed wages which will be the same for all sectors of the economy.

Nevertheless, the problem of youth is serious and difficult to solve through regulations alone. Therefore, joint action at the Africa level is needed and international assistance is also necessary. We feel certain that the ILO will study the most appropriate

ways of helping us so that we can resolve the problem of young people, stabilise them as is necessary, and find useful and productive work for them.

Referring to the chapter on participation by employers and workers in the preparation and implementation of national development programmes, we feel that such collaboration is necessary for the reasons of efficiency referred to in the Director-General's Report. The association of the three social partners in the establishment of a viable social policy has always been a matter of particular and constant concern to my Government, and, I assume, to those of other African States. Certain principles which promote well-informed and effective collaboration are proclaimed in our various constitutions and they are stated in explicit terms in our various labour codes and other social legislation.

Nevertheless, for certain countries represented here a great deal still has to be done in order to obtain effective participation by the workers. In this respect we hope that the ILO will greatly intensify its workers' education programmes so that they can truly give to workers a sense of their responsibilities and enable them to discuss all matters referring to economic and social planning. I hope that the discussion at this Conference will help towards the solution of this problem. Hitherto certain countries—in particular my own—have not received substantial aid from the ILO which would help the workers to avail themselves fully of the opportunity to participate in national development plans and to secure their full support for the success of those plans. Therefore, we believe that rapid action should be undertaken on behalf of the workers in countries such as mine, so that the three social partners may collaborate and discuss effectively in the interests of all.

I shall now refer very briefly to the last chapter of the Report, concerning human rights and international labour standards. At the 52nd Session of the International Labour Conference all the delegates who spoke on the Report of the Director-General explained what had been done in their various countries with regard to basic human rights, namely freedom, equality, security and dignity, so that I do not think I need revert to this in great detail. I merely wish to assure the Director-General that the international labour Conventions guaranteeing human rights which have not been ratified by my country are nevertheless applied in practice. Ratification is sometimes delayed by a single provision which perhaps cannot be implemented in full.

I cannot close my contribution to the discussion of this Report without referring briefly to the other questions on the agenda of our Conference. We noted with satisfaction the meticulous care which went into the preparation of the documents relating to labour administration and employment policy. These two questions are of considerable importance for the economic and social development of our States and we sincerely hope that they will be dealt with and discussed with the same meticulous care. The conclusions resulting from this discussion should be a binding obligation on our States, if not *in toto* then at least in their general outline. Our resources of all kinds are too unequal and we therefore recommend that there should be flexibility in the drafting of resolutions and conclusions on these two points. It would be sad if these resolutions were to be upheld only in our declarations here in Accra and if when we return home we find ourselves incapable of following them up in the appropriate way, thereby proving the value of our work.

I wish the Third African Regional Conference the fullest success and the best results in improving rapidly and genuinely the situation of our peoples.

Mr. GEBEYEHU (*Employers' delegate, Ethiopia*)—It is an inestimable privilege for me, as Employers' delegate of Ethiopia, to express to the President of this Conference our hearty congratulations on his election to the Chair of the Third African Regional Conference—a conference to which the whole of Africa attaches great importance.

On behalf of the Employers' group, I should like to associate myself with all the delegates who have preceded me by expressing again to the Government and the

people of Ghana all our gratitude for the warm welcome they have extended to us. I should like also to congratulate the Director-General of the ILO and the entire staff of the Office for the objective and excellent Report submitted to this Conference. The action of the Director-General in presenting such a timely report is highly commendable and I am convinced that African countries will benefit much from a thorough and objective analysis of its contents.

Although every one of us desires betterment and well-being for the whole of mankind, the hardest and most critical task that awaits us here in Africa is the social and economic development of our peoples in particular.

I now come to the discussion of the Director-General's Report. The Director-General's lucid and practical examination of the needs of social progress, for which the African countries crave, shows a profound sense of analysis. The Report is not a challenge to African governments in a negative sense but, in my view, is an instrument or supplementary plan of operation for national development programmes. Social and economic achievement is a sign of the political success for which every government strives. Africa today is no longer a dark continent seeking all light from the outside world. Although the task is difficult, in different parts of the continent concerted action is taken to generate development in the social and economic fields. However, it is essential to develop the most suitable methods of work, which can be adapted to local realities, by avoiding all unnecessary waste of time or physical effort.

In Chapter I of his Report the Director-General reminds us that social values and social behaviour, human ability and political circumstances, largely determine the possibilities of economic and social growth. Hence great efforts are to be made to create a climate for a change of attitudes, especially in rural areas, where the bulk of the population of Africa lives. Human resources constitute the great factor in economic development. In order to make the best possible use of the economically active population more action must be taken in Africa, particularly in the rural areas, by preparing a work-oriented labour force for the better production of goods.

In his Report the Director-General has stressed the seriousness of the rural exodus that aggravates the unemployment situation in urban areas. The solution of this grave problem lies in a balanced programme of development in this particular case, since rural development constitutes an important part of the over-all socio-economic growth, whereby the increasing drift of people can be checked. To this end, practical measures for rural development are rightly listed in the Report.

The Director-General's Report, after stating in the fullest gravity the problems of Africa as regards social progress, calls for the co-operation of governments, employers and workers in united action for development.

On this special occasion, I should like to express on behalf of the employers of Ethiopia our deep satisfaction that the Ethiopian Government has provided every opportunity for employers to play a role in the national socio-economic development programmes. The Government has given to the Federation of Employers of Ethiopia full support and sincere recognition as a respectable partner in the social and economic fields, in which employers also are genuinely interested and ready to co-operate. Thus the employers of Ethiopia are represented in national bodies of a tripartite nature and have already made valuable contributions to the development of amicable relations between the Government and employers and between workers and employers. The Federation of Employers of Ethiopia, which unites the various industrial, commercial and agricultural undertakings, has become the best medium at present available for expressing the permanent views of employers concerning social and economic development. The employers in Ethiopia also maintain close co-operation with the Confederation of Ethiopian Labour Unions, and with this in view both sides participate in private consultative and arbitrating committees.

Referring to another item on the agenda of this Conference, I should like to stress that the problem of unemployment is still the most serious problem in Africa and that

positive action must be taken to improve this grave situation. As I said earlier, the solution of this serious problem will have to be found to a greater extent in rural development, by means of which productive employment can be achieved. In my view, agro-industrial development programmes and co-operative systems are the most practical and suitable methods of rural development.

As regards technical co-operation in Africa, the ILO's effort is greatly appreciated and its assistance programmes, especially in the field of vocational and management training, must continue.

The Federation of Employers of Ethiopia sincerely believes in such types of schemes and it is always ready to co-operate with the Government in the smooth running and proper development of such programmes. Evidence of this is the participation of employers in the National Advisory Council for Vocational and Technical Education.

It is not my intention to take up much of the time of the Conference. Thus, I should like to conclude by giving my fullest support to the suggestions contained in the Director-General's Report, especially regarding the development of the rural programme in Africa.

*(Mr. Franck takes the Chair.)*

Mr. LAKIDI (*Minister of Labour, Uganda*)—It is my pleasure to bring to you all the fraternal greetings and wishes for a successful Conference from His Excellency the President, Dr. A. Milton Obote, the Government and people of the Republic of Uganda. Permit me also to congratulate Mr. Kaleo, on my own behalf and on behalf of the entire delegation of Uganda, upon his election to the high office of the presidency of this Third African Regional Conference. In so doing I am not just following a polite tradition, as my delegation is convinced that his wise and experienced leadership will guide the Conference to a successful conclusion.

Furthermore, I wish to express our profound gratitude to the Government and people of Ghana for the kind hospitality they have so generously extended to my delegation.

At this juncture, allow me to pay special tribute to the ILO for its untiring efforts in its search for peace through social justice. It is in recognition of this that the ILO has for the first time in its history won the most coveted Nobel Peace Prize. For this noteworthy achievement permit me to pay special congratulations to the Organisation. It is my sincere hope that the ILO and its member States will rededicate themselves in a concerted manner by striving to champion the cause of peace through social justice which remains our goal.

As the ILO is aware, and perhaps some delegates, my country had offered to play host to this Conference; but the Governing Body of the ILO decided that it be held here. I wish to assure the ILO and delegates that Uganda still registers her interest in hosting the Conference and will still be pleased to play host to the next such Conference.

I note with appreciation and satisfaction the Director-General's comprehensive Report in which he has reviewed social change and social progress in Africa. I, however, wish to make some observations on some parts of the Report. The Government of Uganda appreciates the ILO's interest in Africa, and particularly its policy of decentralisation through which offices have been set up in various parts of this continent. This, no doubt, has made the Organisation more felt in Africa and has also rendered its policies more effective.

It is very important to note that ILO technical assistance to Africa has risen from some 10 per cent in 1959 to around 40 per cent in 1968. We in Uganda are very grateful for this assistance, as part of it has gone to us. To mention a few projects in which we have had assistance, the ILO has, *inter alia*, assisted us in establishing the Management Training and Advisory Centre which provides training for managers, entrepreneurs and skilled workers for industrial development. We also have the Tannery and Leathercraft Training Centre which provides training to Ugandans in this field, and the vocational/

industrial training and rehabilitation centres which provide training for the disabled. In addition, a large number of Ugandans have benefited from courses provided at the Turin International Centre for Advanced Technical and Vocational Training since 1965. It is our sincere hope that this assistance will continue to increase because, as my fellow-delegates will agree, this assistance is still badly needed by developing countries.

The question of employment policy in Africa is an important one, for, as the Director-General rightly notes, employment opportunities, in particular for African young people, are very limited. Unemployment is an acute problem which cannot be solved without adequate resources with which, unfortunately, most African countries are not sufficiently endowed. It is an area in which the ILO could perhaps involve itself by way of technical co-operation to help us in our endeavours to solve the problem.

In Uganda, we have tackled this problem by incorporating in our Second Five-Year Development Plan (1966-71) a policy dealing with employment. This policy aims at creating employment opportunities in the form of paid jobs and also other opportunities in agricultural undertakings which form the major part of our income and our economy as a whole.

As regards the distribution of income, Uganda's policy is fair distribution of its wealth to all its citizens. To achieve this, the Government has declared a policy in the "Common Man's Charter" which sets out the ways and means of ensuring equitable distribution of the country's wealth to all its citizens, especially the common man.

On rural development, Uganda is well aware of the urgent need to develop the rural areas, as this could be one of the ways of checking the influx of rural people into urban areas. We believe that the cause of this rural exodus is lack of adequate social services in the rural areas. The Uganda Government believes that such services should be extended to these areas. The Government has therefore embarked on building hospitals and schools and providing other social amenities in rural areas. It is also our policy to improve communications to facilitate easy access to rural areas.

Co-operative organisations in rural areas are also encouraged in Uganda. As a predominantly agricultural country, we have co-operative movements which are mainly intended to help the farmers market their products. To this end a new, separate Ministry of Marketing and Co-operatives has been created. Other co-operatives have also been formed to cater for the livestock industry. It is, however, still difficult to achieve our objectives under our policy of rural development because of lack of adequate resources, as I have said.

Regarding urban growth, Uganda realises the problems encountered in providing housing and other social services. As I have already pointed out, we are aware that among the causes of overcrowding in the towns is lack of adequate financial resources and social services in the rural areas, where most of our population lives. We hope our policy of extending these services will help to alleviate the situation.

With regard to employers' and workers' organisations, we in Uganda believe that they too have an important role to play in decision-making for economic development. It was in recognition of this fact that employers' and workers' representatives were included in the working parties which drew up our Second Five-Year Development Plan. We also recognise that freedom of association and the right to organise are necessary media through which workers' grievances can be effectively and amicably settled. In this connection, Uganda has ratified the Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention, 1949 (No. 98).

The Government of Uganda is convinced that sound industrial relations form the cornerstone of economic development. It was because of this conviction that my country agreed to be host to an ILO seminar on conciliation and arbitration of industrial disputes, which has recently ended in Kampala. We appreciate the interest the ILO is taking in this field and its assistance, particularly in the improvement of workers' education. We also welcome the assurance the Director-General has given in his

Report that the ILO will continue to assist in the promotion of occupational organisations.

With regard to human rights, Uganda strongly condemns the policy of *apartheid* practised by the Republic of South Africa. We also condemn all forms of discrimination anywhere in the world. It is disappointing to see that, despite resolutions that have been passed against its *apartheid* policy, the Government of South Africa has not taken any steps to improve the conditions of life and work but has instead made the situation worse.

Uganda still supports the principle of setting international labour standards. Those standards have progressively played an important role in the improvement of the conditions of the working population. We have therefore so far ratified twenty ILO Conventions and accepted a number of Recommendations, the provisions of which have been incorporated in our legislation, and some are closely followed in practice.

In conclusion I wish to pledge my Government's confidence in the role played by this Organisation within the framework of the United Nations and in its objectives, as well as its confidence in the Organization of African Unity.

*Interpretation from French: Mr. EL KETTANI (Government delegate, Morocco)*—It is a pleasure for me to express to the President, on behalf of the Moroccan delegation, my heartfelt congratulations on the confidence which the delegates to this Third African Regional Conference of the ILO have shown in unanimously entrusting to him the presidency of this session. I also present my congratulations to the International Labour Organisation and its various bodies on the very lofty and honourable distinction bestowed upon it by the Nobel Peace Prize Committee. It is right and fitting that this Organisation should have been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, because it has always worked in the interests of the peace and welfare of the whole of mankind.

The Moroccan delegation pays tribute to the constructive work carried out by the ILO throughout the world and more particularly in the various parts of the African Continent, and it supports the proposals contained in the reports submitted for study by this Conference. Undoubtedly, efforts relating to development fall within a field which is of concern not solely to governments but also to occupational organisations, which must also participate in the implementation of those efforts at both the national and the international level, as the Director-General has repeatedly pointed out in his Report.

Regarding the problems of employment, which are of very particular interest to the delegations here present, Morocco associates itself with the concern felt by the ILO and the African governments in this connection. Accordingly, I endorse the proposals submitted to us with regard to a jobs and skills programme for Africa. The proposal for the creation by the ILO of an African employment task force consisting of experts in the various disciplines involved will enable our countries to carry out the employment policies which they have laid down. Co-ordination and standardisation of our resources and the intervention of such a force would make it possible for us to attain our employment aims.

At the same time it is essential that a major reserve of technical skilled manpower should be constituted and that the exodus of manpower to the industrialised countries should be prevented, in order to preserve our national heritage and economic independence and to safeguard long-term continuity of development of the African countries.

In view of the present situation of the developing countries, particularly those of the African Continent, Morocco places its hopes in the intensification of technical co-operation from the ILO. ILO projects for Africa should therefore be taken fully into consideration and applied as intensively and rapidly as possible.

Morocco has attached great importance to vocational training, both by state establishments and by employers within their various enterprises. Conscious of the

importance of the problems touching upon employment and human resources, my country has included in its development plans precise targets which will enable it to reduce unemployment and to make the greatest possible use of resources.

This is why the rural sector remains an area of particular priority in the Moroccan development plans. The agricultural Charter launched by His Majesty Hassan II, King of Morocco, will open new prospects in the agricultural sector and particularly for those who depend on it for their livelihood. Thus the interest shown in the rural world will permit us to improve the living conditions of agricultural workers, because this is a necessary condition for their social advancement.

As pointed out in the Director-General's Report, Morocco is convinced of the need for participation of the occupational organisations in the preparation and execution of development plans. It has attached particular importance within its Five-Year Plan for 1968-72 to the initiative of national occupational organisations. It has been noted with satisfaction that this participation has been beneficial to the achievement of targets, thanks to the collaboration and comprehension shown by the organisations concerned.

Those are briefly the comments and observations which I had to put forward with regard to the Report before this Conference.

As you all know, 1969 marked an event of great significance in the world of labour, namely the fiftieth anniversary of the ILO. Morocco has devoted very important celebrations to this noteworthy occurrence. A programme of events was established and carried out throughout the year. Among so many instances I shall refer only to the national occupational medicine meetings, to which the ILO sent an eminent specialist in the field.

I do not want to abuse your valuable time and oblige you to listen to a long speech, but before I conclude I should like to thank the Director-General of the ILO and his collaborators for their relentless efforts in favour of the African countries. I also thank the Government of Ghana, which has provided all the facilities needed for this Third African Regional Conference to be held in its country.

Mr. EL ASHMAWY (*representative of the League of Arab States*)—On behalf of the League of Arab States and in my own name, I present our sincere congratulations to the President on his election. I wish him success in his mission and pray that the Almighty may lead him—and us with him—to the reality of welfare and prosperity for peace-loving people all over the world. May He bless the work of this Conference and help us to carry out all that we wish for its successful conclusion.

My thanks go to the Government of Ghana for its reception and hospitality, for its attention and auspices since our arrival in Accra.

Let me express also my sincere thanks to the Director-General of the International Labour Office for having given once more an opportunity to the League of Arab States to participate in this Conference, as he did for the preceding two African Regional Conferences.

The existence of six Arab countries in Africa, the analogy of their conditions, the problems, the common hopes subsisting between them as a group and the liberated African countries as another group—all this has made co-operation between these two assemblages an imperative, natural and necessary matter. This co-operation was revealed as unmistakably clear, firm, solid and strong in the exchange of points of view between the Arab and the African Ministers of Labour on a great number of subjects concerning labour and dealing with the aims of the ILO in the field of labour. I foresee that this co-operation will soon lead to a much closer relationship between the League of Arab States and the Organization of African Unity as they are two regional organisations which work in related fields of action. There is more than one bond between their member States. I would add that it is bound to happen that the Arab Labour Organization, which has just been established, will wish to co-operate with the group

of African States represented by this Organisation in view of the analogy of their conditions, of their related problems and of their common interests which are the real inspiration for closer bonds between them.

The subject dealt with by the Director-General in his Report in connection with the growth of towns and what follows—the phenomenon of social changes in urban growth—merits more concern and attention, regardless of the reasons which lead to that irregular growth affecting the towns of Africa. It is incumbent upon the States and organisations concerned to start planning immediately and to search for practical solutions to this substantial problem. I may mention here that the Department of Social and Labour Affairs of the League of Arab States has committed itself to dealing with this subject and has decided to study it at the Fourteenth Social and Labour Affairs Conference. We express our gratitude to the Government of the Libyan Arab Republic for its decision to be the host of this Conference in 1970. The League of Arab States cordially invites the ILO to participate positively at this Conference.

In his valuable Report submitted to this Conference the Director-General has not failed to insist once more upon the necessity of guaranteeing human rights, for without them neither the ILO nor any other organisation working for peace can achieve its task. The ILO Constitution and the Declaration of Philadelphia contain declarations condemning racial discrimination which do not accord with the wrong logic applied not only in Africa but in other parts of the world where human rights have been ignored or have been violated, for instance in South Africa, Arab Palestine, Rhodesia and Viet-Nam.

At the end of this year, when we are celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the ILO and the award to the ILO of the Nobel Peace Prize as a truly universal appreciation of the efforts made by this worthy Organisation, I should like those who, like myself, are moved by a sincere love of peace, to agree to condemn all aggression and to try to do everything to combat it, not to allow a people's pride and dignity to be violated, or to allow the people of a certain country to be transformed by oppressive and tyrannical force into dispersed groups of refugees and displaced persons driven from their own land and homes. Without such an agreement there can be no true peace and, at the worst, man will lose confidence in the call of peace.

Mr. MUTUGI (*Government delegate, Kenya*)—It is a great pleasure for me to have the opportunity of addressing this Third African Regional Conference. I wish to record the thanks of my Government to the ILO for convening this Conference and to convey the best wishes of Kenya to the Government of Ghana for having agreed to be our host. I should also, in the same manner as previous speakers, like to congratulate the President on his election to the Chair of this Conference.

The Director-General's Report gives an interesting review of some of the most serious challenges which today face Africa and, indeed, some of the problems facing Kenya have been reflected in a way that is both constructive and challenging. The Report deals with many important issues which will no doubt form a useful basis for discussion. There is no doubt in our minds that the work of this Conference will be of the greatest significance to those of us whose destiny is in Africa.

It is indeed unfortunate that the economic growth of many African States during the years following independence has been relatively slow, amounting to only about 1 per cent per annum per capita, as mentioned in the Report. During the period 1964-68, the annual average growth of the Kenya economy is estimated to have been about 6 per cent, which, on average, leaves an increase in living standards of approximately 3 per cent per head annually.

We agree fully with the Director-General that future growth in productive investment largely depends on the ability to formalise or institutionalise the existing saving potential in African countries. The development of our countries to a very large extent will depend on a highly disciplined self-help effort aided by the public sector which is



geared to create supporting programmes to strengthen vital aspects of the over-all development effort.

In this connection, it is indeed interesting to note from the Report that cottage and medium-sized industries account for more than nine-tenths of the total number of industrial units in Africa as a whole. The question is, therefore, to what extent it is possible to build our future industrialisation as well as our rural development on this basis.

The industrialisation of Kenya—and I believe this applies to most of Africa—has, as far as I see it, been very much dependent on the formation of a large number of isolated industrial pockets. Broadly speaking, therefore, there seems to be a choice either of creating a number of new industrial developments or, alternatively, of enlarging industrial pockets which have already been created. In our opinion, it is important to continue to multiply the number of growth centres and not only to “deepen” those already existing. This proposition is based on a number of reasons, particularly the desirability of avoiding the existing migration of unemployed and underemployed to the already overpopulated urban areas, thus avoiding the kind of experience which has demonstrated the difficulty of starting development in a region once it has been allowed to become backward. That approach will, naturally, shift emphasis to small-scale industries, which my Government is encouraging.

It is certainly correct to state, as has been done by the Director-General in his Report, that the African countries have made a particularly great effort during the present decade to achieve progress in the field of education. Every African country needs to think out a strategy for the development of its human resources which ought to be based mainly on the state of its development and on the opportunities available for its advancement. However, some difficult choices will have to be made, such as what priority should be given to general education compared to vocational and technical training. In Kenya, we have for some time been discussing which changes should be made in the curricula of our primary and secondary schools in order to ensure that the subjects taught are more relevant to our present state of development. The introduction of secondary vocational and technical schools as well as experimentation with low-cost pre-vocational training institutions in the rural areas is an encouraging sign which shows that my country is moving in the right direction in order to reshape our education and training systems according to the needs of our development effort. Unfortunately we are already faced with a huge school-leaver problem which will continue to grow for some years independently of the above-mentioned changes. Annually about 100,000 primary-school leavers in Kenya have the choice of either joining the increasing number of unemployed living in or around the urban areas or looking for employment in the rural areas. To this number can be added a rapidly increasing annual number of secondary-school leavers who cannot find wage employment. The main answer to this unhappy situation seems clearly to be that, besides the above-mentioned changes in the education and training given to our youth, increased emphasis will have to be laid on the employment objectives in economic planning and policy making.

Although the proportion of the population in Kenya living in the urban areas is still very small, the problems caused by urbanisation are rapidly becoming one of the most serious challenges facing us today. Unfortunately, urbanisation in our countries means not only the growth of the modern sector to embrace an increasing number of productively employed people but also the rapid growth of visible unemployment, as well as the growth of frustration and misery among an increasing number of people. The only possible answer to this unhappy situation is to try to keep the surplus hands away from our towns and cities.

It is indeed true that, as the Director-General states, the vast majority of African people are living in the agricultural sector. At present there are over a million farmers and pastoralists in Kenya. The average income per farm is about £100 per annum, of

which rather less than £25 per annum is in cash. This picture indicates clearly the important role the agricultural sector will have to play for the main part of the rapidly growing population. The fact that rural employment as well as self-employment must be the major source of extra employment opportunities is one of the reasons for which we attach so much importance to balanced and diversified rural development in Kenya. Only by speeding up economic development in the rural areas can we hope to mobilise the unutilised development potentialities existing in this part of our economy, thus increasing the over-all economic growth, which would at the same time put a brake on people leaving the rural areas and going to urban areas.

I am happy to note the importance which the Director-General's Report attaches to the participation of employers and workers in national development. There is, however, a need for a change in the attitudes of some employers and workers if their participation is to be effective. These very important groups must take a much wider view and consider how they can participate more effectively in the economic and social development of their own countries. If participation is to be more than an empty slogan, however, there should be a continuous exchange of views between the government on the one hand and employers and workers on the other. I am proud to be able to say that this exchange of views has been going on to an increasing extent in Kenya since we achieved our independence.

Turning to the subject of international standards, the Director-General stresses in his Report the need for all African States which are Members of the ILO periodically to re-examine all Conventions with a view to their ratification. As an example of a Convention which is only ratified by relatively few African countries mention is made of the Employment Policy Convention, 1964 (No. 122). Although the basic obligation of any international instrument is to provide guiding standards in general, in our opinion the wording of the Convention does not seem to be sufficiently flexible to make it possible for most developing countries to ratify it.

Finally, may I add that it is most appropriate that the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the International Labour Organisation is brought to a good climax by the Third African Regional Conference and in particular by the presentation of the Nobel Peace Prize to the ILO. I should like also to congratulate the ILO on the good work it has done to enable this Conference to take place as a follow-up of the Second African Regional Conference, which was held in Addis Ababa in 1964.

*Interpretation from French: Mr. KABORÉ (Government delegate, Upper Volta)*—In the name of the delegation of Upper Volta, which I am leading at this Third African Regional Conference of the ILO, I am happy to express to the President our warmest congratulations on his election to the Chair of this Conference. We are convinced that the proceedings will be fully successful thanks to the competence with which he is conducting them.

I should like now to say that the Report of the Director-General which is before us for examination is so brilliant and so complete that one is rather embarrassed at having to speak on it for fear of perpetrating either useless or even absurd repetitions or shallow and perhaps unjustified criticisms. However, we are met here to seek solutions for the social and economic problems of Africa, and this obliges each of us to reflect on the difficult problems facing our continent and to seek and propose means of escaping from its underdeveloped condition.

As has already been stated, the documents communicated to us show only too clearly how the poor increase in the gross domestic product of the continent is almost entirely absorbed by population increase. Our balance of payments is adverse and the worsening of the terms of trade has accentuated, with the result that we are becoming more and more deeply indebted. On land which is at times becoming exhausted, an underemployed population, mostly peasant in character, is almost incapable of saving, and national investment remains in most cases almost nil. Facing this heavy debit side,

the assets consist rather of possibilities than of certainties. The most favoured among us have vast unexploited wealth in minerals or power; others have land still virgin or under-utilised, and unemployed reserves of human capital.

However, this debit balance is incomplete if we neglect certain human consequences of underdevelopment which, although given less emphasis in the reports before us, are nevertheless extremely grave. I should like to stress, in particular, the growing relative impoverishment of the mass of our population in relation to that part of the nation which is more or less integrated in modern life. On the one hand, civil servants, wage-earners and some traders who are aware, directly or indirectly, of the material benefits afforded by consumer societies, wish to participate in them and succeed more or less; on the other hand, we have the mass of the population—mainly rural—for which these advantages are inaccessible.

Of course, this cleavage itself remains ambiguous. The self-interest of the favoured classes of our population at present conditions only their political behaviour. Even though the members of these classes, which have the real power, may be induced by a natural instinct to make that situation permanent, by maintaining, despite occasional crises, the structures which ensure their supremacy as privileged consumers, in other respects they remain above all just African farmers. In particular, they accede to public office as a kind of chieftainship which brings them status and advantage without a counterpart in the shape of performance. In other words, the psycho-sociological consequences of underdevelopment are now aggravating underdevelopment itself.

An improvement, even moderate, in the general conditions of life of the population obviously requires an increase in the general productivity of all the workers. But such an increase, even apart from the enormous economic difficulties to be overcome, is hampered by the inertia of the mass of the people for which the supplementary effort asked for often seems out of proportion to the additional income which can be reasonably expected from it, all the more because this surplus effort will enable such people to obtain only a ridiculously small quantity of the imported products which they are beginning to desire.

Worse, this passivity of the masses, excusable enough, is strengthened (one might say multiplied) by that of most state officials who, for the reasons which I have just mentioned, find it natural to exploit their dominant situation without working, a matter which is particularly grave when their task ought to be that of animating, directly or indirectly, rural life. In this situation, in which those who should be the élite are deserting their fellow-citizens and doing nothing to safeguard the natural riches of their countries, African humanism, founded on mutual aid and communion with nature, seems almost completely forgotten.

Such forgetfulness would be grave. It is to the resources of their own genius that peoples must have recourse in order to survive and Africa seems so hard hit by modern realities that the hour has come to mobilise our ancient virtues. Have no fear; I shall not misuse this platform to make a series of hollow declarations devoid of real content. I want only to raise the question of whether the social degradation which accompanies underdevelopment is inevitable and irreversible. I do not believe it is. The fault—and it is our own—is to have allowed our peoples to believe that underdevelopment was a transient situation from which one could escape all at once by a moderate effort and then enter an era of abundance. Experience has soon disillusioned our fellow-citizens who, going from excessive hope to extreme discouragement, have often plunged—masses and élite alike—into inertia.

We ought at the start (and is it too late?) to have had them understand that it is impossible to overcome such a great economic gap in a generation and that neither they themselves nor their children would accede to a standard of life which could be called developed in the full sense of the term. They should have been told—and that, I think, we can still do—that the African of the next few decades will not be rich; he will have no car, no television; but by his labour he will at least be able to eat enough

and live in a more comfortable home. In this new society the peasant will not have an income equal to that of the wage-earner but there will no longer be a great gulf between them. Like the wage-earner, he will be able to send all his children to school and will be cared for in case of sickness.

If I may sum up, I will say that it was, and still is, possible to present the struggle against underdevelopment to all Africans not as an impossible bet but as a realistic policy able to recreate in the modern world that balanced society which is the profound aspiration of us all.

Of course, those who build such a society, whose concern above all is family happiness and peace and a deeper African culture, will long remain unable to explode atomic bombs or to send rockets into space. Still, they will play a capital role on the world scale at keeping alive the sense of proportion which mankind tends to lose when the fever of production is kept up only at the cost of corresponding destruction.

To define the human results which we seek to obtain will then help us more than might be imagined at first sight to promote growth policies because the objective evaluation of a big effort to be made is a better stimulus to action than uncertainty.

It is to a large extent because the legitimate objectives hitherto proposed with a view to increasing production, to diversifying exports and to combating under-employment were not really understood by the workers that these objectives have often made little impact upon them.

In launching the Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa, we should avoid those errors and describe in realistic terms the modest improvements which the efforts asked for will bring our populations.

The World Employment Programme, based in particular on the dynamic idea that, if an expanding internal market is to be created, production must be the achievement of an increasing number of workers whose incomes will serve to increase demand and thus create new employment, implicitly invites us to follow the path I have described.

The people of our countries, desperate or passive in the face of underemployment, should know that we will not rest until they all have work enabling them to live a decent life. Thus one of the conditions for the success of the Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa is that we should always bear in mind the results which it is possible and desirable to expect with a view to ensuring human happiness, austere but in peace.

Mr. KAMARA-TAYLOR (*Government delegate, Sierra Leone*)—I must first of all congratulate the President on his being elected to his high office. I am certain that his long experience will enable him to steer the deliberations of this Conference to a successful conclusion.

I also bring greetings from my Prime Minister and my country to this noble land of Ghana and wish publicly to congratulate the Government and the people of Ghana on their recent and well-merited return to constitutional democratic government.

The example of Ghana gives the lie to those detractors of the African Continent who, with more prejudice than reason, hold the view that democratic processes are incapable of implementation in black Africa. I salute the Prime Minister, Mr. Busia, that worthy son of Africa, on his appointment to lead his great country at this particular time.

I thank the Director-General for the exhaustive Report he has prepared for this Conference. Because of pressure of time I shall confine myself to only a few aspects of the Report.

The Director-General has dwelt upon social trends in developing countries. We in Africa are conscious of the economic limitations which we have to face. The majority of those limitations can be traced to our historical background, which was until recently one of colonialism. We are today reaping the fruits of inadequate administration by the colonial Powers and of the deliberate policy of limiting the productive potential of the African peoples. Without exception, all the colonial Powers made sure

that when they left this granary of the developed countries the indigenous inhabitants would be in no position to take over and maintain and improve the conditions which they inherited. We took over at a time when capital investment was practically nil, educational policy barren and political administration suppressive. We are, however, glad that the ILO, which has been the conscience of the civilised world, has spared no pains to do what it could to redress the inadequacies that existed, and still exist, in the social field. It is therefore gratifying to note the emphasis the Director-General has placed on regional economic co-operation, and I would appeal to delegates from all regions of Africa to do all in their power to support regional economic efforts, through the OAU and the ILO.

The Director-General's comments on income distribution reveal a disquieting position, in which workers, particularly unskilled workers, in the rural areas mostly live at bare subsistence level. The problems of poverty and the lack of the basic necessities which ensure at least tolerable conditions of human existence have long been with us. Even in the so-called urban areas, where conditions of work and life can claim some pretension to modern standards, there are all too often sectors which can only be described as slums, with their concomitant evils of overcrowding, poor sanitation and disease. In the rural areas conditions are hardly better. With the spread of limited education due to the positive and dynamic policies of indigenous African governments, and the inevitable erosion of customary social sanctions and taboos, the rural population has become divorced from the land, the source of all wealth, and is migrating to urban areas, thus aggravating the already intolerable slum conditions and increasing the hopeless ranks of the unskilled unemployed.

These problems do not lack identification: what they lack is action designed to effect a significant change for the better. So long as we are content with writing volumes about the subject, so long as action is limited to schemes and proposals which never get off the ground, so long—to our shame—will these deplorable and demoralising social conditions persist. I therefore appeal to delegates to give active support to regional economic groupings, whose aim would be to improve in a significant measure the conditions of life and work in both the urban and rural areas of these regions.

The emphasis which the Director-General has placed on education is well-deserved. Much has been achieved in this field in our continent, but very much remains to be done.

The limitations of finance make it impracticable for us to do all we want to do in the field of education. We need more teacher training colleges, more vocational and trade training centres and more opportunities for adult education. All these depend on the supply of candidates with the requisite qualifications to undertake the available courses.

While we lay stress on secondary and university education we should not forget the importance of primary education, which feeds the secondary schools. In certain countries it is difficult, because of traditional attitudes, to undertake all these tasks at once, but the signs are that, generally, the advantages of education are beginning to be better appreciated than hitherto. I would here pay a tribute to those countries outside Africa which have been helping by providing teachers for primary, secondary and university work. There may have been misunderstandings and strains caused by the presence of these helpers in our midst, but it is true to say that they are contributing immensely to the success of our educational system in Africa. I would therefore urge that, whatever may be the stresses and strains, the contribution those foreign teachers are making to our education system should never be minimised. We regard this arrangement as a passing phase in our educational development and we are confident that when we have local personnel sufficiently equipped to man all the teaching posts in our schools our friends outside Africa will show no reluctance in withdrawing the helpers whom they have so generously afforded us.

I am glad of the emphasis that the Director-General has placed on the need to suit our educational methods to our environment in Africa. Hitherto, educational methods have been geared to foreign conceptions and our people received education which did not adequately fit them for life in their own environments. These problems are now realised and every effort is being made to impart what has been described as functional education, particularly in the case of illiterate adults who have been caught up in development programmes, so that they may fully appreciate the contribution they can make to the over-all welfare of the communities in which they live.

The Director-General's Report contains exhaustive comments on rural development, the importance of which, in the context of developing countries, cannot be overstressed. One aspect of rural development is agrarian reform, and those who are familiar with the subject know that such reforms are handicapped by traditional systems of land tenure in the rural areas. To secure effective and lasting agrarian reforms it is necessary for the system of land tenure in rural areas to be flexible, so that farmers can farm their lands with a feeling of security year after year, instead of having to give up cultivated land which has often become the subject of controversy because of the system of land tenure.

I am impressed also with the emphasis laid on rural crafts and small undertakings in the Report. It is admitted that at present the rural population contains sections which obtain a decent living by engaging in rural crafts and small undertakings, such as masons, carpenters, village blacksmiths who produce agricultural tools and market gardeners who produce the more common garden crops. These persons do not need a high degree of education to perform those minor but essential services in their communities. The development of such rural crafts and small undertakings will have the effect not only of securing a decent living for a section of the rural community but also of helping to reduce the incidence of migration from the rural to the urban areas.

In Sierra Leone, co-operative societies, particularly in the rural areas, are flourishing, more and more societies are springing up, and this is giving cohesion to the trading and savings activities of that section of the rural population. I wish to record that the ILO has given considerable assistance to my country by providing training courses in co-operatives. There is also an ILO expert who is now in Sierra Leone helping to organise co-operative societies.

With regard to the participation of employers and workers in national development, this is encouraged by my Government through various representative bodies such as the Joint Consultative Committee, the Advisory Committee on Economic Affairs, Immigration Quota Committee, etc. These are bodies on which workers and employers are represented.

The employers in both industry and commerce are well-organised in the Employers' Federation and the Chamber of Commerce; the workers are organised in trade unions, and the trade unions have a national centre, the Labour Congress. Whenever it is thought that it would serve a useful purpose, representatives of these organisations are co-opted to government committees, in which they make their own contribution to schemes and plans for national development. The employers' organisations have been progressing and there is reason to believe that they will continue to do so without the help of the Government. This, however, cannot be said of the trade unions which, though they have been established for quite a number of years, now and again reveal some weaknesses. But, by and large, there is willingness to improve and to run union affairs for the benefit of the workers. There has been little evidence of any desire on the part of unions to abandon their traditional role of defending and protecting the economic and social welfare of their members and concentrating instead on political relations with the ruling political party.

All the same, there is need to emphasise a reference in the Director-General's Report to his Report to the First African Regional Conference held in Lagos which stated that "responsible leadership is certainly the counterpart of freedom". My

Government subscribes to the concept of the Conventions on freedom of association, but there is a danger that if the leadership of trade unions is not responsible, as stated in the Director-General's Report referred to above, the intention of the Convention could easily be abused to the detriment of the economic and social progress of the country. This has become an instant problem, and ways must be found whereby the freedom enjoyed by trade unions may not be abused, thus preventing industrial anarchy.

My country encourages the stability and security of trade unions by supporting the check-off system. Though this system has not been made law, in several establishments, both in the public and private sectors, it is implemented, so that trade union officials can go about their jobs without the haunting fear of financial insecurity. It is hoped that this encouragement and co-operation on the part of the Government will evoke suitable response from the trade unions. There is, however, a limit to the idea of participation by employers' or workers' associations. Because official responsibility for the running of any country rests with the accredited government, there is a danger that if trade unions have to support the government in its economic and social policies there is bound to be conflict when such policies are not considered by the unions to be in the interests of their members. Perhaps participation in an advisory role would yield results which need not be embarrassing to either side, should their interests prove to be in conflict.

The subjects which have been included in the agenda of this Conference are all important for the social and economic progress of the African Continent, and it is my hope that the discussions and decisions on these items will be constructive and purposeful. If I singled out any one for special mention, it would be the item on employment policy in Africa. It must be agreed by all that unemployment and underemployment in Africa have assumed critical proportions, and unless something positive is done immediately one can foresee dangers of social unrest in the not too distant future. My appeal therefore goes to the International Labour Organisation to do all in its power to help all regions in Africa so that conditions may be created which would alleviate this grave unemployment problem.

I thank you for listening to me and I wish the Conference every success.

*Interpretation from French:* Mr. NGOVON (*Government delegate, Central African Republic*)—For me it is a very great pleasure to be able, on behalf of the Central African Republic and the whole of my delegation, to speak from the rostrum of this Third African Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation.

First of all, I should like to express my heartfelt congratulations to the President on his election to the Chair of this assembly. I am certain that his experience, his far-sightedness and his wisdom will enable us to arrive at very gratifying results. I would like to convey to the Ghanaian Government and people the expression of my profound gratitude for their fraternal hospitality and for the attention which has surrounded us since our arrival in this fine capital of Ghana.

I cannot overstate the interest which my country, the Central African Republic, attaches to the ILO's African Regional Conferences, which play such a positive role in the social and economic development of our continent.

The young African States are most often confronted with numerous specific problems with regard to social and economic progress, and these problems have to be overcome in Africa through the efforts of the Africans themselves. This is obviously without prejudice to sincere co-operation with other countries or other organisations which may help us in finding a remedy for these difficulties.

I should like to congratulate the Director-General of the ILO, Mr. David A. Morse, on his excellent Report, which is a valuable working instrument for us and in which the following points call for the most particular attention on the part of my Government. First of all, the tables showing the distribution of income and the annual rates of growth of the African populations presented in the first chapter show us to what

extent we must always engage in constant effort in order to promote economic growth throughout Africa. The fields in which these efforts must be made are very numerous, and the Director-General presented them in his Report: international trade and payments, mobilisation and utilisation of domestic resources, industrialisation, regional economic co-operation.

In our efforts we must not in any way ignore the need for an improvement in the conditions of the workers, for this guarantees social peace, which in turn is a vital condition for any form of harmonious economic development. Regarding economic co-operation, I would stress that co-operation in all fields, for the States of Africa or of the Third World in general, must be established not only between the technologically developed countries and ourselves but also among the emerging countries. Therefore, the specific nature of our socio-economic problems demands periodic meetings of our States to enable us to survey the situation in order to outline the necessary solutions.

In this path of inter-African co-operation, the Central African Republic and the Sudan have recently opened an airline connecting Bangui and Khartoum. It should also be recalled that the Central African Republic has already concluded certain regional agreements with its neighbours regarding transport, telecommunications and tourism as well as a host of other subjects. Secondly, the Central African Republic has resolutely launched a large-scale campaign against underdevelopment known as "Operation Bokassa". This strategy was launched by our dynamic and deeply respected Head of State, General Jean Bedel Bokassa, in order to achieve the aims set forth by our sole national party in five verbs: feed, clothe, house, tend, teach.

The people have understood that the philosophy of Operation Bokassa is to mobilise the most active forces of the country and to renovate ancestral farming methods, to provide new stimuli for agriculture, to increase productivity, to encourage and facilitate the training of supervisory staff. Results have so far been particularly encouraging: there has been an increase in agricultural output; the modernisation of structures for crop production based on the use of draught animals, the creation of new manufacturing industries such as the Central African Cotton Industry (ICCA) and the Central African Industrial Society for Agricultural and Related Produce (SICPAD); the reform of education and its adaptation to national requirements; the improvement of vocational training and guidance programmes; the expansion of trade with neighbouring countries; the creation of a hotel school and a school for cinematography; the establishment of a state enterprise, the General Directorate for Technical and Manufacturing Services; the building of youth clubs and cultural centres; education in hygiene in rural areas; aid from the Central African Government to the High Commissioner for Refugees (there are at present 25,000 Sudanese and Congolese refugees in our country); and finally, the progressive introduction of sericulture and food crops to occupy the majority of the refugees.

Operation Bokassa is the only means for my country, situated in the heart of Africa, to eliminate famine, to create new jobs and to reduce unemployment.

Within this activity the ILO is giving valuable assistance to the Central African Republic through the training of administrative personnel. In 1966 an accelerated and further training centre for office personnel was established. Under the stimulus of two ILO experts sections were opened for secretarial work, typing, saleswomen, advanced accountancy and book-keeping. Over 200 persons have benefited from this training.

ILO assistance also includes vocational training for hotel staff. The rapid development of the tourist trade in my country has made it possible, under the responsibility of an ILO expert, to provide training for hotel office personnel, restaurant staff and staff to look after tourists in general. For 1970-71, twenty-two expert months of hotel training are to be provided.

With regard to the vocational training of rural craftsmen and technicians, the expansion of the agricultural sector has made it more than necessary to train such workers so that they are able to undertake maintenance and repair of agricultural



equipment with a view to the modernisation of agriculture. This training of rural craftsmen and technicians began in 1968 with the arrival of three ILO experts. It covers three areas: small engineering trades, in particular the manufacture of agricultural implements, maintenance of, and minor repairs to, agricultural machinery; woodworking trades, such as carpentry and joinery; and private and public building in all its forms, such as houses, workshops and silos. It is intended to train 1,200 rural craftsmen and technicians by 1974: 300 carpenters, 300 roofers and plank workers, 450 bricklayers and 150 blacksmiths.

Finally, with reference to the training of managerial and administrative personnel, in 1969 about ten Central African skilled workers received further training through scholarships abroad. In addition, it is intended that in the next three years, from 1970, 99 further training grants will be awarded, as follows: 21 six-month grants for vocational training; 25 three-month grants for agricultural management personnel; 36 three-month grants for medium-grade supervisors in industry; 7 three-month grants for vocational training; and 10 three-month grants for higher management personnel in the public services. Such is the aid that the ILO is providing to my country.

In its determined fight against underdevelopment, the Central African Republic has never lost sight of the need to respect human dignity. We have solemnly proclaimed the principle “ *zo kwe zo, zo ayeke zo* ”, which might be translated as meaning “ a man’s a man for all that ”.

Thirdly, I am pleased to stress the fact that trade union freedom suffers no form of restriction in the Central African Republic. The Government unceasingly encourages and facilitates workers’ education both for workers in the town of Bangui and for those in the provinces. The General Union of Central African Workers (UGTC) and the Central African Employers’ Interoccupational Association (GIRCA), aware of the need for total participation within the framework of the preparation of economic and social programmes, work closely with the Government without in any way compromising their basic freedom of action.

In concluding, I should like once again to thank the Director-General of the ILO and all his staff for this important working document which has been submitted to our Conference, and I express my sincerest wish that the ILO’s action should be combined with the efforts of all our States to progress towards economic and social advance for the whole of Africa.

Mr. HABTU (*representative of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations*)—I have the honour to convey through you, Sir, a message of goodwill from Dr. Boerma, Director-General of the FAO, for the successful deliberations of the Third African Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation.

The Fifteenth Session of the FAO’s Biennial Conference ended on 27 November 1969 and it is no accident that at the Session there emerged a number of vital issues that affect our world today in agriculture and allied fields, and which are of intimate concern and interest both to the FAO and the ILO and other specialised agencies of the United Nations family.

Dr. Boerma, in his opening address to the Session, highlighted the “ five areas of concentration ” as a new strategy of development evolved in his new term of office, together with the findings and implications of the Indicative World Plan for Agricultural Development, which are of vital importance to world agricultural production, trade and development.

The five areas of concentration—high-yield crop varieties, closing the protein gap, the war on waste, mobilisation of human resources in the rural areas of the developing countries, and earning and saving foreign exchange—have been amply elaborated and defined as a framework within which national governments would set their priorities and adopt action-oriented agricultural programmes and projects in the development of their countries.

The Director-General of the FAO, in consonance with the express wish of many countries from the developing areas, rightly laid stress on the urgency with which human resources should be mobilised for effective socio-economic development in the developing countries.

In commenting on the findings of the Indicative World Plan for Agricultural Development, Dr. Boerma stated: "Finally, the Indicative World Plan brings clearly into prominence that most intractable problem of all, the problem of employment. I need hardly point out the importance, in terms of both human dignity and economic forces, of providing adequately remunerated work for as high a proportion as possible of the huge rural populations of the developing world. Underemployment is the general rule, low living standards in rural areas foster a continued drift to already overcrowded towns. Despite this rural exodus, the agricultural population seems destined to go on rising for a long time to come. The problem is one which has never faced the industrialised countries in the course of their history: namely, how to achieve a rising level of employment for a rising rural work force, at a time when agriculture is expanding largely through intensification rather than through extension of the land under cultivation. I cannot conceal my alarm in the face of this most troubling problem. We shall do our best, in association with such agencies as the ILO, to help governments in tackling it."

As you know, the FAO is aware of the immense problem of unemployment or underemployment in the rural areas, especially in the African region, and it also realises that the tackling of the problem will require the combined and co-ordinated efforts of the specialised agencies of the United Nations within their own spheres of competence, together with the determined efforts of the member nations. There are spheres in which the FAO and the ILO, whether at headquarters or regional level, could work hand in hand to achieve an effective impact of economic and social development within the region. As it is, they undertake a number of joint programmes and projects in the African region.

The items before the Conference are of vital importance to the welfare and progress of the African labour force.

The Report of the Director-General brings out clearly the intricate social and economic elements which need to be taken into account in harnessing economic and social progress for the people of Africa. Chapter II, "Rural Development", describes the national, regional and international action necessary to bring about orderly, integrated development in rural Africa. We agree with the Director-General's statement on this point that "the ILO, along with the other organisations in the United Nations system, is convinced that rural development must proceed in a co-ordinated and integrated manner". All the items on the agenda of your Conference call for the immediate attention of the member nations of Africa to enhance the social and economic dignity of the African labour force.

While all the items before this distinguished assembly are interrelated and burning issues that require serious consideration, may I be permitted to make a brief comment on the proposal for a Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa. The proposed approach to this Programme constitutes the fundamental framework within which all the African countries could mobilise their human resources. The efforts and initiative of the ILO in this respect are indeed to be appreciated.

The problem of how to enlarge the existing base to provide more productive employment and how to create new employment opportunities represents the very core of the United Nations Second Development Decade. The immense population exodus from the rural to the urban areas and the resultant unemployment and underemployment in both the rural and the urban areas poses an extremely serious social and economic problem which requires immediate attention and action by the member nations and the competent agencies of the United Nations. The FAO will follow with keen interest the crystallisation and effect of this Programme in Africa. The

increasing of employment opportunities is essentially and directly governed by national economic development policies. We know that a number of African countries face serious problems as regards the utilisation of their human resources, which are characterised by urban unemployment and rural underemployment.

The problems of rural and urban employment development, while interrelated, call for separate solutions. Full employment in the towns will depend on measures to arrest the movement from the country, with, at the same time, more jobs being created and training being provided for industry and commerce. Such commercial and industrial development and training are fairly specific matters and can be planned with some precision. However, to improve rural labour productivity and increase employment opportunities in the country, a variety of agricultural improvement programmes and specific development projects are called for.

The programme proposed in report IV (2) contains a realistic approach to the above-mentioned problems and has two very definite merits; it recognises the extreme complexity of the situation; and it calls for the close co-operation of all regional and international organisations. Such an open approach constitutes a very valuable basis for joint action as provided for in the agreement between the FAO, UNESCO and the ILO on co-operation in agricultural education, science and training.

The FAO's interest in the proposed Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa is very definite. Several paragraphs of the report refer to fields in which the FAO is recognised as having not only responsibility but also wide experience, a developed institutional structure and field personnel. These fields are: training of the rural population in the traditional or transitional sectors; development of the rural sector and community development; manpower training at all levels; and youth services.

The proposed ILO Programme represents an excellent possibility for further co-operation between the FAO and the ILO.

We in the FAO will follow the deliberations of the Conference on the many important issues before it with keen interest, and I can assure you of the fullest possible co-operation by the FAO when necessary and within its competence in the United Nations system.

May I once again wish this assembly, under the able leadership and guidance of its President, success in its endeavour to bring about brighter opportunities for the underemployed and unemployed African labour force.

*(The Conference adjourned at 12.15 p.m.)*

## SIXTH SITTING

Friday, 12 December 1969, 9.30 a.m.

*Presidents: Mr. Kaleo and Mr. Georget*

### THIRD REPORT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE: SUBMISSION AND ADOPTION<sup>1</sup>

The PRESIDENT—The first item on the agenda this morning is the third report of the Selection Committee; I invite the Chairman, Mr. Amede, to submit the report.

Mr. AMEDE (*Government delegate, Ethiopia; Chairman of the Selection Committee*)—I have the honour to submit to the Conference the third report of the Selection Committee. This report concerns changes in the composition of Committees and the appointment of the Credentials Committee. I commend it to the Conference for adoption.

The PRESIDENT—The report is now before the Conference for discussion. If there are no objections, I shall take it that the report is adopted by the Conference.

*(The report is adopted.)*

### REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL: DISCUSSION (*cont.*)

The PRESIDENT: The next item of business is the continuation of the discussion on the Director-General's Report.

Mr. BAASHAR (*Government delegate, Sudan*)—May I associate myself with my distinguished colleagues in congratulating you sincerely, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the Third African Regional Conference of the ILO. I am sure that under your good leadership and guidance the deliberations of this Conference will be successful.

May I also take this opportunity to convey to this august assembly the warmest greetings of the revolutionary Government and people of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, who fully appreciate the enormous efforts of the ILO for the benefit of mankind and for world peace. The Government and people of my country are eager and keen to see this important Conference fulfil the high expectations of the peoples of Africa. I should like also to thank the Government and people of Ghana for the many facilities made available for the convening of this Conference in Accra and for the warm reception given to us.

At this juncture, allow me also to greet and congratulate the International Labour Organisation on celebrating its fiftieth anniversary and on being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1969 as an appreciation of its untiring efforts for the peace cause and for what it has accomplished during the last fifty years. I wish the Organisation all success

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<sup>1</sup> See Third Part, p. 185.

during the coming crucial decade; and I am confident enough that the award of the Nobel Prize will be a great motive for more noble tasks.

In his comprehensive Report under discussion, the Director-General made a very encouraging remark when he stated his inclination "to believe that the efforts Africa is making to develop institutional frameworks which correspond both to the personality of Africa and to the aspirations of the African peoples already offer a source of inspiration for the rest of the developing world". This is a hopeful statement for which the Director-General deserves our thanks. It is true that Africa has undergone big changes in different aspects of life in the past few years; and it has proved to be adaptable to change. No doubt most of the changes that have taken place were favourable; but the fact still remains that a lot of the sufferings prevailing all over the continent are due to the impact of accelerated rate of change and to inadequate socio-economic planning. Indeed we have to examine the phenomena of social changes thoughtfully and scientifically in our endeavours to build our national societies on modern economic bases. In this respect we fully agree with the Director-General that "it is inevitable that in this process [of development] governments, as the prime movers of society, should have had to assume new and wider responsibilities"; and that "nevertheless there are bound to be limits to what a government alone can achieve, unless it is able to enlist the willing and intelligent participation of the population in these tasks". To apply these promising words of the Director-General to my country, I feel happy to announce that since 25 May of this year the Sudan is undergoing big changes in all walks of life according to the policy of the new revolutionary Government. Hence, our present-day society is now being built on socialist philosophy. In other words, the Government is assuming more responsibilities for the benefit of all members of the society. The people are willingly participating in the development schemes. It is just a few weeks ago that we embarked on nation-wide pioneering voluntary and self-help schemes for construction. The Sudan Federation of Workers' Trade Unions, in collaboration with businessmen and other democratic organisations, joined in the campaign with great enthusiasm.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan is fully aware of the role of workers' and employers' organisations in a developing country like ours. We are doing our best to encourage the workers and employers alike to organise and to participate collectively in all the plans and activities of the Government for the promotion of social and economic development.

Labour administration undoubtedly constitutes a vital function in a modern society. In our attempt to promote labour administration a separate Ministry of Labour has been established instead of the old Labour Department. We are now revising the whole set-up of the Ministry of Labour so as to make it serve more adequately the purpose of social and economic development. Furthermore, a National Council representing the Government, workers and employers has been formed to review the existing labour laws and to make a comprehensive unified Labour Code compatible with the emerging progressive social and economic changes. In its deliberations, this National Council is giving high consideration to the international labour Conventions and Recommendations. The new unified Labour Code is expected to be put into practice very soon. The importance of co-operation and co-ordination with other administrations and with workers' and employers' organisations is fully realised in our new plan of operation; a programme of training for the different grades of officials of the Ministry of Labour has been prepared so as to enable them to carry out their responsibilities at the national and regional levels very effectively. In this connection, we are hopeful that the ILO will extend all possible assistance to help us strengthen our labour administration.

In the field of technical co-operation, the ILO has offered and is still offering great assistance to Africa; and for sure a lot has to be offered in future. Although international assistance does not by itself provide sufficient resources, it is considered basic for developing countries, at least to help them in making use of the available resources.

To facilitate the task of the ILO in this field, we will do our utmost to define our needs and to participate effectively in the preparation, implementation and follow-up of projects. It is worth mentioning here that the projects we have in operation in the Sudan, namely the Management Development and Productivity Centre and National Vocational Training Schemes, are successfully operating, thanks to the ILO and its illustrious and sincere experts who are exerting all possible efforts to fulfil their missions.

We are here today to co-ordinate our efforts to find solutions to some of the major problems we are facing in the field of labour. Two years ago the African Advisory Committee observed that employment was the most serious problem facing the African countries. Unfortunately that observation is still true today. It is our firm belief that without national and international co-operation the employment problem will continue to be a chronic one. The main outlines of the employment programme proposed by the ILO in Part 2 of Report IV, *Employment Policy in Africa*, are acceptable to us in principle. We have already informed the ILO of our ratification of the Employment Policy Convention, 1964 (No. 122), together with other basic Conventions, and it is hoped that by the end of this month the documents of final ratification will be secured. We have also informed the ILO of our agreement in principle to the proposed Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa. In the Sudan we are launching a new employment policy within the national plan for social and economic development. Greater efforts are being made to develop rural areas through the establishment of small-scale industries and through agrarian reform schemes. In this connection a national employment council and provincial employment councils at the regional level have been established. It is worth mentioning that the workers' and employers' organisations are fully represented in these councils. Through the councils we are hoping to find solutions to our challenging employment problems. We are quite sure that these efforts will have good results if supplemented by international assistance. That is why we made our request to the ILO to consider the Sudan as one of the fields of the World Employment Programme. I should like to confirm that request and assure the ILO and our African friends that my Government and the workers' and employers' organisations in the Sudan are highly interested in this Programme and would be very happy to make available the outcome of our experience in this respect.

The principles and aims of the ILO have always been devoted to the promotion of social justice, and much of its work has been devoted to respect for human rights and human dignity. These principles are today at stake in certain parts of the world. Here in Africa an active member State of the ILO, fully represented in this Conference, has been the subject of continuous aggression. I am referring here to the United Arab Republic, which is boldly defending its territories from the Israeli aggression and the imperialist forces. We feel it our duty to condemn the occupation by Israel of Arab lands and to support the United Arab Republic and the Palestinian people in their fair and just struggle to regain their land and lead a peaceful and settled life.

On the other hand another violation of human rights in the continent is openly practised by colonial powers in Angola and Mozambique. We strongly support the African liberation movements and condemn the inhuman policies of *apartheid* and racial discrimination exercised in South Africa and Rhodesia. It is hoped that the ILO and all free countries and organisations of the world will continue their efforts to support the African peoples in their struggle to gain full independence and eliminate the evils of racial discrimination and social injustice.

In conclusion I should like to assure you, Mr. President, and the members of the Conference of our keen interest in achieving sound results. The topics to be discussed by the Conference are of major importance to our continent and the experience we gain will no doubt be of much use to our member States and to other developing countries. May I once more affirm our confidence and faith in the ILO and its great activities, to which we shall look forward hopefully in the future.

Mr. BENTUM (*Workers' delegate, Ghana*)—Permit me, Mr. President, to congratulate you on your very honourable election to preside over this world body now meeting in the city of Accra in the Republic of Ghana. Those of us who have had the opportunity of working with you during the short space of time that you have been in office share the feeling that we could not have chosen any better person than yourself as our President.

I should also like to congratulate the ILO on the noble role it has played in the most difficult time of our age, which has merited the award of the Nobel Peace Prize this year.

On going through the Director-General's Report there are two thoughts which come to mind: the first is that the Report has been compiled with very hard work and efficiency and the second is that it reflects on all the social problems of the Continent of Africa. We, as workers in Africa, have many problems—political, social and economic—and the trade unions in Africa by their very structure are weaker than their counterparts in developed countries. The challenge that we see in the Director-General's Report poses a very serious question as to how we can unite the forces of governments, employers and workers in order to achieve the common objectives of our continent. We in the Ghana Trades Union Congress believe—and I hope our brothers in the rest of Africa also believe—that without peace in industry, social progress, however much we may talk about it, is a mirage. We also believe that the negotiating table is the most important place where one can have exchanges and be able to resolve the complex problems facing our countries. We are therefore in a position to look at the totality of the problems and not just within the national confines of the interest of workers alone. This is a problem that can easily be understood if one looks at the great sufferings, poverty, degradation and illness of the workers of Africa. Therefore, leaders of African trade unions are not only leading the workers—they are part and parcel of the leaders of their respective nations. Therefore our aim has been the total progress of the nation as a whole, because, without the progress of the nation as a whole, no sector within the nation can progress. If any sector within the nation is able to progress in the absence of a general and total progress of the nation, it will mean nothing but exploitation. Therefore our concern has been how best we can co-operate with all other institutions in the search for the solution to the problems.

Here I should like to refer to the demonstration of our sincerity in trying to resolve many of these problems through negotiations and through laying down procedures. The labour movement in Ghana has tried not only in words but in deeds to have the greatest co-operation with the employers and with the Government. I should like to announce here to this world body that we have very cordial relations with both the Government and the employers' association. This does not mean that we do not have the normal skirmishes; this does not mean that we do not have normal disagreements. But in the light of the Director-General's Report, one can see that without problems and without solutions to the problems there will be no progress, and as long as humanity remains in the world there will be problems, and as long as there are problems there must be solutions to the problems. If the solutions are the right ones, there will be progress; if the solutions are the wrong ones, there will be retrogression.

Here I should like to refer to a statement made by the Prime Minister of Ghana at this rostrum as regards the solution of a long-standing problem which the Ghanaian TUC lodged with the ILO in Geneva. That was the first time in the history of the Ghana labour movement that such an action had been taken. We took this action because we had confidence and faith that this world body was capable in different ways to bring social justice not only to Ghana but to the whole world. At the time we lodged this complaint, there were a lot of misgivings such as: what the ILO can do, the ILO only studies problems and is not able to solve these problems. We, the workers of this country, lodged this complaint during the military régime, aware of the dangers that we were facing. We were aware that the military government held no mandate—it was

not answerable to any parliament. Yet, because of the confidence we had in the ILO, we were prepared to appeal to this world body not only because of the injustice we were suffering but also because we had faith that it would help in the solution of our problems.

In addition to that, for the first time in the history of the Ghanaian TUC we lodged a formal complaint with the supreme court. We consider this to be a better approach to problems than throwing stones and breaking windows. We felt that, if justice is to prevail, if the ILO and humanity as a whole are to consider justice as the call for man's emancipation, then, no matter how long we wait, in the final analysis victory will be won.

Permit me to commend the attitude of the present Government of Ghana and all those who have been connected in trying to bring about a solution to this problem. The Ghanaian TUC has no other course in the light of the settlement but to withdraw the complaint from the ILO. Also it has no other course but to withdraw the case from the supreme court. The necessary steps are being taken to give effect to these measures.

There has been much talk about social progress. Those of us who have had some experience of the ILO realise that it has no magic wand to bring about social progress in the world and that the speed at which social progress can be achieved will depend only on the sincerity and courage of the respective member countries. Therefore I feel that the Report is a light that shows the way, and, unless we are prepared to follow this path, all the talk and all that the Report states will be meaningless. It is therefore necessary for workers, employers and governments to have the courage and the sincerity to realise that when we talk about social progress, especially in the Continent of Africa, we are not merely trying to expand theories which are already known, we are not merely trying to promulgate new philosophies which are already known, but we are trying to take action by removing the very causes that create these problems and this backwardness.

One of the main problems that Africa as a whole has to face is that of unemployment. In the Director-General's Report there is special mention of the problem of unemployment. Through our studies we have come to the conclusion that modern technology and scientific devices, that is automation, must be introduced with the greatest caution. Where human beings are put aside in favour of machines, where human beings are sacrificed because of modern techniques, we must always remember that machines should be at the service of men and that men should not serve the machines. Therefore all governments which sincerely wish to solve their social problems, and especially their unemployment problems, must consider very seriously the innovation of labour-intensive devices rather than trying to catch up with the developed countries just because they have electronics and complicated machines.

We must move at a pace which will make it possible for the greatest majority of our people to work with their hands and brains. We will have to look at the problems of Africa within the context of Africa. Therefore, in co-operation with the Government, the workers have been seriously trying to find ways and means of overcoming our unemployment problems.

In conclusion, I should like to point out that we in this hall should not forget the thousands of millions of African workers in certain parts of Africa who do not have the privilege of the freedom to speak about the rights of labour. In this respect I should like to exhort the ILO to speed up the liberation of the remaining African territories under colonial rule, and, in conjunction with the United Nations and all peace-loving countries of the world, I call upon the ILO to try to do this, not by resolutions and statements but by practical action because we, the workers, do not believe that mere resolutions and statements can solve the problems of our brothers and sisters in South Africa, Rhodesia, Mozambique and Angola. Never can this question be solved by normal methods. I do not see any obstacle to achieving this. We are men and women endowed with the qualities to help our respective countries. The success of Africa is in our hands; its failure is also in our hands. Therefore, I appeal to Africans.



With the same courage and the same dedication with which we tackled the problems of the past, here now in the years ahead of us we need greater courage, wisdom and initiative to be able to overcome the problems that lie ahead.

I should now like to thank the ILO very sincerely for accepting Accra as the venue for this Conference and also to see the contribution Ghanaians as a whole—workers, employers and Government—can make with their brothers in other African countries in this great crusade of ours. May the Almighty bless us and give us long life so that we shall be witnesses of a real social change, a change for the better—full employment, health, education and all the good things that nature bestows on mankind.

*Interpretation from French:* Mr. RIAHI (*Government delegate, Tunisia*)—First of all, I should like to offer you, Mr. President, on behalf of the Tunisian delegation, my warm congratulations on your election. I am convinced that thanks to your competence and wisdom our labours in this Conference will be most skilfully and effectively led.

This Conference is being held at the end of a year which marks the fiftieth anniversary of the International Labour Organisation and is an event of importance for Africa and for the world of labour in general. It proves, if proof were needed, that after fifty years of existence the International Labour Organisation is as dynamic and as full of life as ever.

The Director-General's Report submitted for our consideration is a mine of information and suggestions for the future, and we should like to congratulate Mr. David A. Morse for having produced it.

This very comprehensive Report, dealing with social change and social progress in Africa, is exceedingly welcome, coming as it does at the beginning of the Second United Nations Development Decade. This decade will doubtless signify redoubled action by the ILO in Africa and closer links between the member States of our continent and the International Labour Organisation itself.

There can be no question, as the Director-General has observed and as has been demonstrated by the First Development Decade, but that social progress is intimately linked with economic development; hence we must all try to put this principle into practice to arrive at a dynamic economic and social development policy without which the problems of all kinds with which we are now confronted, especially the major problems arising from underdevelopment—problems which are bound to become more acute as time goes on—would seem absolutely incapable of solution.

That is the way in which, from the date of its independence in 1956, Tunisia has envisaged the problem. For years it has been endeavouring, with the generous assistance of the United Nations specialised agencies, including the International Labour Organisation, to take such remedial action as is best adapted to realities.

Thus it is that the Government of Tunisia has decided to follow a planning policy to ensure full employment of all its manpower resources, and we are now launching our third plan for economic and social development. This plan, which began this year, will end in 1972. In this latter year our economic take-off is expected to begin and from then onwards everybody with occupational qualifications will find a job. Full employment is the basis of our economy as it is the basis of our policy, the aim of which is precisely the same as that pursued by the International Labour Organisation, that is to say the betterment of human existence.

With an eye to vocational training and employment activities which form part of a broad programme of action to combat underdevelopment, the Government of Tunisia set up several years ago most effective machinery providing for a broad range of activities ranging from pre-apprenticeship to the most advanced vocational training and embracing apprenticeship, vocational training, advanced training and refresher courses. That being so, and thanks to the assistance of the ILO and the United Nations Development Programme, a special civics programme is also in course of imple-

mentation. The aim is to give young people, especially those leaving elementary school, who are unable to continue their education and are without work, the training they require to find employment. Thanks to the vocational, social and citizenship training so given they can become skilled workers and citizens aware of their responsibilities in achieving full development of the national resources.

As to labour administration, Tunisia attaches great importance to it. Obviously, a labour administration is specifically called upon to associate employers and workers in the task of development. It is well placed, therefore, to create a suitable social atmosphere and it can do much to ensure that economic development proceeds hand in hand with social progress and thus makes economic and social advancement a reality.

The basic data defined in Dakar in October 1967 by the African Advisory Committee provide valuable guidance in setting up a labour administration. Within such an administration stress must obviously be laid on supervision of legislation for the protection of workers. Thus enormous efforts in this respect have been made in Tunisia. Plans are afoot for a thorough reorganisation of the labour services. Regional labour inspection departments will be set up, complete with pilot centres dispensing training and refresher courses to labour inspectors and supervisors. Work on all this will soon begin with valuable assistance from the ILO.

In the countryside the problems to be solved are more difficult and more complex and the possibilities are limited. One of the very first social reforms introduced by the Government of President Bourguiba after independence was the promulgation, on 30 April 1956, of a statute for agricultural workers. That statute, later improved and incorporated in the Tunisian Labour Code, which was promulgated on 1 May 1966, offers the rural worker guaranteed stable employment and decent remuneration. The Labour Inspection Department responsible for inspection in industry and commerce is also responsible for inspection in agriculture. These efforts are still continuing, and in the months to come these workers, whose wages were increased on 1 October 1969, will enjoy the social security which has been applied since 1960 to workers in commerce and industry.

In some parts of the country schemes of community development have been put in hand. They call for the regrouping of scattered and inconveniently located rural dwellings into villages. The programme, which comprises several schemes, is still under way.

It is hardly necessary to say that our political régime, the fruit of common struggles and sacrifices, ensures that workers' and employers' participation is a reality everywhere and in every branch of activity. At all levels the employers and workers play an effective part in drawing up the economic and social development plan and in its implementation, and make themselves heard whenever a major national decision has to be taken.

Finally, Tunisia, which at the very beginning of its existence as an independent country joined the International Labour Organisation, has drawn much inspiration from ILO working procedures. As regards labour standards, Tunisia has already ratified 51 of the existing 132 international Conventions, including 14 of the 20 key instruments of the International Labour Code—among them the Labour Inspection Convention, 1947 (No. 81), the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948 (No. 87), the Employment Service Convention, 1948 (No. 88), the Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention, 1949 (No. 98), the Equal Pay Convention, 1951 (No. 100), the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1957 (No. 105), the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958 (No. 111), and the Employment Policy Convention, 1964 (No. 122).

I cannot end without offering, on behalf of my delegation, sincere thanks to the Government of Ghana for the warm welcome we have received. We are also grateful to the staff of the ILO for the excellent work they have done in connection with this Third African Regional Conference of the ILO.

## COMPOSITION OF COMMITTEES

The PRESIDENT—The Clerk of the Conference has the floor to make a brief announcement.

The CLERK OF THE CONFERENCE—On behalf of the Officers of the Selection Committee I have the honour to propose to the Conference the following change in the composition of Committees:

*Committee on Employment Policy: Government members: Add Rwanda.*

The PRESIDENT—You have heard the proposal made on behalf of the Officers of the Selection Committee. May I take it that this proposal is adopted?

*(The proposal is adopted.)*

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL: DISCUSSION (*cont.*)

The PRESIDENT—We resume our discussion of the Report of the Director-General.

Mr. SENKEZI (*Workers' delegate, Uganda*)—I wish first of all in the name of the workers of Uganda to join other speakers who have preceded me in greeting you, Sir, and offering you my sincere congratulations on your election as President of this august assembly. Your election to that high office is a clear indication of your rich experience and competence in labour problems. I am confident, therefore, that you will direct the deliberations of this assembly to a successful conclusion.

I should like also to congratulate the Director-General and the Office staff on having ably prepared very comprehensive documents for this Conference.

In my statement to the 53rd Session of the General Conference held in June of this year I indicated that the National Labour Centre had been suspended—a situation which still continues. However, I am glad to report that my Government is anxious to restore the *status quo* and the most important aspect of this exercise is that the workers will soon democratically elect their own leaders. In this transitional period the Government has allowed the workers of Uganda to be represented in both national and international forums. We are also consulted in many spheres. We have labour consultative councils, industrial relations committees and social security committees, and the workers are represented on all these bodies. We are looking forward anxiously to the establishment of a proper trade union national centre which will enable the workers to play their full part in national development. In this connection I should like to refer to the Director-General's Report where he reiterates the remarks he made at the First African Regional Conference in Lagos, as follows: "Whatever the growing pains of the labour movement or the transient troubles of industrial relations, one fundamental principle should be constantly reiterated: spontaneity and freedom must be maintained. . . . Free associations are the condition of both human dignity and social progress. . . ."

Turning to the second item on the agenda, which is labour administration, I would like to suggest that this calls for an institutional structure which has to meet certain formal requirements. As pointed out in the introduction to the working document, administrative machinery is an essential factor in any form of organised growth, especially with regard to problems arising in connection with labour administration and particularly in our continent, where the machinery is still in an embryonic stage. It goes without saying, therefore, that in our approach to labour administration we should establish an administrative machinery which has perfect co-ordination of all activities having a bearing upon economic and social policy.

In order to succeed such machinery must have all the multifarious specialised functions found within the framework of a single ministry of labour. Official links should also be established between the services involved so as to permit full and co-ordinated implementation of the government's views on labour matters. Therefore I accept the view expressed in the report that to achieve the required unity "it is necessary, firstly, to establish a senior administrative hierarchy immediately subordinate to the political authority in the person of the minister concerned, and, secondly, to set up central general services to be responsible for each aspect of day-to-day functioning—personnel administration, finance, documentation, research, international relations, etc."

I associate myself with the view that "the service responsible for labour administration can only be said to constitute a national institution to the extent that the principles governing its organisation are guaranteed by a legislative enactment which is at least to some degree the expression of the will of the people."

There is also another important aspect of labour administration—namely, its external relations. The ministry of labour, as correctly stated in the report, differs from other government ministries because it is concerned primarily with two categories of citizens, the workers and the employers, who view the same problems from entirely different angles and towards whom the ministry should observe the strictest impartiality. Therefore, I should like to underline the importance of impartiality on the part of the ministry of labour and, in particular, among its personnel who are charged with the day-to-day administration of the services. I feel it is necessary to separate the enforcement branch of the ministry of labour from other administrative services. Representativeness both at the local and national levels is another requirement in order for such bodies to function on a sound and balanced basis. I feel that such institutions are really essential to labour administration because they afford an opportunity to bring together the social partners in circumstances propitious to the creation of an atmosphere of mutual confidence in social policy decisions which will thus be easier to implement. In my view, it is imperative that anything which would prejudice the proper functions of such bodies should be avoided by the authorities.

Labour administration, to be meaningful, should embrace all workers, whatever the economic sector in which they work and whatever their status. Labour administration should be extended equally to other groups of workers, especially the rural workers, who cannot be defined as wage-earners but who are most numerous. In fact, this type of worker is the most deprived and requires urgent attention by States who want to develop as nations of equals.

The tragedy in Africa today is that there is an very high percentage of manpower seeking employment, accompanied by great diversity in this social category. There are workers trained for an occupation, although these are few, but out of work. Then you come across a growing number of school-leavers who have undergone formal training not directed towards any specific occupation, and unskilled rural workers driven away by underemployment or unemployment and attracted by the modern amenities in cities and towns, who constitute groups about whom little is known and who are poorly supervised and guided as far as wage-earning employment and vocational training are concerned.

There is thus a serious element of uncertainty in administrative action in the field of labour; the effects of such uncertainty can be minimised only by constant information and large-scale research. The apparent lack of information, for instance regarding placement, vocational training, or statistical data regarding job-seekers, their qualifications and the available vacancies, has led many unscrupulous citizens to start private bureaux where they charge exorbitant fees to the prospective workers looking for work. It is regretted that such agencies use public media. This is an undesirable state of affairs which is due to a glaring absence of efficient labour exchanges. I appeal to member States to make sure that, where such private employment exchanges do

exist, immediate action should be taken to bring them under the supervision of labour administration. I therefore welcome the proposal contained in Report II for the establishment of permanent information and research centres.

I should like to point out that industrial relations should be the most important preoccupation of the ministry of labour. Despite the importance often assigned to it in the achievement of industrial production targets and peace, it is common experience that it is the most understaffed. The training given to the personnel dealing with industrial relations has so far been inadequate, and consequently whatever training industrial relations officers have been able to get has been of a quality which leaves much to be desired. In this regard, I hope that, jointly with the national governments, the ILO can do a lot not only to increase the number but also the quality of such officials. It is amongst this category of officials that a high degree of impartiality, which I have already referred to, is most urgently required if the industrial relations section and the administration as a whole are to avoid being regarded merely as weak peace-keeping and law-enforcement agencies. The upshot of this observation means that ministries of labour and labour inspectorates must have first-quality staff, and of course it goes without saying that officials should be well remunerated.

May I say that I am not negotiating on this platform for labour administrators. However, I feel that in order to obtain high-quality personnel, efforts should be made to make careers in labour administration attractive. This is of course a matter of both status and remuneration. Remuneration should be of a level which should protect labour administrators and inspectors from attempts at corruption.

I welcome the proposal to establish a permanent training institute in East Africa to cater for the English-speaking countries and run on similar lines to the Yaoundé training centre for the French-speaking member States. I note that in addition to normal courses these centres will give advanced training for higher and intermediate labour administration officials. I should like, however, to point out that the training of labour administrators without similar facilities being provided for trade union leaders would only amount to an unbalanced development. I made an appeal for a permanent education institute for workers earlier this year in Geneva. I therefore strongly suggest that educational facilities be provided at both centres for the African trade union leaders, or a recommendation be adopted by this Conference requesting the Governing Body to explore, as a matter of urgency, the possibilities of establishing one or two permanent workers' education institutes in East Africa. If workers are to make the contribution expected of them, I reiterate, they should be educated.

I would like to say that the desirability of establishing a research and information centre cannot be overemphasised. I associate myself with the statement made by the African Advisory Committee that "there is a need for *basic applied research* in order that the evolution of labour administration, as regards the extent and the level of its role, the nature and scope of its competence and the extent of its resources, may be based on as full and clear as possible an evaluation of the social and economic realities of the countries concerned". I hope this Conference will adopt a resolution requesting the Governing Body to take immediate action.

I wish now to talk precisely about technical co-operation, which is the third item on the agenda: integrated programme for the promotion of adequate national institutional arrangements. I note with satisfaction the growing activities of the ILO, from paragraph 10 of the report, more particularly the manner in which the ILO programmes in Africa have expanded. This fact is illustrated by the figures indicated in the report. Without playing down the tremendous efforts being made and achievements attained in this respect, I would like to add that it is necessary that a more adequate balance between these major technical assistance areas in which the ILO is directly active, or through the United Nations Development Programme, should be established. As stated in the report of the Committee on Technical Co-operation and Industrialisation to the International Labour Conference at its 51st Session (1967), "the percentage of funds

allocated to the development of social institutions as well as conditions of work and life should be substantially increased." To this end, I am happy to note the statement made in paragraph 11 (Report III) to the effect that "for obvious reasons the greater part of the funds available is devoted to activities designed to help the African countries develop their human resources: vocational training, management development, productivity—all being applied to industrial and agricultural activities and craftsmanship as well as to services and with emphasis laid on the training of instructors."

I also welcome the adoption of the Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa submitted to the Conference. I hope this will enable the technical co-operation provided in the field of human resources development to be planned even more effectively and extended through the co-ordinated pursuit of employment, training and productivity objectives.

In the conclusions concerning the ILO and technical co-operation which it adopted on 28 June 1967, the International Labour Conference confirmed that the participation of employers and workers in the preparation, implementation and evaluation of the ILO technical co-operation programmes was a fundamental necessity by virtue of the Constitution and of the tripartite character of the Organisation. The same session of the Conference emphasised that participation by employers' and workers' organisations in technical co-operation programmes and projects should be applied systematically, taking into account national practices.

We welcome the ILO's constant endeavours to maintain close relations with African employers' and workers' associations, largely through the network of offices it maintains in the African countries, to inform the employers' and workers' organisations of the purpose of their mission.

Report II refers to manpower planning programmes, which form the essential objective of the ILO's activities. I associate myself with the views expressed therein, more particularly on the training of national personnel capable of preparing development plans and programmes and ensuring their proper implementation. However, I should like to add that, since workers are indispensable for the implementation of any development plans, it is essential that training be given in the first place to labour leaders, to enable them not only to impart the knowledge so acquired to their colleagues but also to appreciate the complexities and the importance of economic and social development programmes.

It is a fact that the ILO has in the past undertaken workers' education programmes. However important those ad hoc seminars may have been, there is a real need for the creation of a permanent education institution catering for workers. The African Advisory Committee at its Third Session laid particular emphasis on the importance of occupational groups. The feelings of the Committee have been amply brought out in its report.

The Committee foresaw the importance of strengthening the workers' education programmes for trade union leaders in order to enable them not only to participate intelligently but also to discharge their responsibilities towards technical co-operation activities. Such training of leaders, it is sufficient to say, has a multiplier effect as far as the grass-roots trade union membership is concerned. I appeal to the ILO to give the workers the tools to enable them to discharge their responsibilities in regard to development programmes. I reiterate that I am not decrying the tremendous work done by the ILO in this field but merely asking that those efforts should be stepped up, accelerated and placed on a permanent basis.

Finally, the real participation of workers' and employers' groups in development programmes presupposes that they enjoy in their respective countries true freedom of association and action. I should like to underline this aspect by saying that workers' groups which enjoy liberal treatment and freedom of action are more of an asset than a liability. By being accorded such freedom they come to realise that they have certain obligations with regard to the fulfilment of national goals.

Mr. WAMBURA (*Government delegate, Tanzania*)—Allow me first, Mr. President, to associate myself with other speakers in offering you sincere congratulations on your election to preside over this distinguished assembly. I should like also to take this opportunity to extend warm and fraternal greetings to the new member States of this Conference and to express my Government's appreciation to the International Labour Organisation for arranging this important Conference, and my gratitude for this opportunity of addressing the assembly.

The timing of the Conference is significant in a number of ways. First, five years have elapsed since the Second African Regional Conference at Addis Ababa. It is important that the African countries take stock of their past performance in the field of labour. It is equally important that the African countries lay their plans on how we in Africa can best achieve the utmost for the peoples of Africa.

Second, as we all know, the ILO is this year celebrating its fiftieth anniversary. This is an important event in the history of the ILO, and is an event relevant to this Conference inasmuch as we shall have an opportunity to review and discuss the important role the ILO has been playing, and continues to play, in the field of peace and social justice. An important aspect of the ILO's fiftieth anniversary is the launching of the World Employment Programme, which, fortunately, is an item for discussion at this Conference. I am confident that the deliberations of the Conference on this item will be of great value to those who are concerned with planning and implementing social and economic development in their respective countries.

In the Tanzanian context the Conference coincides with the launching of our Second Five-Year Development Plan, which is really nothing more than a continuation of our planned struggle against poverty, ignorance and disease. That struggle finds its expression in the Arusha Declaration, the philosophy of which incorporates the principles of socialism, social equality, self-reliance, economic and social transformation and African economic integration. We in Tanzania attach the greatest importance to the principles contained in the Arusha Declaration, not only because we have chosen the path of socialism but also because we believe, and believe very firmly, that through socialism Tanzania will be able to arrest the abuses of capitalism and thereby avoid the polarisation of our society into the "haves" and a large army of "have-nots".

In framing these few remarks concerning the importance of this Conference I have been greatly heartened by all that I have read in the Director-General's Report about the problems which face developing countries in Africa. One thing which I find most outstanding in the Report is the statement that Africa must develop its own institutions and ways of doing things if we are to attain social and economic progress.

I would like to address myself to this subject. Tanzania shares the Director-General's conviction that evolution of the right social and economic institutions is almost a prerequisite for development. Since this is an African gathering, it is the proper place for African governments to tell each other about experiments, successes and failures in the different parts of the African region. An important economic institution in East Africa is the East African Community, composed of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania and whose membership is likely to grow when Zambia, Somalia, Ethiopia and Burundi join. Our view is that the arrangement has proved, and is proving, to be of immense political and economic importance to the people of East Africa. The ILO has itself recognised this and has already offered to assist in solving some of its various problems. It is the hope of my Government that if Africa is to forge ahead in its struggle for social and economic development this type of arrangement should be tried in other parts of Africa. In Tanzania itself the basic economic and social institutions of the State consist of the para-state bodies, the co-operative movement, trade union movement, etc., all of which are necessary to associate all sections of the community in working for national development. What has this meant in the social and economic fields?

In the first place it has meant that our Government must recognise that Tanzania is a State of peasants and workers, that it was elected by these peasants and workers and

that it must enjoy their support. This therefore requires that the Government act in the interest of the people and must always act to solve their many problems in the best way it possibly can. I am proud to say that my Government has recognised these obligations right from the start. That is why it has done, and continues to do, all it can to satisfy the aspirations of the people.

In pursuit of social and economic progress, the Tanzanian Government has chosen the socialist path, which finds its expression in the Arusha Declaration. As I have indicated elsewhere in my speech, the Arusha Declaration is a socialist instrument which guides our economic development efforts and lays down principles of social justice between all the sections of our people. The adoption of the Arusha Declaration has committed the Tanzanian people to the principles of socialism and self-reliance and therefore requires of every one of us hard thinking and hard work in the right direction. Our motto therefore has been " Socialism and Self-Reliance ".

Our stand on socialism finds its place in our declaration that we wish to build our economy on the basis of the equality of all citizens; we have specifically rejected the concept of creating a class system where one group of the people owns the means of production for the purpose of getting personal profit and another group works for them. It is even worse when this handful of individuals happens to be of foreign origin. With these considerations in mind, the institution of the modern rural villages wherein inhabitants undertake " *ujamaa* villages ", i.e. co-operative or group farming and co-operative sale of their produce, is one of the most significant of our economic institutions. *Ujamaa* villages are proving a big help to government efforts to provide social services to rural people who are otherwise scattered.

Looking back at the history of the ILO, one sees a shift in emphasis from what one could call the traditional role of the ILO, whose primary concern was to afford protection to workers. Such protection may roughly be said to aim at achieving two objectives. On the one hand, it aims at imposing health measures which protect the worker from damage to health and physical harm as a result of work and, on the other hand, it aims at imposing measures which will ensure a certain standard of living for the worker by preventing payment of excessively low wages and protecting the wages themselves against the employers' instincts of exploitation. The emphasis now is on social and economic development. The ILO, as my delegation told the International Labour Conference in June this year, has fully woken up to the alarming implication of the glaring economic inequalities between the nations of the world. My President, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, described the situation in 1963 at an FAO conference in Rome as presenting " a picture of such violent economic contrasts that for all the contact there can be, different sections of mankind could be living not just in different planets, but in a different solar system, that statistics of poverty contrasted with riches of obesity in one country and hunger in another ".

The analogy of the existing gap between the rich and the poor countries is also apt when applied to the existing gap between the urban and rural areas in developing countries.

In our second five-year development plan, more than in the first plan, top priority has been given to rural development. We consider rural development as the key both to the achievement of the production targets in the plan and the social goal of spreading development to the mass of the people. It would be Utopian to believe that rural development, which has led to *ujamaa* villages and co-operative production units, will come about without concerted leadership. Good leadership is a " must ". In other words, the development of the physical resources needed in this connection must be accompanied by the development of human resources, an essential element of which is the building up of an adequate institutional structure, not only to support, or even make possible, physical and technical progress but also to ensure that the people concerned—the millions of cultivators and other rural workers—both participate actively in the development process and share adequately in the rewards of progress.



We firmly believe that rural development answers many of our social and economic problems, some of which the Director-General cites in his Report. We have in all developing countries, and to a lesser extent in developed countries, the problems of unemployment and the influx of youth to cities and towns. These problems become alarming when one sees the thousands of young people who leave schools and colleges every year to enter into the labour market, only to find that employment opportunities are very limited indeed. The many who are unlucky in finding employment flock to the towns and become social misfits, with the consequence that some of them become criminals. With properly developed rural areas supplied with roads, schools, dispensaries, clean water and other social amenities, we hope to minimise the influx of our young people into towns and to be in a better position to encourage them to take up agriculture as a way of earning their living. If we are to succeed in this important task we require to change our educational systems so that they may become more geared to developing the land by way of agriculture than merely directing the attention of our schoolchildren to white-collar jobs. Our youth must be taught the best way of utilising the land, which is in abundance. At the same time we have to continue making our rural areas more attractive for people to live in.

It is for that reason that we welcome the Director-General's appeal to international bodies to step up investment in the economic and social infrastructure in the rural sector and for research. In Tanzania greater resources have been earmarked for the *ujamaa* villages in rural areas, and we lay particular emphasis on training of all kinds so that the human capital of our country may have the chance to play its proper role in development.

Mere commitment to rural development and even an enlightened leadership for its achievement is not enough; it is necessary to have the right institutional organisations to undertake this task. Hence in Tanzania we place great reliance on co-operative societies. These are all co-ordinated through the Co-operative Union of Tanganyika. The Government is inviting this national organisation to represent peasants in the same effective manner that the trade union movement represents the interests of wage-earners.

Concentration on the development of the rural sector does not mean that the urban population should be left to develop in a haphazard manner. Just as there is a need to develop the rural sector there is an equal need to develop the urban areas, but there must be co-ordinating machinery between the two sectors. In all the developing countries of Africa the urban population is comparatively small. In Tanzania, for example, it accounts for only about 5 per cent of the total population, but this small population is a force which no government can afford to ignore.

My brief remarks on urban—and especially on rural—development are intended to show that the adoption of the Arusha Declaration in 1967 marked the beginning of a new phase in the history of the Tanzanian people in their struggle against poverty and oppression and is aimed at raising the people of Tanzania from a state of poverty to a state of prosperity. In this endeavour we have come to realise that the resources available to our nation for economic development are not unlimited. Hence we have to economise the use of the sparse resources at our disposal and to determine very carefully the priorities for development.

Tanzania has laid great stress on increased productivity. To achieve this requires the proper attitude of mind: an attitude of welcoming change for the better; an attitude of looking at things afresh so as to explore the scope for improvement; an effort to make optimum use of available resources towards the achievement of the target. In this connection I should like to mention our National Institute for Productivity, which has over-all responsibility for giving advice in this field. The ILO and the UNDP, to which we are most grateful, through their technical co-operation programmes, have played an important part in building up this Institute. Many industrial undertakings

in my country are taking advantage of this expert Institute and are making increasing use of its services.

This brings me to an important topic with which the Director-General deals in Chapter IV of his Report, namely the participation of employers and workers in national development. I accept the fact that there are many and varied factors affecting productivity; I also accept the fact that the efficiency and enthusiasm of the labour force is an important facet. Hence the importance of associating workers and, in the rural areas, the peasants, with the running of their respective undertakings. The rationale of associating the workers in the running of the undertaking is based in part on the need to increase production and improve output. It is argued that where workers are associated fully in the process of formulating and executing policies, they are more likely to be willing to co-operate in reaching production targets. It is also argued that such participation will produce a more harmonious relationship between management and labour and instil in the workers the necessary sense of responsibility and the feeling of belonging to the undertaking in which they are employed. Since 1964 Tanzania has enacted legislation which requires the setting-up of a workers' committee in each undertaking to advise the employers on disciplinary matters. The Government of Tanzania is currently engaged in considering suitable forms for further associating workers in industrial management. Thus Tanzania will soon be introducing a system whereby workers, together with management, will be able to come together to discuss future plans and programmes affecting their industry and to decide on ways and means of making their industry a success.

Before closing, I should like to say that this Conference gives us an opportunity to consider our social and economic problems in the African context. We can be guided by the experience of others but, in the final analysis, as true representatives of our continent, we can only hope to achieve anything if we devise our own institutions and practices based on our own traditions which take care of our own problems. Let us, therefore, identify our problems and then devise ways of solving them.

I am most grateful for the opportunity to address this Conference and to be able to assure this assembly of my Government's abiding interest in the work of the ILO and of its support now and in the future, as in the past, for the principles for which the ILO stands.

In conclusion, I should like to take this opportunity to express the gratitude of my delegation for the warm welcome that the people and Government of Ghana have extended, and are continuing to extend, to us. I should also like to express our very high appreciation of the work of the members of the staff of the ILO and of all those who are concerned with the organisation of this Conference. I am sure that their efforts will contribute greatly to the success of our Conference.

*(Mr. Georget takes the Chair.)*

*Interpretation from French:* Mr. WALTER (*Government delegate, Mauritius*)—Each time I address so distinguished an assembly and try to follow the beaten track by offering congratulations to the President, I wonder whether it is really congratulations or sympathy which we should offer to him because, sitting in his chair, he cannot move and is condemned to listen to everything we say. Any mistakes he makes are obvious and it is only when the work is successful that he earns any credit. But in this particular case I think it is a good thing to congratulate him, for several reasons. The first is that the President is the Minister of Labour of Ghana, the host country of this Conference; the second is that for ten years now Africa has been playing an active part in the activities of the ILO; and the third reason is that it marks the end of this glorious year in the life of the ILO. So to the congratulations pouring in from every side I will add my own.

*(The speaker continues in English.)*

Now let us get down to business. The questions confronting this Conference were formulated by the African Advisory Committee two years ago when it stated that the problem of employment is the gravest which faces Africa today. The remarks of the Advisory Committee are as valid today as they were two years ago.

It is agreed that in his Report the Director-General has included a most brilliant, not to say ingenious, idea—the World Employment Programme—and pilot projects are being contemplated by the ILO in order to get that Programme going. In this connection Mauritius offers itself as a guinea-pig for one of the pilot projects. I will try to make out a case for this so that the offer which is being made may be seriously considered.

Mauritius is an island and as an island it suffers the fate of all island States—it cannot expand and whatever development takes place is limited to the area that it covers. The first thing that comes to mind when one thinks of the limited area which the island covers is the demographic problem because—say what you like, do what you like, think what you like—overpopulation is the basic problem which any country, today or in a decade or in twenty-five years' time, must reckon with. Whatever development is attained, whatever improvements are made, whatever social justice is achieved, will be eaten away and eroded by the alarming increase in population. As a victim of this, I can speak from personal experience. I took up the cudgels in this connection when I was Minister of Health and I launched a family planning plan in spite of very heavy opposition, and today it is an accepted fact. So if we accept that demography is the basic problem it can be seen that all the others—unemployment, underemployment, overemployment—are but the sequelae.

Mauritius is a very sophisticated country, with a high standard of living and a big per head income—there is no doubt about that—but it is moving gradually towards a lowering of these standards. Why? The price of sugar has gone up. Tea is the next industry, which Mauritius is developing fast, effectively and efficiently. So why are standards going down? For the simple reason that there will be more mouths to feed, more children to be admitted to schools, more people to go to hospitals, and a greater need for better roads, more water, more electricity, more housing. Therefore the social changes must be related again to the demographic problems.

In countries with this problem, as I have said, there is also the problem of unemployment, and this involves the need for employment, the waging of war against unemployment and the control of overemployment. Let us examine each one in turn.

The problems facing the ILO in connection with the World Employment Programme can be related in some degree to those facing a small country, an island, where the law of supply and demand just does not apply. There is an excess of supply over demand. Take trained personnel, for example: in Mauritius we have hundreds of masons, carpenters, joiners, primary school teachers, secondary school teachers; we even have plenty of doctors; we have 388 qualified medical officers, with 47 specialists in any field you can think of. But, although all this is necessary, what do you do with these people when it comes to the lower levels, when you have 6,000 people coming on to the labour market every year, when 24,000 children have to be admitted to school in January? What do you do with them unless the ILO and the World Employment Programme investigate very carefully the problems I am putting to you today, such as: whether possibilities for emigration exist within the framework of Africa and of other countries—Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom (where the door is already half closed), France, Belgium, the United States; whether these countries should not help those facing an employment problem; whether emigrants should not be helped; whether a revolving fund should not be put at the disposal of such countries as have the possibility of exporting human resources; whether the eventual employer in the receiving country should be responsible for the repayment of the fares of the emigrants concerned.

In the United States, for example, there is a report every month which includes details of the demand for skilled personnel in the different states, but when one thinks

of the fare from Mauritius to the United States, or from Africa to the United States, it is clear that unless the Government intervenes these possibilities just cannot be contemplated. Skilled and trained personnel can be exported but we need the help of the developed countries, the rich countries. It is not enough for the rich countries to come to international conferences and say that the gap between the rich and the poor is growing wider. Let us get down to brass tacks. They should understand that we do not want money, we want them to help us to catch up and make up for what we have lost through centuries during which we were barred from governing and administering our own affairs. This is what we ask so that the possibilities of emigration can be seriously contemplated.

The demographic problem must be contained. In this connection the big countries should help, as do the international organisations, to stop the alarming increase in population in every part of the world.

Then there is the problem of overemployment. In small countries, to take one example, a man may be working as a messenger for a firm during the day, as a messenger at a cinema in the evening and delivering milk in the early morning. Therefore that man, who already has a loaf of bread, and butter to put on it, is trying to add some ham or some cheese to that, while the man outside has not even a loaf of bread. So here again the ILO should make a serious study of the ways in which this problem can be contained. The workers should be told about this, they should be educated to a realisation of the fact that they cannot have three jobs while there is unemployment.

In this connection, an employment card and an identity card would be useful. Some people will say this is a restriction on the liberty of the individual, but I do not think so. I believe that this is a means of identification which must be used for the proper control of labour and manpower. The employment card could be kept by the employer and produced when the enforcement officials visit a firm or industry. If the card was not produced this would constitute an offence, which should be severely punished. The identity card would also provide a means of controlling the migration of labour from one district to another.

During the debate on the Director-General's Report many speakers have told us of the difficulties of rural development. Indeed, these difficulties and the modern tendency of people from rural areas to move to urban areas are facts which must be considered by everybody, whether from a big or a small country. Perhaps we could learn a lesson from countries such as Puerto Rico and certain Far Eastern countries, where investors are told: "Right, you are a foreign investor, you want to invest in my country. We are grateful to you. Labour is not expensive. We will give you a tax holiday." We give them a tax holiday, say of seven years, but what do we tell them? "If you go to the urban areas, it is seven years, because it is easy for you to distribute your goods, to transport your goods to the sea or to the airport. But if you go to a rural area, we will give you ten years' tax holiday, with a possibility of extension to fifteen years' tax holidays." This is one way of coping with the situation, which is really serious, in the developing of the rural areas.

Twenty-seven years ago, when I was in an armoured car moving up with my unit from Cairo to Alexandria, waiting for Rommel to hit us any time, we were moving in a real desert. If we looked for a tree, if we looked for a shrub, if we looked for water, we just could not find them. I would invite you to go today from Cairo to Alexandria and to see what the co-operation of the people, the provision of facilities for the emigration of labour, human ingenuity in the use of natural resources and of the water from the Nile can produce. Today there are 8,619 families settled in this province where everything grows, everything from food for cattle to fruit for human beings.

This example can only serve a useful purpose if we can instil in the people the enthusiasm for such projects and if the leadership is such that government means business when it comes to farming and rural development.

Co-operatives—another method which has been suggested in the course of the speeches here—are unfortunately, from our experience in that field, a failure unless the people are first educated to understand the basic principles of co-operation. Man by nature likes to be a decided individualist and it is only by training that he can be put into a collective herd. Let us make no mistake, let us not delude ourselves on this point. These are facts and we have got to accept them.

Now this question of island States, which I mentioned earlier on, is something which I strongly recommend the ILO to contemplate, to see whether in such circumstances, as a pioneer project, this would not be the ideal basis for future work in this particular field.

We see that the help of the ILO and of the international agencies in different fields in the underdeveloped or developing countries sometimes results in mere waste, for the simple reason that there is no co-ordination between the different forms of help and assistance given, because they do not form part of a consistent policy which is related to the needs and requirements of the country.

Here again, therefore, the co-ordinating unit which is suggested in the Director-General's Report deserves all praise because it is only by dovetailing those different forms of assistance into a consistent policy that we can achieve anything.

But all this said and done, how are we going to face the challenge of the future when the problems keep increasing and keep varying? The ILO is helping as much as it can as regards the provision of experts; international agencies are helping with the maximum possible technical assistance—sometimes with political strings attached. But otherwise, are we in a position, as sons of Africa, to look at our problems squarely and to say to ourselves, in the words of the poet, “the one who looketh at the clouds shall not sow, and the one who looketh at the wind shall not reap”? Here, I think, lies the salvation of Africa. The effort must be from us. We are the architects of our own fortunes and without self-help there can be no self-reliance; with self-help, self-reliance follows naturally and then we will be in a position to invite the international agencies and the ILO, in particular, to show to the world that its winning of the Nobel Peace Prize is not only an effort of the past but will be an effort of the future.

You will remember that in his speech the Secretary-General asked “Have we earned the Nobel Prize?” Have we been worthy of it? Yes. But is that sufficient? He mentioned, also, the old maxim that effort is more important than achievement. I am glad to hear that the Director-General accepted what I said last year in Geneva in quoting the words of Browning in *A Grammarian's Funeral*:

“ This high man, with a great thing to pursue,  
Dies ere he knows it.

That low man goes on adding one to one,  
His hundred's soon hit.”

*Interpretation from French:* Mr. IMALAYENE (*Government delegate, Algeria*)—I should first like to congratulate the Minister of Labour of Ghana on being elected to the highest office of this Conference and to thank Ghana for its welcome.

This Third African Regional Conference is being held at the close of the period in which the States Members of the Organisation have been celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the ILO. The lofty nature of the subjects stressed during these commemorative ceremonies will undoubtedly contribute to spurring the Organisation to greater efforts in its struggle for progress and social justice.

Algeria, aware of the great role which the ILO must play in the defence of the interests of the working classes, has made a point of paying tribute to the Organisation by various ceremonies which continued for a whole week. The award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the International Labour Organisation was considered very appropriate by our country.

The holding of regional conferences is evidence of the desire of the Organisation to adjust itself to the new situation in which the international community finds itself after the fundamental changes which have occurred, particularly since the Second World War. We would here restate our determination to spare no effort to bring about real democratisation and decentralisation of the structures and operations of our Organisation in order that its performance of the important tasks with which it is charged may constantly be improved.

The questions on our agenda are of undoubted interest to the African Continent, where most of the sovereign States still suffer from the results of foreign occupation.

I shall deal later with the Director-General's Report. In our opinion it is a valuable study, the contents of which will permit of fruitful discussion. I shall first deal briefly with the other items before us.

The question of ILO technical co-operation in Africa was included in our agenda following a recommendation of the Third Session of the African Advisory Committee, held in Dakar in 1967. Without prejudging the issue of our discussions, I should like to stress the particular importance of this matter, with which we should be permanently concerned at all our conferences, seminars and meetings at all levels. ILO action in this field differs from that of other specialised agencies in that it is marked by a constant seeking for social justice. This meets a need which did not escape the authors of Report III, which states that " In this field the ILO is guided by its constant concern to help the countries of the African Continent to achieve a careful balance between economic expansion and social progress, since the two are closely interrelated."

As regards the problems of labour administration and inspection, these are closely linked with the internal institutions of each member State. We consider, however, that the standard-setting work of the ILO is a great contribution to the solution of institutional problems in the various countries. We appreciate, in particular, the profound studies and increasing discussions of this problem in the African context.

The question of employment in Africa is in our opinion closely linked to the problem of the economic emancipation of our continent, so the role of the ILO in this regard must differ radically from that which it played in the industrialised countries. To have a job in Africa is at present a privilege; for that reason this problem must be studied in the broadest possible manner.

The standard-setting role of the ILO in the defence of the rights of workers with stable employment should, in our opinion, be largely transformed, because of the high level of unemployment in Africa, into technical assistance, with particular emphasis on vocational training. We very much hope that this Conference will tackle that problem from this particular aspect and in close relation with the World Employment Programme launched by the Organisation on the occasion of the United Nations Second Development Decade.

All the points I have mentioned are studied by the Director-General in his Report in a wider context. A reading of the Report enables us to appreciate the constant effort of the Director-General to place African problems in their true context. It is on some of those problems which are common to us that I shall now make a few observations.

The first relates to technical assistance by all the United Nations agencies. We all know that the programme of assistance to the developing countries during the First Development Decade ended in almost total failure. We must seek the causes for that failure before starting the Second Development Decade. In this connection it seems to me of interest to refer to the questions addressed by the Economic and Social Council to the specialised agencies of the United Nations.

The reply of the ILO to the question concerning development seems to bring out one of the causes of the failure of the First Development Decade. In a Governing Body document it is stated that the failure, at least relative, of the First Development Decade seems to have been largely due to the fact that we concentrated on purely economic objectives.

Of course, economic growth must be followed by action to achieve social justice by means of an equitable distribution of the product of the national economy. But we think the fundamental cause of the failure lies in the unyielding refusal of the highly industrialised countries with liberal economies to renounce their traditional tendency to dominate our countries, the old forms of direct exploitation being replaced by disguised forms, particularly the maintenance and worsening of the imbalance in the terms of trade.

My second remark relates to rural development in Africa. According to the Director-General's Report, of an active African population of 112 million, 77 per cent were occupied in agriculture in 1960 and only 9 per cent in industry. The figures I have quoted show the importance of agriculture for the African Continent, and any action to be undertaken, any assistance to be given to African countries in this regard, must take due account of this fact. In our opinion, the development of the rural areas must necessarily be sought through agrarian reform aimed at eliminating the consequences of feudalism and through the intensive training of leaders capable of carrying out such a decisive task. The ILO must proceed to more thorough planning of all the means suited to this end.

I would also recall our position according to which the functions of regional offices, regional advisory committees and regional conferences must be broadened in order to enable them to meet, at least partially, the imperative requirements of the developing countries within the general framework of economic development and the struggle against unemployment.

In order to accelerate economic development we would like to stress the value which should be attached to promoting the effort of industrialisation of the African countries by intensifying technical assistance to young African industries and by action to create conditions for inter-African co-operation in this particular field. It is illusory, we think, to seek to remove the impediments resulting from economic underdevelopment by directing the main effort towards agriculture. Such a policy, which we are invited to adopt by many industrialised countries, could only accentuate world economic disequilibrium.

Only a sustained effort of industrialisation can lend impetus to the process of creating productive, stable and durable employment, thus re-establishing world order through our economic liberation.

In this connection I should like to point out that, while my country, after recovering its sovereignty, took radical action in agriculture and entrusted the management of the best land to those who work it, raising labourers to the level of responsible farmers, at the same time it also struck out on the path to total emancipation by devoting a large part of our resources to industrial investments. Under our four-year plan these will amount to some \$3,000 million, or three times as much as we have invested in agriculture.

My last remark concerns the gravity of the problem dealt with in Chapter V of the Director-General's Report, which deals with human rights and international labour standards. The Director-General has pinpointed the risks proceeding from disregard of human rights, not only because of the resultant danger to the independence, progress and security of the African Continent but also as regards world peace. In this connection I should like to quote from the Report: "While in most countries national policy and practice accept the principle of racial equality and seek to guarantee equal rights for all citizens, there are frightening exceptions to this rule. The policy of *apartheid*, practised by the Government of the Republic of South Africa, is deliberately aimed at perpetuating a system of racial segregation and inequality, and similar discriminatory practices are being pursued in Rhodesia. Such policies are a matter of deepest concern to Africa, indeed to the whole world, not only because of the humiliation and injustice that they inflict on millions of African workers but because they tend to keep alive throughout the world a resentment in race relationships

which, unless curbed and finally eliminated, will threaten world peace and stability.”

There are, alas, other grounds for concern to which the Report does not refer. Some parts of Africa, such as Angola and Mozambique, are under colonial domination and human rights are made a mockery of. Moreover, an African State Member of the ILO and of this Conference was in 1967 the victim of cowardly aggression by Israel. The nature of the task assigned to the ILO by its Constitution requires this Organisation to take a clear stand regarding any aggression involving non-respect of human rights and any discriminatory practices.

We are convinced that the struggle against such intolerable situations cannot be dissociated from the work of reconstructing our continent. After complimenting the Director-General once more on the quality of his Report, I should like to close by expressing the wish that our proceedings may contribute to the progress of this continent towards total political liberation and real economic development.

*Interpretation from Spanish:* Mr. CUSTER (*representative of the World Confederation of Labour*)—It is a double honour for me to address this important Third African Regional Conference of the ILO. I speak as representative of the World Confederation of Labour, the oldest international trade union confederation, which is active in five continents and 74 countries. It was formerly known as the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions. I also speak as an Argentine trade union leader, that is to say I come from the Latin American Continent, which has such close and fraternal links with the countries of Africa because of the common problems, aspirations and objectives which bring all the people of the Third World together.

First of all, allow me to refer to the admirable Report submitted by the Director-General. Its very title, *Social Change and Social Progress in Africa*, indicates the capital importance of the subject studied. Moreover, the Report as a whole makes a specific and tangible contribution to the struggle of the African peoples to solve the urgent problems which now face them.

In Chapters I, II and III the Director-General discusses in detail social and economic development, rural development, and urban growth and social change. The critical analysis which he makes of the various aspects of the situation is certainly both accurate and profound. Similarly the lines of action which the Report suggests, especially those intended to encourage the creation of appropriate rural institutions to promote agrarian reform and to have due regard to the problems of integrating the workers of urban communities into the process of industrialisation and modernisation, deserve, in our opinion, the full attention of member States and occupational organisations.

However, our Confederation considers that the solution of these great problems which affect both Africa and, to a greater or lesser extent, the other continents of the Third World, cannot be thoroughly solved save in the context of an over-all integral development of the peoples concerned. This development, in its turn, cannot be achieved by maintaining the present international economic relationships—i.e. the various modern forms of imperialism.

In the opinion of the World Confederation of Labour, imperialism is not only political; it is also economic and commercial domination which may be exercised in various ways. In one of its forms imperialism can affect international commercial relations through the manipulation of world credit. This kind of domination requires the countries which are dominated politically, economically or commercially to accept the financial conditions imposed upon them either by the dominating countries—the so-called rich countries—or by the international financial organisations which they direct. These conditions, of course, are determined in most cases by the requirements and interests of the dominating countries themselves. One of the most definite proofs of what I have said is that the raw materials and basic products exported by the countries of the Third World are paid for at ever lower prices, because, as may be imagined, their prices are fixed in the great commercial and financial cities of the developed



countries; whereas the manufactured products and capital goods which the countries of the Third World have to import are becoming increasingly expensive.

It is therefore essential that, apart from jointly seeking solutions for the grave problems of underdevelopment and unemployment, the countries of the Third World and the international organisations concerned should jointly struggle against every kind of imperialism—and I am referring especially to that effected by means of international trade and economic and financial pressures.

We are aware that a drastic reform of international trade relationships would also demand an effort by the developed countries—more fitted to bear the burden than the underdeveloped countries which suffer from the unjust consequences of the present imbalance in international trade. Even so, however, our world organisation has already warned its members in the developed countries that they also, in a spirit of genuine solidarity, must be disposed to suffer the drawbacks and make the sacrifices required if international trade is to be reorganised.

The World Confederation of Labour, appealing to States and international organisations and institutions in various meetings related to the Second Development Decade, has maintained that the problem of development at the world or continental level cannot be solved by action stemming from the individual efforts of men and nations if such action has no other object than merely to obtain as much profit as possible in the shortest possible time.

Another important factor in the broad area of development and employment problems, which are so closely inter-related, is the urgent and indispensable need for a real increase in world solidarity. But the effort in that direction appears to have been diminishing for some time, if we are to believe the statistics produced by the various international organisations. The World Confederation of Labour believes that the contribution by the rich countries should reach and, if possible, in the shortest possible time exceed the figure determined at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, namely 1 per cent of the gross domestic product.

This contribution should be converted increasingly into disinterested multilateral action, and for this end it would be advisable to have a world fund (modifying the present international institutions) or in some other way. All countries in the world should contribute to this fund in proportion to their gross domestic product, and it should be administered by an elected renewable body on which both the industrialised and developing countries would be represented.

The main part of the moneys distributed would take the form of subsidies. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development made a recommendation in June 1969 to that effect and proposed a balance between gifts and loans which should be studied and, if necessary, adjusted. In reality it should be possible for 75 per cent of the total flow of credits to be distributed as subsidies and 25 per cent in the form of loans. The latter should carry interest not exceeding 2 to 2½ per cent and should be reimbursable in 25 to 30 years.

Investments of private capital do not constitute an assistance, even when they can be subjected to the disciplines necessary to enable them to play a part within development, because their aim is first and foremost to make profits. Nevertheless, private capital can to some extent help development if three basic conditions are fulfilled: firstly, if the investors accept to work as a part of the national development plan; secondly, if they reinvest an important percentage of their profits in the country itself; and thirdly, if they agree to participation by the State in the companies set up so that there may be proper control and co-ordination.

Nevertheless, our organisation believes that efforts must be made to increase the contribution by public capital to development programmes, without concessions of any kind and in accordance with the conditions I have just described.

According to the Pearson Report, recently submitted to the United Nations, it has been estimated that if all the industrialised countries concerted their efforts, the

developing countries could save enough in twenty-five years to become effectively independent; whereas if things go on as they are independence will be achieved only in fifty years' time. This process could be accelerated even further if there were general, simultaneous and supervised disarmament—as our organisation has always demanded—and if the astronomic sums of money thus saved were to be devoted to development.

We therefore believe that, if the problems of global and integral development are to be solved, it is urgent to change international trade relations, to reinforce world solidarity and to intensify investments in the Third World. It is also vitally necessary to begin general disarmament. In saying this we do not depart from the subject under discussion. On the contrary, we merely reflect the spirit of the Director-General's Report, which shows how necessary it is to find basic solutions for the grave problems which hamper the development of African countries and all the nations of the Third World.

That is why the World Confederation of Labour enthusiastically supports the proposals in the Director-General's Report and in the supplementary reports on the other agenda items of this Conference. But our organisation calls your attention to the fact that the problem of social progress and employment and the problem of rural and urban development—although they require urgent solution and fall within the scope of our action—must be dealt with in the general framework of the original causes of underdevelopment, that is to say political, economic and commercial imperialism, the increasing deterioration of the terms of trade and the lack of any effective world solidarity. That is why our action in the search for urgent partial solutions must be part of the concerted battle which all the countries of the Third World must wage in order to break asunder the shackles to their development.

In this respect, all the African countries, as well as the other countries of the Third World, together with the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the regional economic commissions—and also the ILO in so far as possible—should play an important and essential part. In this task—and I think I speak on behalf of all workers—the trade union organisations are prepared—and are indeed entitled—to play a dynamic and responsible role.

The World Confederation of Labour feels obliged to refer very briefly to the last two chapters of the Director-General's Report.

Firstly, I would refer to Chapter IV of the Report which deals with the participation of employers and workers in national development. We consider that this chapter demands the adhesion of our world-wide organisation. Reproducing a former report presented to the First African Regional Conference of the ILO in Lagos in 1960, and in direct relationship with the role of trade union organisations, the Director-General says:

“Whatever the growing pains of the labour movement or the transient troubles of industrial relations, one fundamental principle should be constantly reiterated: spontaneity and freedom must be maintained. . . . Free associations are the condition of both human dignity and social progress; and responsible leadership is certainly the counterpart of freedom.”

He goes on to say:

“While it is true that the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948 (No. 87), and the Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention 1949 (No. 98), have been ratified by many African countries, there are a number of African States in which their practical application runs into difficulties. What, for example, should be done to avoid a state of affairs in which the exercise of trade union rights and freedoms runs counter to the economic prosperity of the community as a whole?”

That is why the World Confederation of Labour places special emphasis on those paragraphs in the Director-General's Report and expresses its deep preoccupation with the fact that in several African States a number of trade union rights have been

violated, trade union leaders have been arrested, persecuted or banished and trade union organisations have been searched or shut down. For those reasons our organisation reiterates the necessity to ensure full trade union freedom and at the same time emphasises the right of trade union organisations to take part, in their own right and without losing their autonomy, in the tasks of national construction and the integral development of the national community.

As regards Chapter V of the Report under discussion, we wish to draw the attention of this Conference to two paragraphs in the Director-General's Report, as follows:

"The Declaration of Philadelphia proclaims, for instance, that the central aim of national and international policy must be the attainment of conditions in which all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, are able to pursue their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity."

He adds:

"But the prospects of stability and economic prosperity of a society are severely compromised if its citizens are denied the right to exercise their civil liberties and rights of association. . . . And the subordination of human rights to political and economic considerations must be refuted also on moral grounds, since this constitutes a denial of the fundamental purpose of economic development, which must be to promote the freedom and dignity of man."

So how great must be our anguish, how vigorous our denunciation of the innumerable violations of human rights which we observe in the African Continent and in other parts of the world, where human rights are being overlooked or indeed trampled underfoot?

For this reason the World Confederation of Labour will always insist that, no matter what path may be followed, all plans for social change or the development of individual States should bear in mind the rights of human beings since, in the last resort, man must be the object of any undertaking of society at any level and in any situation.

The grave problems of the African Continent, such as *apartheid* and colonialism, are a challenge to the conscience of all mankind and require energetic condemnation. We would ask States which maintain trade relations with those régimes to break off those relations immediately. The aberrant policies practised by the Republic of South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal are humiliating for the African peoples who must submit to them, and, as the Director-General says, such acts jeopardise peace throughout the world.

The World Confederation of Labour, while supporting the Director-General's Report, believes it has made a modest but sincere contribution to this Conference in putting forward certain basic guidelines for establishing the conditions for a genuine and complete liberation of the peoples and the individual and collective promotion of the workers, so that every man may freely, actively and responsibly exercise his inalienable right to be the architect and master of his own fate.

Mr. KALIYOMA (*observer, Malawi*)—Following the example of other delegates who spoke before me, I should like to congratulate Mr. Kaleo on his election as President of this Conference. He has already amply demonstrated his fitness for this appointment during the course of our discussions. It is particularly gratifying to me, representing as I do the Republic of Malawi, that this Conference is taking place in this country which is well-known to us. Malawi has always wished Ghana prosperity and happiness.

Before making a contribution to the discussion of the Report of the Director-General, I should like, first of all, to state that I am here as an observer from the Government of Malawi. Malawi could not afford to send a full tripartite delegation to this Conference but I hope that you will accept my presence here as a gesture on

the part of the Government of Malawi to demonstrate its wish to participate in these conferences despite financial difficulties. We also wished to demonstrate how much Malawi values the significant work of the ILO and the decisions and resolutions adopted at conferences such as this.

The Report of the Director-General, which deals in the main with social changes and social progress in Africa, is thought-provoking as well as being most interesting in that it touches on problems which, I believe, every African sovereign State is tackling.

Malawi is, by African standards, a densely populated country but with limited opportunities for wage employment. Because of this a great number of people are obliged to seek work in neighbouring countries. Again, being a land-locked country, Malawi depends on outside lines of communication for the conveyance of its imports and exports. These factors greatly affect Malawi's economic trends, especially when planning lines of communication and other economic factors. Despite this, however, Malawians, who are mainly agricultural and rural people, are given every encouragement to live and work on the land and to produce enough to maintain themselves and to maintain a cash reserve. Indeed, in order to increase the pace of economic development the Government is laying emphasis on agricultural production, with a view to both increased domestic production and increased exports; on provision for more efficient transport communications; on expansion of facilities for secondary and post-secondary education in order to provide Malawi with the skilled manpower which is essential for the development of the economy; and on industrial development, especially by stimulating private investment.

As for rural development, the Government is doing all it can to encourage people to acquire agricultural land and to provide them with financial assistance and training so that they can, in turn, make full use of the fertile land of Malawi. The Government has therefore set aside certain sections as land development areas. The rural people are given every encouragement to form socio-economic organisations so that they can utilise fully their productive potentialities in the national interest and improve their living standards. The Ministry of Agriculture, and especially the Extension Aid Branch of that Ministry, is fully engaged in the development of agrarian schemes. I am pleased to say also that the United Nations and friendly foreign governments have come to the aid of Malawi in this. Within five years of independence much has already been done and the pace of development is most encouraging at the moment. It is also the aim of my Government to balance development as between rural and urban sectors so that neither gains at the expense of the other. That is why the President of the Republic of Malawi, H. E. Ngwazi Dr. Kamuzu Banda, calls upon his people to take up agriculture in a proper manner and not to develop their areas merely to produce enough to maintain themselves at subsistence level but to plan for a reserve for sale.

With regard to the role of the organisations of employers and workers in national development, the Government has established a National Labour Policy Committee whose aim is to promote awareness among both employers and employees of their role in the development and building of the nation of Malawi. This Committee examines all aspects of employment which aim at the promotion and growth of employment, the growth of industries and raising the standard of living in general. Therefore it is the policy of the Government that both employers and employees should participate in all such schemes and make their contribution to national development.

At this juncture I should like to take the opportunity of expressing the gratitude of the Malawi Government for the co-operation extended to it by the ILO, whose assistance is readily given whenever required.

We in Malawi are at present engaged on a scheme aimed at increasing the tempo of localisation in the private sector, where it has been found that the pace has been slow. Therefore Malawi has asked for the assistance of a specialist to establish an appointments bureau. The establishment of such a bureau, with expert assistance in running it, would be a realistic step towards the successful implementation of the

scheme of localisation within the private sector. An approach for such assistance has already been made to the United Nations Development Programme and it is hoped that the outcome of this request for assistance will be the arrival, in the first instance, of a consultant, eventually to be succeeded by a specialist, in Malawi.

Malawi has taken full advantage also of training courses and seminars organised by the ILO. The recent seminar on international labour standards, which took place in Addis Ababa, immediately comes to mind, because Malawi values all guidance given by the ILO on the basic principles of human rights. The ILO should be specially commended for its active participation in the training of manpower and the dissemination of new ideas through fellowships, seminars, conferences such as this one and counterpart training projects.

Before concluding my speech I should like to refer to the proposed Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa and the technical assistance which the ILO proposes to offer to developing countries in Africa. Each country has been asked to state whether technical assistance from the ILO will be sought within the foreseeable future and whether the country concerned would participate in programmes organised and planned on a regional as distinct from a national basis. It is, I think, the foremost aim of every country to formulate an employment policy which would devise plans for the elimination of unemployment and underemployment. The methods outlined for securing the realisation of these objectives are those which we would all wish to undertake if we had sufficient means. It is common knowledge that these objectives can only be achieved through the machinery of a well-thought-out employment policy; an education and training policy; improved manpower planning machinery; and improved statistical data. Therefore the idea of establishing a team of experts having regular channels of communication with the various governments and making regular reviews of progress is to be welcomed.

It is the feeling of my Government that some aspects of the over-all programme would be of benefit to Malawi provided there was concentration on the provision of additional employment opportunities and the provision of training facilities for workers. It is, however, also felt that caution should be exercised here, since by regional units the whole of Africa is meant, and my Government believes that it would not be possible for any regional field unit to familiarise itself completely with the employment problems of any country unless the unit spent a lengthy period of time familiarising itself with the unemployment problems of its host country. Again, any recommendations made by the field units would have to be in conformity with the real needs of individual countries as stated in their respective national development plans and policies. Any progress made by the field units on a country-by-country basis should also be recorded in simple annual reports so that the progress and success, or otherwise, are made known. However, despite these observations, Malawi would do everything possible to participate in such projects.

May I, on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Malawi and on my own behalf, offer to the President, to the Government of Ghana and to the distinguished representatives gathered here my best wishes for the success of this Conference in this famous and very hospitable country.

Mr. KANYAGO (*representative of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions*)—The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions has the greatest pleasure in greeting the Third African Regional Conference of the ILO.

As the Director-General points out in his introductory Report, 1969 is a year of particular significance both for Africa and for the ILO. It marks the fiftieth anniversary of the Organisation and the tenth anniversary of the first meeting of the ILO African Advisory Committee. By a happy coincidence it also marks the twentieth anniversary of the foundation of the ICFTU. To round off this recital of anniversaries—unfortunately on a much less happy note—it also marks the end of the first United

Nations Development Decade, which has seen the notorious poverty gap between the world's rich and poor nations widening instead of narrowing.

This failure to make the smallest impression upon the world's number one economic and social problem is particularly glaring in Africa and is strikingly illustrated by the fact—quoted in the Director-General's Report—that twenty-one African countries still have an annual gross domestic product of less than \$100 per head of population. It is unnecessary to spell out what this cold statistical fact actually means to the mass of Africans in terms of poverty, suffering and degradation of human dignity. That is why the ICFTU agrees one hundred per cent with the Director-General when he states in the Introduction to his Report that the item on the agenda relating to employment policy is of the greatest importance. At the appropriate time we shall have something to say about the other items on the agenda, but here we wish to limit our observations to the proposal for a Jobs and Skills Programme outlined in Report IV (2), together, of course, with the background analysis contained in Report IV (1) and the relevant sections of the Director-General's Report, *Social Change and Social Progress in Africa*. Our approach to these matters is dictated by the conviction that the problem of employment in Africa is not merely of the greatest importance, but one of urgent and overriding importance which should take precedence in our deliberations over all others.

In the analysis of the economic background the reports to this Conference rightly place the decisive role of rural employment in its correct perspective. For agriculture is the sector in which the overwhelming majority of Africans are at present occupied. This is a fact of life which is universally accepted by the free trade unions together with the practical implications which arise from it. We would like to insist on this trade union attitude, because we have a feeling that certain governments still harbour the old-fashioned prejudice that the trade unions of their respective countries are exclusively concerned with maintaining the allegedly privileged position of a tiny minority of urban workers. We say "allegedly" advisely, for it should be obvious that the extremely high rates of urban unemployment caused by the inability of the economy to absorb the continuing massive influx from the countryside and, in the absence of adequate social security protection, the obligation falling to the fortunate few with jobs to maintain the multitude who have none, seriously reduce the apparent superiority in living standards of the urban as opposed to the rural population. The common misconception about trade union attitudes to rural development, moreover, takes no account of two facts: firstly, that a considerable and growing proportion of land workers are already organised in trade unions and, secondly, that following the initiative of the International Federation of Plantation, Agricultural and Allied Workers, these unions are also taking the lead in promoting various forms of organisation to protect the too long neglected interests of non-wage-earning rural workers. Finally, is it not obvious that, even from the standpoint of narrow self-interest, the urban workers are bound to welcome any practical and constructive measures of rural development which can slow down the catastrophic exodus from the countryside with its latent threat—in the shape of masses of cheap unorganised labour—to hard-won standards of wages and working conditions?

In order to arrest this undesirable trend, it is imperative for this Conference to devise ways and means by which traditional attitudes impeding social and technical progress in the countryside can be broken down and made to give way to modern means of production and distribution. There is need to establish well-thought-out schemes of land acquisition and settlement, development of agricultural co-operatives, fostering of rural crafts and rural industrial undertakings. The types of possible activities are mentioned in the Director-General's Report and I need not repeat them here. However, suffice it to say that such activities constitute an integral part of the functioning of a diversified rural economy and accordingly justify concentrated efforts to ensure that they are carried out at as high a level of productivity as possible and

that the workers employed in them share in the fruit of social progress. To this we would like to add that for rural development to achieve its goals and be meaningful, it is necessary whilst considering the economic activities that may be undertaken by the rural workers to remember that the rural population also need some of the modern amenities of life.

Turning to the Report of the Director-General and papers prepared for this Conference, we would say that the keynote is appropriately employment and acceleration of skills on the continent. My delegation considers the question of unemployment and underemployment on the continent to be one which calls for immediate and concerted effort at the national level. Hitherto the approach to employment opportunities has merely been treated as an academic exercise by those responsible for preparing development plans. Experience shows that in their efforts to achieve a rapid rate of economic development, African member States are tempted to lose sight of the need to expand employment opportunities. It appears that in planning their industrial development many governments are more interested in achieving a rapid increase in the gross national product, tax revenue and foreign exchange than in the absorption of this continent's abundant manpower in productive employment itself. Employment is regarded by economic planners as being of secondary effect in Africa rather than as one of the objectives of industrialisation. The existing machinery for consultation between the ILO and the ECA which is responsible for co-ordinating the economic planning efforts can help to ensure that employment is given as adequate a place in the development plans as it deserves. We would, however, like to emphasise that we consider it extremely important that such consultations should not only be conducted at expert level but in full co-operation with the three constituent groups in the ILO, namely governments, employers and workers. The voluntary organisations have some experience to offer the planners in the field of labour policy and it is also important for the implementation of the plans that the full support of these organisations is secured. We would also like to point out that even for those technical co-operation activities entrusted to the ILO by the UNDP and other agencies for implementation or supervision, the tripartism of the ILO should never be lost sight of.

Allow me to make a quotation. As was rightly pointed out by our delegation to the African Regional Conference in Addis Ababa in 1964: "Briefly, and rather dramatically, an economic revolution is taking place in Africa. More and more capital-intensive methods of production are being resorted to and employment of labour is tending either to stagnate or actually to decrease in quantitative terms, even where total output might be increasing. Thus a rapid rate of capital investment, which is, incidentally, imported, so that it is not creating more employment opportunities, is drastically reducing the manpower requirements for every unit of output.

"This means that the fruits of economic progress in many of our countries in Africa are benefiting a decreasing proportion of our expanding population, at least in the industrial sector, while the bulk of our population is still engaged in traditional agriculture with often stagnant and, at times, decreasing incomes per head of population. The ominous social and political implications of these income disparities alarm the awakened trade unionists and the alert politicians. In the true spirit of African socialism we consider it ill-advised to allow these trends to develop privileged classes in countries whose economies we should be helping to build. Consequently, my delegation would like to summarise some of the problems for combating the problem of unemployment and underemployment, in conjunction with the Report of the Director-General. This does not of course mean that we have found all the solutions to the problem."

First, a much higher proportion of our development efforts on our continent must be devoted to the improvement of the productivity of agriculture. This will mean maximum utilisation of land, the use of co-operative production, training and, generally, the use of all possible technical know-how in organising production and marketing, as well as the maximum use of the rather less expensive or inexpensive equipment

for improving production. It also involves the purposeful mobilisation of resources in the rural sector and the intensification of studies by the ILO, in collaboration with the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, of input-output relations in the rural development of Africa.

Secondly, employment should not be treated in all development plans as of secondary effect but as one of the objectives to be attained in the plan period.

Thirdly, more labour-intensive production methods should be used without sacrificing efficiency. We know that such methods are not cheap, but it is a question of how to work in order to dovetail production in such a way that the growing unemployment is taken care of and at the same time wages are increased.

Fourthly, there should be a re-examination of the educational systems in many of the member States and of the role that may be assigned to vocational and technical training. The strategic role of training in stimulating employment in general cannot be overemphasised. One of the factors hindering the trend towards a more capital-intensive technology has evidently been the lack of trained middle-grade personnel—that is skilled workers, supervisors and technicians. By overcoming this bottleneck we may make it possible not only for the middle-grade personnel to find employment but also for a larger number of unskilled workers to be absorbed in industry. It should be noted that an improvement in the training standards of the labour force would increase the productivity of labour and thus reduce the relative unit costs of employing labour as compared with capital. This, to us, is a stimulus if one wants to encourage the employment of labour rather than capital.

I should like now to refer to multi-national corporations and conglomerates. These are a feature of our times, causing far-reaching structural change in the world economy. However, multi-national corporations, being global enterprises of massive economic and financial strength operating on a world-wide scale, escape any form of democratic control. They pose a new challenge to the international labour movement. These firms determine, in practice, prices and production conditions and often have great weight even in national political decisions. Within the general trend of concentration, a further challenge is posed by conglomerates based on stock market speculation, which constitute a threat to the jobs and working conditions of employees in plants taken over.

Certain multi-national corporations place workers in different parts of the world under one employer and thus tend to undermine established industrial systems, restrict the right of workers to organise and limit their right to enter into co-ordinated collective bargaining at whatever level is appropriate.

For these and other reasons the ICFTU has decided to press for more democratic co-ordination of the activities of these multi-national companies, and we trust that the ILO, based on its tripartite structure, will be an ideal forum where these problems may be discussed at the international level.

The ICFTU and its affiliated organisations have long been insisting on the need to associate the trade unions with national planning, and we therefore welcome the recognition in the Director-General's Report of the role of workers' and employers' organisations in economic development and nation-building.

I should like to touch upon a question upon which my organisation welcomes the firm reiteration of the ILO's principles regarding human rights, in Chapter V of the Director-General's Report where he declares that "the constitutional instruments of the ILO leave no room for compromise in this respect". We welcome too, his renewed condemnation of the abhorrent policy of *apartheid* practised in South Africa, and similar discriminatory practices in Rhodesia. It is to be regretted, however, that no mention is made of the Portuguese African colonies, where it is notorious that human and trade union rights are also daily trampled underfoot.

It should not be overlooked that one of the best means of combating racialist and reactionary policies of this kind is to ensure that the governments represented



at this Conference maintain a shining example of freedom and democracy in their own labour policies. We therefore associate ourselves wholeheartedly with the Director-General's appeal to African governments to ratify a number of ILO Conventions, such as the Social Policy (Basic Aims and Standards) Convention, 1962 (No. 117), and the Employment Policy Convention, 1964 (No. 122). There is no doubt that of more widespread ratification and implementation of these Conventions would greatly promote economic and social progress in Africa.

Regarding technical co-operation and labour administration and inspection, my delegation has already submitted two papers to the various committees. However, I should like to conclude on this note. As for other elements of the Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa we have already made certain suggestions regarding rural development, education, urban growth and trade union participation in national planning and economic expansion, and human rights, all of which we should like to see taken into account in framing the final programme.

In conclusion, may I be permitted to make one or two observations on the composition and function of the proposed task force. It would no doubt be useful to add a few experts from other United Nations agencies for specialised tasks. It should be added, however, that the inclusion of trade union experts on employment problems in the task force is a prerequisite for ensuring success. It would, in our opinion, however, be a mistake to share responsibility for this operation with other agencies. The immense task of finding full, productive and freely-chosen employment for millions of underprivileged Africans is too urgent and important to allow it to become bogged down in a maze of co-ordinating committees. Employment problems are primarily and pre-eminently an ILO responsibility; and the Organisation's tripartite structure provides the most effective and democratic way of dealing with them.

For similar reasons of urgency, we would repeat the appeal made earlier in this statement for more frequent meetings to review progress than would normally be provided by sessions of the African Advisory Committee.

May I take this opportunity to thank, on behalf of the ICFTU delegation, the Government of the Republic of Ghana for arranging this Conference in the beautiful city of Accra and also to thank the people for their hospitality.

*(The Conference adjourned at 11.30 a.m.)*

## SEVENTH SITTING

Monday, 15 December 1969, 9.30 a.m.

*Presidents: Mr. Kaleo and Mr. Awab*

### REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL: DISCUSSION (*cont.*)

The PRESIDENT—We shall continue our discussion of the Director-General's Report.

Mr. SIMWANZA (*Workers' delegate, Zambia*)—I have great pleasure in conveying to this Third African Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation fraternal greetings from the working people of Zambia through their trade union national centre, the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions. They pray and wish this historic Conference successful deliberations.

Having recently achieved political independence, the Zambian workers and their dynamic Government are presently engaged in a number of economic and social projects in the country. The aims and objects of these projects are to promote and achieve the most rapid and lasting results in terms of economic emancipation and social progress for mankind.

Needless for me to say that to achieve these lasting results for mankind is by no means easy. It requires a united front and a spirit of co-operation and peace from the people inside the country and from outside. In this connection, the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions notes with great appreciation the technical and professional assistance the country has received and is still receiving from the International Labour Organisation, from the international trade union movements and from different governments of the world. This assistance in the fields of technical and academic education, in agricultural and farming industry, in construction and building projects and in trade union organisation, as well as in the co-operative societies, is greatly appreciated.

It is against this background of appreciation that we, the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, join our brother workers all over Africa in looking to this Third African Regional Conference of the ILO with great optimism, in the hope that its successful deliberations will not only aid the implementation of the Director-General's Report on *Social Change and Social Progress in Africa* but also accelerate the economic and social projects inherent in the Four-Year Development Plan in the Republic of Zambia.

The success of this Conference will, therefore, constitute a milestone in economic and social progress in Africa—and here I refer in particular to the question of employment policies in Africa. It is a great relief that one of the technical committees of this Conference has been entrusted with the important task of elaborating a jobs and skills programme for Africa. We are aware that this plan is an important complement to the over-all World Employment Programme of the ILO. It is gratifying to know that both the international community and the internal planners have started to recognise that the provision of jobs and skills is one of the most vital factors of over-all development.

We from the trade union side have always stated that there cannot be economic development without there being opportunities of work for anybody who is fit and wants to work. But may I remind the Conference that offering employment is not and must not be an end in itself; it must be a means to an end. It should contribute to an improve-

ment in the general level of living and it must be accompanied by adequate guarantees of decent remuneration. We therefore strongly support the proposals made to the Conference in that connection, which not only cover the question of urban employment but also go into the most important question of raising the standard of living in the rural areas. May I add here that our efforts for the effective realisation of our objectives as workers can only be a success if this Conference agrees on definite proposals for immediate action and not on mere resolutions.

Here may I be quite frank and say that I do not think any action can have a chance of success without the effective participation of workers' organisations. We are willing and prepared to make a full contribution if only we are afforded the possibility of making such a contribution. We therefore look upon the tripartite structure of the International Labour Organisation as an ideal pattern for action at the national level.

Technical co-operation has been an essential element of development. We consider as timely the decision to put that item on the agenda of this Conference. The ILO has certainly undertaken spadework in the fields of its competence in that respect. What we should like to see is that whenever ILO experts are sent into fields which relate to labour they do not forget the tripartite structure of the ILO, which they represent. We hope that, since this is a criterion for the ILO, those experts will be in constant contact with the workers' and employers' organisations.

May I add, in connection with the opening remarks of the Director-General's Report, that the end of this present decade in the life of the ILO has also been marked by the full participation of the Zambian Government and the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions in the ILO's activities. His Excellency the President of the Republic of Zambia himself has given a lead to the workers to celebrate the ILO's activities, and the work of the ILO is therefore widely known in Zambia through booklets, newspapers, radio and television, as well as through trade union seminars which are held in different parts of the country.

In conclusion I should like once again to express our profound satisfaction at the award of the Nobel Peace Prize this year to the International Labour Organisation. As the President of the Republic of Zambia, Dr. Kaunda, so rightly stated at this year's International Labour Conference in Geneva:

"For fifty years of its life the International Labour Organisation has given considerable attention to the original objective of advancing 'the cause of social justice'. The Organisation has dealt with the immediate problems facing the working man: better working conditions; better employment opportunities; social and economic security; and others which generally and universally affect the lives of workers.

"But the field of action has widened; the spectrum of the responsibilities of the ILO, nay, its obligations, is an ever-widening one. Today the Organisation shares a basic concern for peace; it is one of the major instruments for the protection of rights not only of workers but of all mankind. In the Declaration of Philadelphia in 1944 the ILO reaffirmed its support for the fundamental principles which govern man's whole existence—freedom of expression, removal of poverty and promotion of progress, war against want—and reaffirmed the right of all human beings 'to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity'.

"To date the attainment of social justice and equal economic opportunity remain basic to the objectives of the world's workers. These objectives still give expression to the deep-seated and universal desire of men all over the world to live a decent life in freedom and justice, in peace and progress."

Mr. SHEHATA (*Government delegate, United Arab Republic*)—It gives me great pleasure indeed, Mr. President, to convey to the Conference on behalf of the people and Government of the United Arab Republic our greetings and best wishes. Allow me,

in their name and in the name of the delegation which has accompanied me, to extend to you, Mr. President, our most sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of this Conference. My colleagues and I are confident that this Conference will herald a new decade for the people of this great continent and for future economic and social development in every African country.

The sincere amicability of the ILO team at this Conference and the facilities which are being generously granted by the people of Ghana and its Government should and will contribute to the success and effectiveness of this Conference.

The Government and people of the United Arab Republic welcome this opportunity afforded by the International Labour Organisation to assemble and meet our brothers in this big continent of Africa, at this time of our struggle for self-determination and for the establishment of fundamental human rights, as defined in the United Nations Charter and upheld by the International Labour Organisation during the last fifty glorious years of its existence. It is against that background of achievement that we offer to the ILO's Director-General, Mr. David Morse, the United Arab Republic's congratulations on the well-deserved and well-merited award of the Nobel Peace Prize this year in respect of the continuous meritorious services rendered by the ILO under his untiring and inspiring leadership.

During the last ten years, the relations between the International Labour Organisation and the countries of Africa have developed greatly with the establishment of the local offices and also the process of decentralisation of administration of technical matters. We hope that the International Labour Organisation will continue to pay more attention to this and keep under periodic review further reorganisation of the administrative machinery of the ILO's operations in Africa until a better and more co-ordinated system has emerged. It is hoped that the regional and area offices will bring about the much-needed co-ordination in respect of the various ILO-sponsored projects as well as the allied and related projects of the United Nations and its specialised agencies operating in this continent.

The need for the availability and supply of technical literature and data as and when required by the countries of Africa should not be minimised, and it is here that much of the help needed can be made available by the area offices. Further, the exchange of technical know-how between the countries in the sub-region and also the results achieved in respect of different exercises undertaken in the different countries of the sub-region, can be disseminated to the advantage of the countries concerned, and thus duplication of effort and expense may be avoided.

We appreciate the assistance we have received so far, though we feel deeply that the share of Africa still demands a greater allocation of monetary funds and the utilisation of African technical know-how by its experienced personnel. The ILO's interest in Africa started late, and it should be appreciated that better results will be obtained if African technicians and experienced persons are utilised in the conduct of the various ILO projects in the Continent of Africa, for they are in a better position to understand the problems. We understand our house better than outsiders, and therefore, without importing foreign ideas, the Africans wish to improve their lot with their own understanding of the situation and of what is best suited to the African developing economy. Therefore we appeal to the ILO to divert more technical assistance to the cause of Africans to be used for their benefit and by the Africans themselves.

The increased process of Africanisation of the ILO services in Africa will no doubt give greater impetus to the attempts to raise employment levels in the rural and agriculturally based industries. In this performance the new programme under the World Employment Programme, that is the jobs and skills survey, is, to my mind, an essential and inescapable exercise in Africa.

We agree with the Director-General that the time has now come to undertake a thorough stocktaking of different achievements in the field of economic and social progress and to draw up a programme of action for the achievements of our goals,

consistent with our development policies, so that the greatest challenge of our times—fuller and better utilisation of human resources—may not only be met but that their wholehearted co-operation may be secured by their participation, and this can be achieved only by improving their productive capacity and capability.

We are in complete agreement with the Director-General that comprehensive attention must be paid to the problems affecting the ever-increasing numbers of new entrants to the labour force in an organised way through well-conceived programmes of guidance and employment counselling so that the energies of young workers are not frittered away in unproductive pursuits but are mobilised so that the young workers are enabled to take an active part in raising the level of economic growth of the country. It is equally important to devote attention to rural economies so that modern trends do not destroy traditional art and cultural values but are adapted so as to make rural surroundings attractive and thus avoid exodus to urban areas.

The United Arab Republic's great efforts in the field of agricultural reforms, farm settlements and agricultural co-operatives are geared to achieve these very objectives in the socialist pattern of its development plan. The United Arab Republic, as one of the oldest Members of the ILO, attaches great importance to its programmes. It is in the same spirit of co-operation and collaboration that the Government of the United Arab Republic offers its full support to the programmes proposed at this Conference, and it is prepared for their implementation within the framework of the United Nations Development Programme. The employment and manpower institutions are now in such a developed stage of preparedness that these can help the United Arab Republic's programmes of surveys and inquiries.

Our hopes for the future and our aspiration to build up and develop our countries socially and economically can only be realised under conditions of lasting peace. No matter how many efforts we make or resources we mobilise for economic and social development, the results can be jeopardised if our people and land continue to face conspiracies and acts of aggression. Some African countries are constantly threatened with such acts, which are capable of arresting their development and endangering their independence. We believe that peace can only be won for all Africa if we join hands and hearts against the aggressors. No peace can be realised as long as foreign armed forces occupy the territories of any African country. The liquidation of such forces and true respect for United Nations resolutions and world public opinion can only bring peace to our land.

Once again I wish you all success and hope that our efforts may be a landmark on the road to peace and prosperity for our great continent, Africa.

Mr. I. M. AHMED (*Employers' delegate, Sudan*)—We are happy to gather here at this Third African Regional Conference as one solid African family. The presence of the Director-General's representatives and the members of the Governing Body at this Conference add to our happiness, especially since this is the fiftieth anniversary of the ILO, this outstanding Organisation which has contributed much to world peace. Indeed, its efforts have been rewarded by much success and its achievements are now crowned by the award of the Nobel Peace Prize. On behalf of the Sudanese employers, I wish to record our high esteem for the work of the ILO.

Mr. President, your election to the presidency of this Conference where issues relating to the progress of our African Continent are discussed is a tribute to your distinguished personality, the Ghanaian people and Government as well as to the rising African peoples. May I associate myself with previous speakers who have congratulated you and express my best wishes for a fruitful conference under your leadership.

The participation in this Conference by Africans on a tripartite basis is a healthy sign and shows further the determination of the African peoples to make progress after long suffering. We are here today not only to discuss reports which expound the

problems facing the economic and social progress of our continent; we are here also to outline the vital role played by Africans in the maintenance of international peace and security.

The subject chosen by the Director-General of the ILO—*Social Change and Social Progress in Africa*—is of the utmost significance and is the concern of the States and national organisations of Africa. The peoples of this continent, through their intensive manpower and economic resources, have exerted considerable efforts to effect changes which touch the very roots of their social and economic life. Their contribution to the progress of the new Africa cannot be ignored and, indeed, is shared by both official and national organs. It is true that in my country and in other African countries the population is increasing and poverty and suffering prevail, but given the right approach and with our vast resources further progress and changes can be made. The dream can come true with the support of the international family and the self-support effort to be undertaken by our governments and national organisations.

In my country, despite diverse opinions on industrial relations matters, identity of purpose concerning the changes necessary to achieve progress in the social life of our community has been achieved and by collective effort many projects have seen the light of day. Collaboration by the peoples and the social institutions of our continent can contribute considerably to the achievement of a better standard of living in our individual countries and in the new Africa as a whole.

The Sudan employers, aware of their role in this economic and social development of our country, look on labour administration as an essential organ for the acceleration of progress. In order to create a peaceful environment for work we are taking an effective part in plans related to our country's social and economic development and, with a realistic evaluation of our needs, we shall improve performance standards in labour administration. However, at this juncture the Sudan employers share the opinion of other employers that standards of labour administration can be raised by increasing its effectiveness and its scope. In this field the governments play the main part and should see to it that labour administration is placed at a higher budgetary level in order to cater for qualified, well-paid staff. They should provide training centres, statistical centres, adequate accommodation and transportation facilities. We also share the opinion that there should be impartiality concerning labour administration, and the participation of employers' and workers' organisations in the working plans are essential for the creation of a peaceful environment for employment. I hope that this Conference will recommend to the ILO that governments should set out lines of action to improve labour administration in our continent.

On the subject of technical co-operation, I do not wish to add anything more to what has been said from this rostrum and to the information contained in the ILO document on this item. Assistance in all forms and from all sources is needed and, above all, the participation and contribution of the ILO, if welded to the efforts made by our developing countries, will help in the planning, acceleration and execution of our economic and social schemes. I would add that the ILO should allow employment opportunities to more Africans in its cadre to acquire experience to meet its recruitment policy of experts to the African countries. Likewise governments should call upon the employers' and workers' organisations to take part in the implementation of technical co-operation programmes. Employment policy is an acute problem in my country and is of vast dimensions. Probably it is the same for other African countries, where the problems are identical. Despite the fact that a number of schemes have been launched by the public and private sectors, the situation remains disturbing. In my opinion the solution to the problem in my country—and for that matter, other African countries—is to concentrate on the introduction of projects where the great bulk of labour is to be found, particularly in the rural areas, and to avoid the introduction of projects for political prestige. Concerted efforts must be undertaken by the countries of Africa at the national level and by all Africa to encourage domestic capital investment

in labour-intensive schemes; foreign capital investment should be encouraged for capital-intensive projects provided it is unconditional and sincere and will enable our countries to stop lagging behind and push ahead.

The African Advisory Committee considered the social and economic development of Africa to be retarded by unemployment, and the Jobs and Skills Programme before this Conference suggests direct fields of operation, although it does not pay much attention to the employment of domestic capital in its simplest form or the fostering of education and training to meet the requirements of the more modest plans. With such practical suggestions this Conference could truly be regarded as the African opening of the World Employment Programme for the formulation of employment policies.

In my country a new employment policy has been launched within the national plan of social and economic development. The Government has announced the formation of a National Employment Council and provincial councils, and the employers' and workers' organisations are represented. These councils will look into the question of employment and consider solutions of the problems of employment. It is understandable that such effort at the national level will produce fruitful results only if fertilised by international contributions. That is why we give our support to the request of our Government that the Sudan be considered by the ILO as one of the main fields of the World Employment Programme.

The improvement of conditions of work and life has always been the concern of this dedicated Organisation, the ILO, and the deliberations at this Conference are intended to further its aims and humane efforts for world peace. Today these humane efforts are challenged by evil forces of aggression and colonisation and a great part of the world community is deprived of the simplest human rights. The peoples of Palestine, the peoples in occupied Arab lands, are suffering aggression, and the situation of the peoples of Viet-Nam, Angola and Mozambique is an example of destructive colonial activities which are an insult to all who aspire to peace. It is a disgrace to the human race that today some of our African brothers are still under colonisation or suffering the evils of *apartheid* and racial discrimination. I appeal to the members of this Conference and to the ILO to continue their honourable, humane effort side by side with other peacemakers to remove these disgraceful and destructive elements which are working against the peoples of Africa.

I wish the Conference all success.

Mr. SOLOMON (*Workers' delegate, Ethiopia*)—Allow me, Sir, on behalf of the Workers' delegation of Ethiopia to congratulate you and your Vice-Presidents on your election as President and Vice-Presidents respectively of this Third African Regional Conference of the ILO. We are all confident that your long experience and ability will be a great asset and will enable you to discharge the responsibility placed upon you. Let me also take this opportunity to thank the Government of the Republic of Ghana for having agreed to play host to this Conference and for the facilities placed at our disposal. Finally, I would like to thank the people of Ghana for their kindness and hospitality. We wish them well during their transitional period towards full civilian rule.

I should now like to make some short observations on three important items on the agenda—namely, technical co-operation and the participation of occupational groups, labour administration, including inspection, and the most important question of employment in the Continent of Africa.

My delegation associates itself with the idea expressed in Report III that in view of the importance of technical co-operation, more particularly to African member States, this problem should be kept under constant review. We are all aware that there is a great weakness in the technical co-operation machinery both at the national and at the international level. This disharmony is hindering the efficient use of available resources. While talking about the required machinery I should like to stress particularly

the importance of the participation of the occupational groups in the devising and implementation of such technical co-operation activities, whether they are the direct responsibility of the ILO or entrusted to the ILO by bodies such as the United Nations Development Programme for implementation and/or supervision. My delegation must regretfully point out that there is not enough consultation between those responsible for the implementation of such technical activities and the occupational groups, more particularly the workers. Very often the occupational organisations are offered something to implement about which they have never been adequately consulted in the initial stages. Further, there is a tendency to play down the contribution which such groups can make, and what consultations do take place are merely passive, and the views sought are never taken seriously. The result is thus serious mistrust between the various organs responsible for carrying out such technical co-operation activities, with the consequence of frustrating such activities.

My delegation notes with satisfaction the rising percentage of ILO funds earmarked for Africa. It hopes that with the ILO's decentralisation policy the amount so allocated will not only increase but will be more efficiently used for the benefit of this continent and its people.

My delegation welcomes and fully supports the adoption of the African Jobs and Skills Programme. There is no need to emphasise that my delegation is certain that such a programme will help technical co-operation in the field of human resources development to be adequately planned and efficiently used. It would be a mere platitude for this delegation to emphasise the importance of increasing rapidly jobs and skills in this continent. Our present underdevelopment stems from the very fact that our resources, and more particularly our human resources, are not sufficiently developed to meet the present-day social and economic challenge.

With your indulgence, Mr. President, I should like to observe that with industrial development Africa is today faced with a challenge—namely, labour administration and inspection. The work done so far by the ministries responsible for labour in our various countries is praiseworthy. However, my delegation would like to suggest that with economic expansion there is urgent need for re-examination of the situation. Re-examination of the situation is all the more necessary if we are to obtain industrial peace and attain our production goals. The work of the ministry of labour seems to be scattered too much among various other ministries. There is need to centralise all labour activities under one ministry, which must be provided with the resources to deal adequately with the problems that arise.

The number of labour administration centres, to say nothing of labour administrators and inspectors, is grossly inadequate and, with all due respect to the delegates present here, the training which labour personnel receive is nothing compared to the amount of work they are called upon to do. It serves very little purpose to have extensive labour legislation if there are not sufficient well-trained government officials to enforce it.

This delegation is not unaware that labour administration and the problems that arise have long been the concern of the ILO. However, we hope that with the support of the ILO the member States will try to improve the situation of labour administration and inspection. To this end, my delegation welcomes the establishment of a new training centre for the English-speaking States. We look forward to the time when the proposed centre will be able to turn out highly qualified labour officials who will be capable of winning the confidence of the employers and workers.

My delegation is greatly concerned with the growing number of unemployed, more particularly amongst the school-leavers who, after their formal education, seek in vain productive employment. The situation is aggravated by the number of unskilled workers who are driven away from rural areas by underemployment or unemployment and come to seek productive employment within the urban areas.

My delegation would like to stress one aspect, namely that whilst considering development projects and private investment, account should be taken not only of



how such projects will contribute to the over-all development of a given country but also of how far they will go to assist in the reduction of unemployment.

Very often projects are conceived with one sole purpose: how much they will contribute to the economic growth in monetary terms, without regard being paid to the social side. Since all economic plans are intended to improve the status of the citizens, we hope that when drawing up development plans at the national or multi-national levels or when attracting private investors, the question of utilising this continent's abundant manpower without reducing efficiency will be a criterion. Unemployment is bad for an individual, for the nation and for mankind as a whole, so we must try to reduce it in Africa with all possible means. We shall be making real progress when African human resources are adequately mobilised and rationally used.

*Interpretation from Russian:* Mr. SAFRONCHUK (*observer, USSR*)—Mr. President, first of all I should like to congratulate you on your election to the distinguished and important function of heading this Third African Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation, and express profound appreciation to the Presidential Commission, to the Government and to the people of the Republic of Ghana for their warm welcome and open-hearted hospitality.

On behalf of the Soviet delegation, I wish to greet all the delegates and to wish you every success in your work both here in the Conference, which has a definite contribution to make to the solution of important problems facing the African peoples, and in your own countries.

In the Report of the Director-General, in the other documents submitted for consideration by the Conference, and with even more striking emphasis in the speeches by Ministers and other delegates, we find repeated confirmation that the most urgent task for the African countries is to secure rapid social and economic development while consolidating their political independence.

Ever since they achieved their independence, the social and economic development of the African countries has been marked by instability. In a number of countries this has resulted in a reduction in the growth rate of the over-all production and of the national income per head of population. The Report mentions a number of causes for such instability in development; but we believe it fails to give due prominence to the most important of these—the neo-colonialist policy of the imperialist powers which continue to exploit the African peoples, to regard Africa as a place for profitable investment, as a source of cheap raw materials and as a market for disposing of their industrial goods at high prices. It is no secret that the income obtained by foreign monopolies through trade based on unfair terms with African countries and the exports of profits on capital invested by those countries frequently exceed the loans and credits provided by Western governments. Instances are quite common where the volume of profits exported by a single major foreign company from a particular African country is greater than the total assistance granted to that country. The liquidation of neo-colonialist policies and practices is an absolute necessity and a vital requirement for the successful economic development of the African countries.

The Director-General's Report quite correctly stresses the fact that questions of economic development, the extension of productive employment and social progress as a whole are interconnected, that economic development provides the necessary material foundation for social progress and that social progress in its turn will promote accelerated economic development.

From the historical experience of our country, we are convinced that rapid social and economic development is possible only if there is a properly oriented government policy responding to the essential interests of the workers, if social inequalities are eradicated and if a whole range of radical social and economic transformations is carried out. We are deeply convinced that under present circumstances the accelerated social and economic progress of the developing countries, including the African

countries, demands a radical change in the policy of national income distribution, the establishment and improvement of state planning, the extension and strengthening of the government sector in the economy, the assurance of rapid industrial development, the introduction of progressive agrarian reforms and the modernisation of agriculture. Further, there must be effective control over foreign monopolies and their activities must be subordinated to the aims of national development.

An important element in the range of essential social and economic changes consists of the recognition and genuine safeguarding of the workers' rights—and, above all, those of their trade unions—to participation in preparing the plans and programmes of national development, which would considerably help the African countries towards the solution of the problems facing them. Such transformations will make for the best possible mobilisation and utilisation of the natural, material and human resources of every country, without which it is impossible to count on success, because only the consistent, energetic efforts of the countries themselves can speed up the social and economic progress of those countries. This applies equally to the problem of employment, which is before the Conference.

I should on no account like these remarks to create the impression that we underestimate the importance of technical co-operation with the developing countries; on the contrary, we consider that it can play an important role in strengthening their political and economic independence, provided that it fully corresponds to their national plans for social and economic development. Under bilateral agreements the USSR is assisting African countries in carrying out 320 projects, including 125 industrial enterprises, 75 agricultural projects and over 90 projects relating to the fields of education, health and general amenities. Over 100 industrial and other projects carried out with the assistance of the USSR are already in operation. The USSR is doing everything in its power to help the African countries in solving the problem of training a national skilled labour force by creating advanced and secondary educational establishments, centres and vocational schools. The USSR is helping the countries of Africa in the construction, equipment and educational organisation of fifty educational establishments, of which over thirty are already operative. Although it has become a very common practice to carry out the training of national workers and specialists on the spot in the industrial undertakings built with the co-operation of the USSR, over 5,000 African students are now studying in advanced and secondary technical institutions in the USSR itself.

The USSR is expanding its technical co-operation with the African countries, not only on the basis of bilateral agreements but also within the United Nations and its specialised agencies, including the ILO. In particular, during the past few years a number of seminars have been held under ILO auspices in the USSR for specialists from African countries, on questions of manpower planning, vocational training, the development of co-operatives and labour administration and inspection. In view of the interest shown during these seminars by African representatives in studying experience and practice in the USSR, its competent bodies are prepared to continue favourably disposed towards requests by the ILO to hold such seminars and study tours in the USSR for specialists from African countries in subjects of interest to them. The USSR is also willing to increase considerably the number of experts who could be used under ILO auspices in implementing various projects within the framework of technical co-operation in Africa.

The successes of the USSR in the development of its economy provide favourable prospects for further mutually advantageous economic, commercial, scientific and technical co-operation with the African countries. We shall continue to follow consistently the policy of developing such co-operation on both a bilateral and a multilateral basis.

In granting economic and technical assistance to the young independent African States the USSR is not guided by considerations of the moment or by those dictated by economic fluctuations; nor does it pursue any interests of its own. Our country is a

powerful industrial and agricultural country. It has all it needs for the further development of its economy and culture and for the further improvement in the standard of living of its people. That is an essential element in the peace-loving foreign policy of the USSR, the theoretical foundations of which were laid by the creator of the Soviet State, V. I. Lenin. On 22 April 1970 the people of the USSR, and all progressive-minded people throughout the world, will be celebrating the centenary of the birth of V. I. Lenin, an outstanding thinker, a man of learning and the leader of the workers of all countries. Lenin's teachings, his ideas of the social transformation of the world, have gained broad recognition and their power and the mighty force for change which they represent can be confirmed not only by the outstanding achievements of the Soviet people in all areas of life but by the whole course of development of humanity throughout the past fifty years.

The most important element in Lenin's teaching on the national liberation movement and revolution is the idea that in countries where socialism has triumphed there should be consistent support for the liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries and for social and economic progress. In one of his works published before the great October Revolution in Russia Lenin wrote: "We shall endeavour to grant disinterested educational help to the backward nations which are even more oppressed than we are—that is to say, we shall help them to advance towards the utilisation of machinery, the means of facilitating work, democracy and socialism."

The internationalism of the teachings of Lenin, which call for solidarity with the peoples struggling for their political and economic independence, have consistently been put into operation by the Soviet State since its earliest days. They remain fundamental to our foreign policy. The programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union states: "The CPSU considers fraternal alliance with the peoples who have thrown off the colonial or semi-colonial yoke to be a corner-stone of its international policy. This alliance is based on the common vital interests of world socialism and the world national liberation movement. The CPSU regards it as its internationalist duty to assist the peoples who have set out to win and strengthen their national independence, all peoples who are fighting for the complete abolition of the colonial system."

True to its international duty, the Soviet Union will continue unwaveringly to provide active support for the struggle of the African people towards the full liquidation of the remnants of colonialism and its political, economic and social consequences, and to strive regularly for the consolidation of all forces struggling against imperialism and any form of neo-colonialism, which are so serious an obstacle in opposing social and economic progress for the peoples of Africa.

The Third African Regional Conference of the ILO has been convened at a time when the young independent States of Africa are still obliged to devote a substantial proportion of their resources to the struggle aimed at liquidating the remnants of colonialism in Africa and for the protection of their independence and territorial integrity.

We wholeheartedly endorse the strong condemnations uttered from this rostrum of the inhuman racist régimes in South Africa and Rhodesia, the colonialist policy of Portugal and the Israeli aggression against the Arab peoples. We continue to believe that the ILO, whose vocation it is to promote the strengthening of peace and social justice, should take a firm stand in favour of the granting of independence to the peoples which are still under colonial domination in Africa, in favour of putting the most rapid end to the policy of racial discrimination in South Africa and Rhodesia, and promoting the consolidation of the political and economic independence of the young African States.

*(Mr. Awab takes the Chair.)*

*Interpretation from French:* Mr. NGOM (*Workers' delegate, Cameroon*)—Nine years ago, when Africa was emerging from colonial domination, the First African Regional Conference of the ILO was held at Lagos. Since that time the ILO has made

great organisational efforts to bring its influence to bear in Africa by establishing regional offices, holding many seminars, arranging the Second African Regional Conference at Addis Ababa, and sending many experts to a number of African countries. Today, we meet together at Accra at the Third African Regional Conference.

From this platform, and in the name of the workers of Cameroon, may I now greet and congratulate the ILO on its fine achievements, which amount to what I think I can call the Africanisation of the ILO. During the ten years for which the voice of the African workers has been heard in this great international agency in the world of labour, we have frequently asked the ILO to fall into step, so to speak, with the new Africa. The excellence of the Director-General's Report and of the other reports before the Conference show that our appeal has been heard; so I would not like to fail to associate myself with other speakers in their congratulation of the ILO on this good work.

The reports to the previous Conferences stressed trade union rights and labour-management relations in the case of Lagos and, in the case of Addis Ababa, the necessity for having employers' and workers' organisations participate in the drawing-up and implementation of economic and social development plans in Africa.

Today the Report of the Director-General goes further and deals in depth with the many problems with which governments, employers and workers are presently faced on this continent. We cannot, of course, deal here with all those problems. Our contribution will relate to three questions which seem to us of prime importance.

The first is social development and change in both urban and rural areas. The problems of development inevitably cause social change, both in the towns and in the countryside. It is important that action be taken now to face those problems and to save the future. To begin with, a certain balance must be maintained between social progress in towns and villages, for their problems are becoming more and more closely related. For instance, if we take the gravest problem of the moment, unemployment and underemployment, we may well ask: why is the population of our big cities increasing at such a disturbing speed while the rural areas are emptying?

The first thing to be done is to examine the nature of the rural exodus, which gives rise to complaints on all sides but the profound causes of which are not fully analysed; then there is the question of new undertakings being established in the towns and, lastly, there is the social and cultural attraction of the town over the village. The cities are thus becoming overpopulated, and problems of feeding, housing and transport are giving rise to steadily increasing difficulties. For their part, the rural areas lack electricity, piped water and economic and cultural arrangements calculated to satisfy the needs of a population which is no longer prepared to live in conditions like those of the colonial era.

What must be done about all that? In Cameroon, the Government, the Parliament, the party, the Federation of Trade Unions of Cameroon and the Economic Council are studying and dealing with these serious problems either separately or in the development councils which operate at the local, regional and national levels. The Federation of Trade Unions of Cameroon, for instance, favours the following solutions. First, the rural exodus cannot, we believe, be eliminated altogether, but it must be limited to manpower needs and employment openings in the towns. To keep young people in the rural areas, it is necessary to bring the wages of rural workers up to levels more or less equal to those of wage-earners in the towns; to locate a good proportion of industry in rural areas when the communication facilities so permit; to group the villages in such a way as to permit their development by means of an economic and social infrastructure meeting the needs of the population (schools, dispensaries, electricity, water supply, sports grounds, cultural clubs, vocational training centres, producers' and consumers' co-operatives, etc.). Secondly, in the big cities, in addition to dealing directly with the problem of housing, the State should intervene by means of appropriate machinery in the organisation of food supplies and of public transport for the whole population.

I now come to the problem of participation of employers and workers in national development. I should like to stress the identity of the views of my Federation in this regard with those set out in the Report before the Conference. Since its establishment, the Federation of Trade Unions of Cameroon has adopted dialogue as its means of action in dealing with public authorities and the employers. We are aware that honest co-operation between the principal trade union federation of the country, the government and the party is a decisive factor in the work of building the nation, with due regard, of course, for the respect of trade union rights and the defence of the workers' interests. It is for this reason that my organisation also tirelessly strives for the achievement of total trade union unity in Cameroon, for little of real value can be done if division persists. At present, an important stage is being completed in this field and will be marked by the unification of the trade unions of the two federal states of Cameroon. Regarding international trade union affiliation, our policy has always been, and remains, that of having the African trade union movement achieve unity in organic independence, which does not exclude good relations with any international or foreign national trade union body.

My third point relates to technical co-operation and assistance, which have become indispensable for the African countries engaged in the great battle of development. I have already stressed how much we appreciate the aid which the ILO has given to the African countries in general, and to my country in particular, in the last few years. At the trade union level, for instance, we consider in Cameroon, because of the independence of our trade union centre, that the ILO was particularly indicated as the agency to organise and arrange seminars on workers' education. The first such seminar was held last year and we envisage holding others.

In this regard I would, however, express the wish, in concluding, that ILO experts on workers' education should respect scrupulously the ILO's own neutral line in discharging their duties, particularly in countries where there are independent trade union centres or which belong to different international groupings.

Mr. AMIN (*representative of the World Federation of Trade Unions*)—The secretariat of the World Federation of Trade Unions wishes to offer its fraternal greetings to all delegates at this Third African Regional Conference of the ILO and, through them, to the working class and peoples of the region; to all those who are struggling, since their countries achieved independence, to overcome the political, economic and social consequences of the colonialist era; to all those who are still fighting, often with arms in hand, in South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Zimbabwe and other territories for their liberation and against *apartheid*; and to the working people in the United Arab Republic who are fighting, together with other Arab countries, against the consequences of Zionist aggression supported by the big imperialist Powers.

All those people are waging a just struggle against a common enemy and they find genuine and consistent support from the WFTU for their liberation movement. As experience has shown, since it was established the WFTU has ceaselessly supported the struggle against imperialism and colonialism in various countries and values highly all positive gains achieved by the workers from all countries represented here.

As far as the present Third African Regional Conference is concerned, we would like to submit our thanks and full appreciation to the Director-General for his present Report, which is the main item on the agenda. The Report raises some very important problems with which, speaking in general, the WFTU is also very much concerned. For that reason, the WFTU is convinced, as it has always been, that there is a wide field for common action between the ILO and the WFTU for the welfare of the working class and the peoples of Africa, as in other regions.

Experience has shown that co-operation between our two organisations and other United Nations specialised agencies can achieve positive results in many cases and we

express the hope that efforts will be increased in this field for the welfare of all concerned.

We note with satisfaction that the problems reflected in the Director-General's Report also occupied a prominent place on the agenda of the Seventh World Trade Union Congress held recently in Budapest and in the discussions and resolutions adopted by the participants in that Congress, who included trade union leaders from twenty-seven African countries of local and national organisations both affiliated and non-affiliated to the WFTU.

While we fully agree that the problems raised in the Report deserve our full attention, we consider that our understanding of their fundamental causes is not always the same. Earlier this year we celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the ILO, but the majority of African States had only celebrated the tenth anniversary of their independence and some are not yet independent, including South Africa, which has the largest working class on the continent.

For forty of those fifty years of the ILO's existence, almost the whole of Africa was subject to direct imperialist domination and colonial rule. Imperialism and its persisting heritage is at the root of the obstacles which have to be overcome to combat the present state of economic and social underdevelopment with all its miserable consequences. To overcome the difficulties it is important to emphasise this reality and not to be satisfied by touching only the surface. Needless to say, without a deep analysis of the problems we cannot find the best solutions to them.

Even at the present time, and despite the big positive changes taking place in the region and the sometimes decisive role played by the newly independent African States in international affairs, the exploitation of many African countries by means of neo-colonialism remains the main cause of the persistence of the present state of underdevelopment. The WFTU is of the opinion that the exploitation of many African countries today by the imperialist Powers presents itself under new forms derived from the transition of monopoly capitalism into state monopoly capitalism. One of the reports submitted to the Seventh World Trade Union Congress which was adopted unanimously contains the following passage: "The imperialist Powers and their monopolies still have the whip hand in the economies of many African countries. Operating in mines, agriculture, trade (both internal and external), banking, insurance and in other fields of investment, the monopolies are making huge profits while the economies of these countries remain in a state of dependence and underdevelopment."

However, we notice that the ILO Report does not give any statistics about the foreign monopolies operating in Africa and the profits they derive from it, which we believe is the first obstacle hindering the economic and social progress of the continent and the main reason for the unsatisfactory results of the United Nations First Development Decade, and will be the main reason for the same results of the Second Decade if things are to continue in this way. Nevertheless, the trade unions consider that the way to economic and social progress passes through the bitter struggle against neo-colonialism and the domination of foreign monopolies.

With that conception the two friendly organisations, the All-African Trade Union Federation and the World Federation of Trade Unions, organised a consultative conference at Conakry from 18 to 21 March 1969 to establish the solidarity of the trade unions of Africa and Europe in their common struggle against the imperialist monopolies and colonialism and for the development of economic aid, respect for sovereign rights and national independence. The conference was attended by 133 delegates from both continents and achieved positive and satisfactory results.

The WFTU is convinced that the waging of a common struggle at such a level by different organisations, regardless of their political and ideological differences, will make a direct contribution to economic and social progress for all African people, which is the main task of this Conference.

Although the WFTU considers that all the points on the agenda are of great importance, it shares the Director-General's view that the item relating to employment policy

is of the greatest importance. In examining the problem of unemployment in Africa, we find that it is linked to the same system of foreign exploitation which hinders the free development of human resources. Such a system can only be liquidated by pursuing a non-capitalist way of economic development, that is to say a policy of industrialisation combined with agrarian reform, which is described by the Food and Agriculture Organization in its report, *Progress in Land Reform*, published in 1966, as "a revolutionary change in the social structure"; a policy of nationalisation of foreign undertakings, developing the national industry, and developing the state sector.

Moreover, in order to adopt a correct employment policy greater attention should be focused on the problems of literacy and vocational training, which are closely linked to it. This is especially necessary in a continent in which the number of illiterates among men amounts to 69 per cent and among women to 87 per cent, together with complete absence or a very low level of vocational training. The Conference on Vocational Training and Functional Literacy organised by the WFTU and held in Nicosia from 6 to 10 May 1969, in which many African organisations took part, was a positive contribution in this field. Special importance in this field must be directed towards youth. The WFTU is now preparing to organise a Second Trade Union Conference on Youth and the Problems of Young Workers, which is to be held next year, and we are confident that young African workers will have a considerable representation at that conference.

In addition to employment policy, we should like to draw the attention of delegates to the question of trade union rights, the strict observance of which is absolutely essential for economic and social progress regardless of the state of development of the countries concerned. We fully agree with the statement in Chapter IV of the Director-General's Report that "There are still large numbers of working people who are not members of any occupational organisation. Such people must be organised by the occupational organisations, notably the unions. . . ."

We would also recall what has been said by the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation in *Trade Unions' Contribution to Industrial Development*: "The trade unions represent one of the few groups in the new societies that are firmly committed to the struggle for modernisation even in its early stages. They can, therefore, become key institutions in development." The report continues: "If unions are to make a vital contribution, their role must be substantive, and they must enjoy a real share of decision-making power. In the absence of real powers, they cannot be expected to retain influence among their members, and their participation in development machinery and tasks may become not much more than ritual."

The WFTU is in full agreement with this and appeals to all African trade unions to mobilise their forces to compel their governments to ratify and implement the most important of the ILO Conventions—that is: the Employment Policy Convention, 1964 (No. 122); the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948 (No. 87); the Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention, 1949 (No. 98) (this ILO instrument is aimed particularly at ensuring the application of these rights at the workplace and guaranteeing the right to strike); the Social Security (Minimum Standards) Convention, 1952 (No. 102); the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958 (No. 111); and other Conventions whose ratification and implementation is demanded by the national trade unions in the interest of the working people and of economic and social progress.

In conclusion, we would like to express our hope that the ILO will do all it can to improve its structure to meet the requirements of the changes taking place in this continent and in other developing regions and to develop its control of the implementation of its Conventions, where ratified, and of all other rules in practice.

Mr. MUNENE (*Workers' delegate, Kenya*)—First of all, I should like to congratulate Mr. Kaleo on his election as President of this Conference and to convey

our organisation's sincere apology for the inability of Brother Denis Akumu, the Secretary-General of the Central Organisation of Trade Unions, to attend this important Conference. However we may regret his absence, we all appreciate the fact that it is necessary for the workers' voice to be heard in the Kenya Parliament.

Leaving that aside, I should like to put on record COTU's thanks and appreciation that the Report of the Director-General has been put as the first item on the agenda of this very important Conference.

Some of the items which are to be discussed by this Conference concern the serious challenges which confront most African States. This is particularly true of the item on social change and social progress in Africa. As the Director-General's Report rightly points out, this year 1969 marks the end of a decade in which for the first time many African countries have been able to play a positive and distinctive role in the international community. Since, as I understand it, the main task of this Conference will be to take stock of the past ten years and to lay down future plans, I hope that the conclusions of the Conference will give tangible directions towards social change and social progress in Africa. We are in full agreement also with the view that the Conference must try to draw up a strategy which will enable us to attain the most rapid and lasting results in terms of social progress for workers everywhere.

In our view, we cannot achieve social change while we have such obstacles as great masses of the working population who are unable to contribute to the development of their countries through productive work. This inability to contribute to the development of our countries is brought about by the type of manpower Africa is bent on producing. We produce the type of worker whose education does not allow us to make use of the productive human resources which Africa has in greatest abundance. We all appreciate the problem of unemployment and underemployment which is facing Africa today. We are turning out an unproductive labour force at primary education level. While we agree that we must tackle the frustration and discontent among the young people of Africa by measures in the field of education, training and employment, there is a financial obstacle. Here I would suggest that when we are discussing the Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa we must keep the financial aspect in mind. In Africa this has definitely been the biggest obstacle. African States have no money to meet the educational requirements. For example, in Kenya education gets the biggest allocation from our national budget, yet we are faced with an educational crisis. The same would apply also to a massive training programme.

If we can make headway in both education and training we can at least be sure of creating a productive labour force or manpower. Once we achieve that there is a very important factor to be considered—that is, labour administration within governmental machinery for ensuring that economic development leads to social progress and for creating a social climate that is favourable to development.

Unemployment is one of Africa's most intractable problems. We do not pretend that there is an easy answer, in the short term. Yet it is a problem on which this Conference is taking some action. It is fitting at this particular time that this Conference is to consider a jobs and skills programme which the ILO has drawn up in consultation with governments and with employers' and workers' organisations. There are some steps that can be taken, though the problem is unlikely to be overcome anywhere in Africa for the next twenty years or so, and much longer in places where population growth exceeds economic growth. While we appreciate that in Kenya only industrialisation can provide anything like a full answer, the current emphasis upon rural development signifies the realisation that industrialisation is a very slow process, and that other steps have to be taken in the meantime. That is why attention must be paid to the crucial problem of rural areas, where the overwhelming majority of African people live and work and where lies the key to development.

One object should be to counter the attraction of the cities and towns, since urban employment is a much more severe problem than rural employment, provided of



course that subsistence is possible. This does not mean that rural employment has to be in agriculture, though this must always play a major role. There are many crafts that it should be possible to pursue with some profit in the rural areas—crafts that both small and large farmers require. Carpentry is an obvious example, which is a subject taught in village polytechnics. Most African cities and other big towns will remain centres of commerce, but the more the demands of those who have money to spend can be met locally, the more employment and prosperity will be generated in the locality. To do this means providing training in definite skills. While these skills are important in the long term, they do not always meet the demands of rural areas; and it is in rural employment that the answer to urban unemployment is to be found for the time being.

As I have already pointed out, the unemployment problem is a very complicated one in African countries; it is our view that the World Employment Programme—if successful—would go a long way in helping to reduce unemployment. I hope the Conference will also lay some emphasis on identifying the problems of the public and private sectors of the economy and bolstering them up by wage policies and other means. I hope, as things stand at the moment, that the success of the Conference proposals will depend on the seriousness of the governments concerned, coupled with the ILO's technical co-operation.

*Interpretation from French:* Mr. BENMILED (*Workers' delegate, Tunisia*)—On behalf of my trade union organisation, the Tunisian General Labour Union, I wish to present to the President my warmest congratulations on his election. My congratulations also go to the Secretary-General of the Conference on the occasion of the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the ILO as a recognition of the great services it has rendered humanity for the past half-century.

Please allow me to convey the great satisfaction felt by my delegation with the excellent Report prepared by the Director-General, in which he stresses the major features of social progress in Africa, clearly outlining the most appropriate measures and policies which could be adopted by this Conference in order to overcome certain social obstacles to the development of African countries. We associate ourselves with all the previous speakers and congratulate the Director-General and all the staff of the Office who contributed to the preparation of this very valuable document.

The Third African Regional Conference is being held at the end of this year in which the ILO is celebrating its fiftieth anniversary. On the agenda there are items relating to the economic and social development of Africa: labour administration, technical co-operation and employment policy. These three problems are matters of the greatest concern to African countries. Employment, in particular, represents a major obstacle to their economic and social development and continues to be their prime concern.

The African countries have been endeavouring to overcome this problem for a number of years, and the ILO has so far spared no effort to help them in this direction. Since 1960 there have also been a number of African meetings which, either at ministerial or at expert level, have examined employment problems in the context of the development of Africa, and have drafted recommendations with a view to improving occupational skill levels and reducing unemployment and underemployment.

Much has already been accomplished by the African countries within the framework of their development policies, but it would seem, in the final analysis, that all the measures taken, which have been to a greater or lesser extent inspired by the experience of the industrialised countries, have not given very good results, owing to the insufficiency of financial resources, to the varying nature of the needs and to the workings of economic systems that differ radically. Therefore, the employment problem remains completely open and is, in fact, worsening. Our anxiety increases when we note that the population of Africa, which is at present estimated at 311 million, will

reach 600 million by the end of the century and that 45 per cent are under 15 years of age; when we consider that the economically active population, estimated at 112 million in 1960, will be some 136 million in 1970 and 168 million in 1980; and when we note, finally, that despite all the efforts made, the capacity of what is called the modern sector to absorb manpower remains very limited. All this goes to show that a large proportion of the population is still not economically active and indicates how serious our employment problems will be in the future.

The figures I have just mentioned are projections of the active population and give some idea of the volume of additional employment to be created in the forthcoming decade in order to absorb the additional manpower resources.

Faced by such problems, the African countries must take special precautions and must organise the employment market, which, as we all know, differs from one country to another and from one region to another, although there are certain factors common to our countries in this regard.

The broad guidelines for our action must include provision for sufficient opportunities for productive employment in the future in order to absorb as much manpower as possible and to bring about a satisfactory adjustment of supply and demand. Employment-creating industries must be encouraged wherever economically viable. Experience has shown that all-out industrialisation is not necessarily the best way of creating employment if the outlets are inadequate and if unit costs are excessively high. This is all the more important when we consider that, in the case of African countries, the structure and volume of exports are entirely different from those of imports. While exports represent one-quarter of Africa's total output and are mainly comprised of primary products, imports represent one-third of our production and are mainly in the form of manufactured products. Imports are now running at two or three times the total volume of the industrial production of Africa. Thus we find that unemployment is being imported and jobs exported.

Within the major lines that should guide our action, we need to train manpower that is reasonably skilled and very inexpensive, especially if there is a very large market for the industry it is proposed to set up. This would enable us to partially organise our employment market, which now reveals a permanent surplus, due particularly to the inadequacy of job opportunities as compared with manpower available, to under-employment in agriculture, resulting in the rural exodus and urban unemployment, and to the shortage of skilled manpower at all levels and in all sectors of activity.

Solving this very complex problem of employment calls for a wide range of measures, the effects of which can be felt only in the long term. Apart from such widely known methods as concerted action to limit population growth, and which can produce their effect only in the long term, priority should be given to such measures as organising recruitment and vocational training; manpower planning; developing foreign trade; and encouraging emigration.

Regarding the organisation of recruitment, it is necessary to institute machinery capable of giving an accurate picture of the employment market and thus enabling supply and demand to be co-ordinated and the needs of the different projects to be adapted to the resources available. Such machinery should cover all sectors, make allowance for requirements and priorities and respond to all demands. The recruitment services must be respected and supported and every case of recruitment must be reported to the competent authorities. The placement services must follow projects very closely and be fully aware of the needs and timetables in order that they may be really effective. The staff of these services must have appropriate training, in addition to a sound education, and the close collaboration of employers in their work would be exceedingly desirable.

With regard to the organisation of vocational training, this must embrace both the urban and the rural areas. It must include all sectors of the population so as to offer productive employment to both town- and country-dwellers. What is required

is to train the manpower needed for small-scale and medium-sized industries, as this leads, more quickly and at lesser cost, to greater employment, production and wealth. Whether in agriculture, industry or building, well-conceived vocational training always creates productive employment. Vocational training, however, involves the whole educational system of the country, so that education itself needs to be given a practical bias, with the economic needs of the country being taken fully into consideration.

An essential element in any recovery effort, planning, involving as it does a choice at the outset, plays a critical role as regards manpower and, more generally, as regards the available human resources. Action must therefore be taken to improve statistical services so that planning may be based on proper analytical information. It is essential also to ensure that the manpower needs for economic projects forming part of the recovery plan are clearly evaluated before the projects are adopted, without forgetting that the latter have to be selected on the basis of prior determination of the volume, location and structure of the employment they will provide.

With regard to the development of foreign trade, if employment is to expand in the African countries the market for primary products must be stabilised at remunerative prices. The development programmes of the African countries aimed at creating productive employment, and the imports necessary for these programmes, will have to be financed over a number of years largely by exports of primary products. It is, moreover, essential that the African countries diversify their exports to developed countries. The most effective assistance from the developed countries is, on the one hand, disinterested aid to the African countries in setting up their industries, and, on the other, the provision of outlets for their goods at stable and remunerative prices, with allowance being made for preferential agreements. The expansion of trade, initially between the African countries themselves and then between them and the developed countries, together with co-ordinated substitution of imported products by locally produced goods, is another source of productive employment.

With regard to emigration to the industrialised countries, this has always been of importance for the African countries, but its development can nevertheless be considered only as a temporary solution. Apart from its indirect effect on the employment market, resulting in greater stabilisation of the local employment situation and a better balance in supply and demand, it contributes to the national income because the emigrant workers send foreign currency to their families at home. Controlled emigration can also be of positive assistance to our countries, to the extent that workers receive training abroad which they can subsequently place at the service of their countries when they return home. It would be desirable for the trade unions of the developed countries to help the workers coming from African countries by doing all they can to ensure job stability and equality of wages and treatment, and by helping in their technical training and providing social assistance.

The solutions which I have outlined here are only a few suggestions regarding the forms which might be taken by concerted action aimed at increasing the level of productive employment in the African countries. Each of those countries has, in accordance with its own circumstances and potential and by applying intelligence and imagination, to seek other, more appropriate, solutions.

Whether what is involved is action aimed at the expansion of productive employment or any other form of action relevant to the economic and social development of the African countries, the fullest popular support is needed, and I am very happy to note the importance which the Director-General attaches to the initiative and creative energy of the people and to the fullest participation of individuals through the organisations which represent them. Such participation, however, can be fruitful only where there is a continuous exchange of views with the organisations which must be associated in decision-making.

In my country, Tunisia, the workers, through their trade union federation, the Tunisian General Labour Union, participate both in the preparation and in the

implementation of all economic and social development plans. While it may be superfluous to speak of the experience of my country in this field, I would nevertheless like to mention that the third four-year development plan of my country calls for the creation of 120,000 new jobs by 1972. Through our own efforts and with the help of the international organisations, particularly the ILO, we shall, I hope, reach our common aim: a society based on respect for human dignity, welfare and social justice.

In conclusion I wish this Third African Regional Conference every success and fruitful results for the prosperity of the African Continent.

*Interpretation from French:* Mr. KIRAHUZI (*Government delegate, Burundi*)—For me it is an honour and pleasure, on behalf of the delegation of Burundi, to congratulate the President on his election. I also take advantage of this opportunity to thank, through him, the Government and people of Ghana for the hospitality given to the delegation of Burundi at the Third African Regional Conference.

Although the First United Nations Development Decade fell short of the targets, it has nevertheless created an irreversible current which has led both national and international organisations to deal very closely with the social and economic problems of our continent. Never previously had there been such systematic research in formulating the economic and social rights contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Never previously had so short a period produced such a volume of inspiring literature on the prospects for development.

We must thank the Director-General for the study submitted to us for discussion at this present African Regional Conference, concerning the first item on the agenda. We agree with the Director-General that the social and economic problems before our continent are of such extent that all resources and all energies should be harnessed to the development of our countries. Everyone realises that the problem is not simply one of stating principles but of actively seeking for new resources and the necessary investments, and of training African technicians versed in modern administrative techniques.

The figures quoted by the Director-General are in themselves sufficiently eloquent, the diagnosis is unerring and impartial, but the basic data and the necessary resources to overcome our problems still have to be evaluated in depth at the national and regional levels.

It appears increasingly clear that the problem of the rural exodus cannot be solved except through improving agriculture. In my country, for example, major projects are now being conducted with a view to improving soil yields and procuring greater income for the peasants. Therefore my country intends to improve conditions of work for the peasants by providing them with suitable farming implements.

The second item on the agenda relates to labour administration, including labour inspection, in Africa. In view of the importance of this question in the African countries, this special sector of the public administration should be given particular attention and constant support because it represents a barometer of the economy for governments.

With particular reference to labour inspection, an inspectorate constitutes one of the most effective instruments at the disposal of a ministry of labour. The manner in which the inspectors perform their functions will largely determine what respect and co-operation the government will receive from occupational organisations.

Burundi attaches great importance to the participation of occupational organisations in drawing up its economic and social policy. Thus, the occupational organisations are always consulted by, or participate actively in, such bodies as the National Labour Council, the Administrative Council of the National Social Security Institute, the National Social Security Planning Commission, the Index Commission, the National UNIDO Committee, the various planning commissions and the Political Office.

The third and fourth items, namely employment policy and technical co-operation, are mutually complementary. In this connection it might be noted that one of the major

objectives of the developing countries is to utilise productive resources, namely capital and manpower, as fully and effectively as possible.

The essential aim of development is still to ensure a satisfactory level of employment for the active population in order to permit a reasonable rise in the standard of living. However, development plans often give little attention to the manpower needs involved in the implementation of the plans and the most appropriate means of satisfying them. People are not always convinced of the need for a national employment policy integrated with the over-all economic development policy. Manpower forecasting is all too often regarded as being of secondary importance, or even superfluous; it is frequently patchy, covering only particular projects for the extension of an isolated branch of activity.

Obviously the attainment of full employment, or at least maintenance of employment at a reasonable level, presupposes evaluation of the effects that both the general and the sectoral objectives of the development plan may have on employment, and, if need be, the adaptation of those objectives.

It is necessary to have available at the proper time sufficient numbers of workers with the required skills and to raise the level of skills of workers of the traditional sector in order to improve their productivity.

Therefore it is increasingly necessary at all times to have objective information whereby it is possible to analyse the present situation and, in certain cases, to carry out long-term projections of population trends in terms of population of working age, participation rates, education and training levels, unemployment, underemployment, etc., at both national and regional levels.

Obviously such planning cannot be conducted without prior collection and processing of a great deal of statistics. This information would enable the government, educational establishments, business people, employers' and workers' associations and all those who have to take decisions to keep their action constantly under review. With the assistance of the ILO and in collaboration with the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa governments should be able to evaluate the manpower available to them, its level of training, its experience, its abilities and other relevant characteristics; to evaluate unemployment, underemployment and the types of jobs which should be provided to reduce them; to establish projections of manpower resources and training needs; and to forecast the possible restrictions on development due to shortages in certain trades or occupations.

Even the performance of such a programme would call for such a volume of credits and skills that only few countries would be able to cope successfully on their own. Thus, if the ILO does not wish to founder under the weight of history in seeking for basic solutions, it should evaluate the enormous extent of the tasks before it and request—as it is entitled to do—the co-operation of other international agencies which may be better equipped in certain fields relating to employment policy in Africa.

To this end, we think that the ILO might, firstly, convene a committee of experts in particular fields in which the ILO is not specially competent, whether such experts come from international organisations or not; secondly, organise, or request the United Nations to organise, international symposia consisting of representatives of all the competent national bodies in the countries concerned.

It might be feared that governments would be dismayed at the expenditure involved in such meetings. In any case, it is for the ILO to find the necessary solutions or appropriate forms of interesting the States.

We therefore consider that the conclusions contained in the report on technical co-operation are a particularly efficient means of conducting the Employment Programme in Africa.

The delegation of Burundi has good reason to believe that the present Conference, under the direction of the President, will be able to make a true contribution to efforts to seek practical solutions to the thorny problems of development before our continent.

*Interpretation from French:* Mr. SOUMAH (*representative of the African Trade Union Confederation*)—In the very fine Report which he has placed before this African Regional Conference, the Director-General of the ILO reviews the general, economic, social and cultural situation in Africa. He does so as the 1960s draw to their close, the years which he prophetically baptised “the years of Africa” when he addressed the First African Regional Conference at Lagos in 1960.

Since that date a very large number of African countries have acceded to full national and international sovereignty, and, to quote the highly appropriate words used by the Director-General in his Report, “embarked on the awesome and challenging task of laying the economic foundations, and constructing the social and political framework, for a more prosperous and dignified future for their peoples”.

The Report describes to us without vain flattery, but also without tendentious commentary, the manner in which States have for some years been seeking in the various sectors of national life to take up that challenge. He invites us particularly to reflect on the aspects of our struggle against underdevelopment which come within the specific scope of the ILO's work; he proposes that we learn the lessons of our successes and our failures, that we elucidate the chief problems which must urgently be solved by national and international effort; and he asks us—very reasonably—to change our policies, and to renounce our experiments if they prove detrimental to the national objectives of economic and social progress, higher standards of living and the dignity of the members of the national community.

It is no mere chance that the Governing Body of the ILO chose to ask the opinion of this Conference on the key problem of all economic and social development, namely employment policy, which is both the mainspring and one of the chief objectives of that action. Of course, the Conference is also asked to give its opinion on the institutional framework of that policy: labour administration, including labour inspection.

It is with keen interest that the African Trade Union Confederation read the reports and proposals put forward by the ILO on this matter of capital importance for the future of our countries.

Since its establishment eight years ago our Confederation has been proclaiming full employment as the essential objective of all economic policy and of any economic and social development plan. It remains convinced that the best means of permitting all men and every man to develop fully in freedom and dignity is to offer them productive, remunerative employment of their own choice. It is also the only means of achieving the highest social objectives of economic policy and of guaranteeing to all the possibility of benefiting therefrom and of improving their conditions of life day by day.

The African Trade Union Confederation considers that to reach that objective of full employment it is necessary not only to organise and diversify production but also, and above all, to develop and rationalise systems of education, particularly primary education and vocational and technical training. In this regard it has always sustained the need for planning education and vocational training not only for their cultural significance as factors in development, but also for their economic and social importance, since they should be integrated into the general plan of economic and social development.

Furthermore, having regard to the fact that our countries were formerly colonial territories, and in view of the preponderance of non-African elements in skilled employment, my Confederation has recommended the rapid Africanisation of all employments so that the greater part of the income from production may come to indigenous persons.

Now, whereas the documents before us set out a rather encouraging situation in the fields of organisation and diversification of production on the one hand, and education and vocational training on the other, they give us a rather gloomy picture of the situation regarding employment and wages policies. This situation, which our national organisations in the various States do not cease to denounce vigorously, is characterised by the fact that in most of our countries there is a great deal of unemployment among young

intellectuals, whereas a good number of skilled jobs still remain filled by non-Africans; the greater part of the national income goes to the same non-Africans in industry, commerce and agriculture and in wage-earning occupations.

The Director-General's Report and Report IV (1) draw attention to these circumstances, which counteract sound economic action and social development.

Far be it from us to succumb to the temptation to indulge in racialism or chauvinism. We simply feel that, in conformity with the requirements of our economic independence and the dignity of our peoples, economic activities of all kinds should be aimed, above all, at meeting the needs of our peoples and raising their living standards. It is time that the leaders of our countries become aware of this evident fact which has already penetrated to the young skilled workers who are being trained in the primary, secondary and vocational schools and in the universities. These young people know that, by reason of the policies followed by some governments in the fields of economics and employment, very few outlets await them at the end of their training. They constantly denounce two of the negative and dangerous aspects of those policies. The first is systematic recourse to technical assistance from former metropolitan countries, even in jobs and tasks for which Africans of at least equal competence are available. The second, which partly explains the first, is the priority given by some governments to the political commitment of their nationals rather than to their technical skill as candidates for jobs; this is true not only of state, but also of private, employment. Political commitment in this sense often means not loyalty to the nation but devotion to the political leaders in power.

These flagrant violations of the right of nationals to employment, which aggravate an economic situation already difficult enough, explain, if they do not entirely justify, the unrest which periodically agitates universities and other educational establishments, often gaining the social and economic sectors where its seeds are sown by unemployed youth. Such disturbances are the violent expression of the anxiety of our young people at a future which is daily becoming darker. Instead of squabbling with each other in the name of Maoism and other forms of imperialism and neo-colonialism, the leaders of our countries would do better to courageously revise their economic and social policies and their conception of the fundamental rights of the peoples which they administer, particularly the inalienable right of each citizen to productive employment in freedom and dignity within the national economy.

Although I have chosen to give a detailed explanation of our position on some of the causes of the unemployment of young intellectuals, I cannot omit to mention the weakness of the social and economic situation and organisation of our countries, which restricts employment possibilities, or the effects which over-hasty urbanisation is having on the social situation. Neither do we lose sight of the fact that the constant deterioration of the terms of international trade jeopardises the position of the rural masses and national savings in general.

For all these reasons my Confederation repeats here its call for policies of full employment, which in its view provide the best stimuli for intensive, harmonious economic action embracing all the sectors of production and distribution, including international trade. It is also and above all the surest means of reaching the social objectives of economic development.

In the view of my Confederation, it is evident that such a policy, if it is to be fully effective, must be co-ordinated at the level of the African Continent. The general outlines and the details of this co-ordination must be worked out at the level of the Organization of African Unity and the regional groups respectively, since co-operation in employment and the provision of skills must be sought and strengthened, in the first place, among the African countries, as must economic co-operation. There is no better way of giving a positive content to the concept of African unity.

Therefore my Confederation fully supports the principle of a Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa with regard to which proposals are now before the present

Conference. But it remains convinced that the independent and responsible participation of the employers' and workers' organisations is indispensable to the successful implementation of such a programme. Thus, without prejudging the conclusions of the Conference in this regard, my Confederation demands that consideration be given in each African State to the establishment of a national employment committee on which representatives of the employers and the workers would sit with representatives of the ministries concerned. The role of such committees should be to guide and supervise the action of the administrative machinery, whose establishment is proposed in one of the documents now before the Conference and which should also be competent to deal with technical co-operation.

The ILO is celebrating its fiftieth anniversary this year. In all our countries the trade unions have been participating in festivities to mark the event. The whole of Africa celebrates the glory of our international organisation, but can we learn the lessons of its long and fruitful life?

Born in the midst of the hatred and rancour following one of the most destructive and murderous wars in history, at a time when inequality and injustice only tended to increase, it was able to re-establish brotherly contacts between men and peoples for the promotion of social justice and the renewal of respect for the dignity of the individual. Without army or police it introduced into the world ideals which now belong to us all and which are implemented by the body of international labour and social security standards. Its only weapon is dialogue and its only springboard is research. May our young African States follow its shining example in order successfully to conclude the task of laying their economic foundations and building their social and political framework, respecting the fundamental human rights of freedom, equality and dignity.

*(The Conference adjourned at 12 noon.)*



## EIGHTH SITTING

Tuesday, 16 December 1969, 9.30 a.m.

*President: Mr. Franck*

### REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE: SUBMISSION AND NOTING<sup>1</sup>

*Interpretation from French:* The PRESIDENT (Mr. FRANCK)—The first item of business this morning is the report of the Credentials Committee. I call upon Mr. Kirahuzi, the Chairman of the Committee, to present the report.

*Interpretation from French:* Mr. KIRAHUZI (*Government delegate, Burundi; Chairman of the Credentials Committee*)—I should like first of all to thank my two colleagues on the Committee, Mr. Blake, Employers' delegate of Sierra Leone, and Mr. Fogam, Workers' adviser of Cameroon. I should like also to tell the Conference how grateful we are for the confidence placed in us when we were elected members of this important Committee.

It is an honour for us to submit to the Conference the report of the Credentials Committee, which has been distributed to members of the Conference. The report deals with the composition of committees and it also contains the decision of the Committee regarding the objection to the nomination of the Workers' delegation of Senegal. As the report was adopted unanimously by the Committee, the Conference has no decision to take upon it but is merely called upon to note the report.

*Interpretation from French:* The PRESIDENT (Mr. FRANCK)—The report of the Credentials Committee having been unanimously adopted by the Committee, there can be no discussion. The Conference is merely required to take note of the report, and the Conference so takes note.

*(The report is noted.)*

### REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL: DISCUSSION (*concl.*)

*Interpretation from French:* The PRESIDENT (Mr. FRANCK)—We now continue with the second item, namely the discussion of the Director-General's Report.

Mr. OMER (*Workers' delegate, Sudan*)—Allow me, on behalf of my colleagues, the members of the Executive Committee of the Sudan Federation of Workers' Trade Unions, to greet all the friends and colleagues who are participating in this important Conference and to convey to you the high esteem in which the Sudanese trade union movement holds the work carried out by the ILO in the field of labour and other fields of concern to Africa and African peoples.

We fully agree with the Director-General when he states in his Report that the decade that lies behind us has been one of a close and increasingly effective and fruitful

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<sup>1</sup> See Third Part, p. 187.

partnership between Africa and the ILO, and that it is necessary to take stock of the present situation and to consider how this partnership can be further strengthened so as to make a direct and positive contribution to economic and social progress for all African peoples. The Report submitted to this Conference by the Director-General and the other reports that deal with the other items on the agenda really serve, as many speakers have said in this hall, to stimulate constructive thinking on the future directions of policy in such an important field. The questions dealt with in the Director-General's Report are of such a rich and diverse character that it is impossible to make comprehensive remarks, so I will confine myself to some important points that have been raised in this Report.

It is true that social progress cannot be considered in isolation from economic development. Indeed, this has been recognised by many African States and governments in spite of the difficulty of its practical application.

Economic development is a question that faced the majority of African countries after they achieved political independence. Those countries which achieved political independence in the last ten or fifteen years have inherited an economic life in such a way as to share the interests of their metropolitan countries. The meagre progress which our countries have made was more or less a by-product or an outcome of the needs of the imperialist countries to exploit our lands or as a result of the nationalist struggle of the African masses who strive for a better life in their countries. The picture is changing now, but the need is still there for a true assessment of the dimensions of the change that has taken place, otherwise illusions may swing us away from our targets.

The struggle for change, progress and national development in the independent African countries during the last years has not been an easy task. We faced and still face many obstacles and difficulties. The main menace to our struggle in this field is in the attempts made by the imperialist countries which were expelled from our territories to guard their old interests and to strive for new ones, thus undermining any independent line we take for our progress. For us, this is the main question which we should stress, and on these lines the problems of social development and social progress should be examined.

Allow me to quote an example from my own country, Sudan, which was a British colony. In 1958, two years after independence, our country was seeking its way towards independent economic development. Imperialist intervention stopped our progress in that direction through a reactionary coup which not only secured the imperialist interests but also opened the way for foreign capital and neo-colonialism to dominate our economic life. It is clear to us that the aims of foreign capital, international monopolies and investments are not by any means to participate in the development of our societies but to extract the maximum possible profit in the shortest possible time—a fact which undermines any aspirations that we may have in the future. Thus the position with regard to foreign capital, industrial or otherwise, must be reviewed with great care, although I have little hope that it can be claimed for ourselves or subjected to our national plans and local domination. Planning is becoming the watchword in our countries and it is true there can never be harmonious development without it. In conditions like ours stress should be laid on the government sector. The strengthening of the government and public sectors is the guarantee for any success at which we aim. There is enough room for private national capital in our virgin lands under the supervision of the general national economic plan. Once again I would repeat that no success can be achieved without liberating our economy from the foreign domination which prevails in most of our countries.

The second important question on which emphasis should be laid is the role of the groups concerned, namely governments, workers and employers. We agree with what has been said here and in the Report that governments play the main role, but it is also true and obvious that governments cannot be successful if they fail to ensure

the active participation of the other groups. We believe that trade union organisations have a big role to play and our trade unions have long been engaged in such activities and have defined their role. But for the trade union organisations to play their role fully certain conditions must be secured: guarantee of trade union rights and democratic freedoms should be maintained. As is said in the Report, the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948 (No. 87), and the Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention, 1949 (No. 98), have been ratified by many African countries but there are a number of African countries in which their practical application runs into difficulties. That is true and we take this opportunity to call upon the ILO to seek effective means and to take effective measures to guarantee the application of those Conventions.

Allow me to disagree with the Director-General's Report in raising a point of doubt as to the possibility of the existence of contradictions between the exercise of trade union rights and freedoms and the economic prosperity of the community as a whole. The working class has no interests which run counter to the interests of the community. On the contrary, it is in the interests of the working class that the whole community should develop and be prosperous. To ensure full and active participation of the working class the Revolutionary Government of the Democratic Republic of Sudan, which enjoys the full support of the trade union movement, has set up a committee to revise the labour legislation of the country. This committee, which is composed of the three parties concerned—Government, workers and employers—is expected to finish its work in the next few days and it is worth while mentioning that the committee is headed by the General Secretary of the Federation of Workers of the Sudan. For our part, we are now preparing for a special conference on the economic development of the country. The broad lines of the report to be submitted to the conference have already been drawn up and defined. The main issues are nationalisation of all foreign banks; nationalisation of foreign capital, which has been exploiting the country throughout the past fifty years; the strengthening of the government and public sectors; nationalisation of foreign trade; agrarian reform; participation of the workers through their organisations in the administrative councils of all enterprises, governmental or otherwise; the setting up of a national committee for planning.

The ILO has just been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, which is a reward for its struggle for peace and security. We should like to congratulate the ILO and to extend our hearty greetings to all those who contributed to the success of the work of this highly esteemed international organisation. We call upon the ILO to continue its relentless efforts in this human task, especially in our African Continent, which suffers from the existence of hot and cold wars. In the northern part of our continent the progress and independent development of the United Arab Republic have been hindered by two devastating wars and it is now subject to continuous aggression by Israel which is backed by international imperialism. In the southern part of our continent our brothers are subject to inhumane and insulting discrimination, and between the two poles imperialist pockets hinder the march of the African peoples towards freedom. In this connection allow me to pay tribute to our fellow fighters in all parts of the African Continent—in Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, Guinea (Bissau) and in all of the lands of Africa that hold high the banners of freedom and national liberty.

Mr. MALAUNI (*Government delegate, Zambia*)—To those of other delegates who have proffered congratulations to the President on his most well-deserved unanimous election to the presidency of this very important Conference, I should like to add, in the name of Zambia and on behalf of my delegation, our hearty congratulations to him.

By the same token I wish to congratulate the Director-General of the International Labour Office and his staff for producing a well-reasoned Report on social change and social progress in Africa.

It is my privilege to put on record that the Government of Zambia attaches great importance to the work of the ILO, since the ideals of this Organisation are those which we in Zambia stand for. We strongly believe in the concept of social justice without which there can be no social progress.

In Zambia, as in other countries, we have laws regulating conditions of work and other related matters. Apart from the legislation governing employment conditions in general, we have two specific statutes which deal with social security for working people, namely the Workmen's Compensation Act and the Zambia National Provident Fund Act. The former, of course, protects the rights of workers by ensuring that due compensation is paid to a worker if injury or disease results from his work. On the other hand, the Zambia National Provident Fund is a contributory social security scheme under which an eligible employee contributes a specified sum of money every pay day, his employer contributing a similar amount, the sum total of which goes to the credit of the worker. This scheme benefits the worker upon his retirement from active employment; in the event of his death, his family becomes the entitled beneficiary. This Fund, although introduced only four years ago, has made gigantic progress, so much so that its scope will shortly be extended to cover private household or domestic servants. Both the Workmen's Compensation Scheme and the Zambian National Provident Fund are administered by statutory powers and are self-financing but come under the over-all control of the Ministry of Labour and Social Services.

As regards income distribution, my Government believes in and works towards a system of even distribution of income, since this is one of the pillars of social justice.

I am happy to inform the Conference also that my Government is trying hard to stimulate economic development, with particular emphasis on rural development. In order to give the Conference some idea of the importance which my Government attaches to rural development I need only mention that a Ministry of Rural Development was created early this year. Furthermore, our President, His Excellency Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, has already indicated that our next national development plan, expected to be launched later next year or early in 1971, will be given a deliberate bias in favour of the rural areas.

My Government is doing everything possible to raise the standard of living of its citizens. We encourage high productivity in all working sectors and I am glad to acknowledge that my Government has the fullest support and co-operation of the labour market parties.

The Conference may be aware that the economic life-blood of Zambia is copper mining, which offers employment to well over 50,000 people and supplies the biggest percentage of our revenue. Be that as it may, we realise only too well that any economy which is fundamentally based on purely mineral resources is not an everlasting economy. The dangers facing a basically mineral economy such as our copper economy are many, but the most obvious are the competitive nature of the world markets; the possible substitution for copper by user countries of some other type of material; and the very fact that a day will come when the deposits of the mineral itself will be exhausted. Taking all these factors into account, therefore, my Government has turned its attention to the development of the agricultural and other sectors of the economy, such as consumer and other co-operatives, and in this diversification of the economy we are making good progress.

In his Report, the Director-General of the ILO makes mention of the participation of employers and workers in national development. I wish to report that in Zambia both the workers' and the employers' organisations are taken fully into account when national development plans are formulated. This is done through a tripartite national consultative council for labour and productivity. It should also go on record that at the historic conference held at Livingstone in 1967 and attended by representatives of nearly all the national trade union and employers' organisations in my country, and which was organised under the auspices of the Ministry of Labour and Social

Services, both the workers' and the employers' organisations pledged themselves to participate actively in national development projects and to do everything in their power to stimulate high productivity in employment.

At this point I should like to intimate that my Government is currently reviewing the industrial relations legislation to bring it into line with the present and likely future state of development in the country. In this exercise we aim to streamline the collective bargaining procedures as well as the industrial consultation machinery. The exercise is, in fact, a complete overhaul which is not limited to industrial relations matters only, but also covers wages, incomes and prices policy and the question of workers' participation in the management of enterprises.

In order to put the record straight it is necessary for me to inform the Conference that in all the exercises I have just mentioned the workers' and employers' organisations are being fully consulted. I would inform you also that when my delegation was leaving for this Conference the Minister of Labour and Social Services at home was busy arranging for a very important national convention to take place from 12 to 15 December. This convention, which was to be addressed by His Excellency the President of the Republic of Zambia, was to comprise a wide range of representation covering various interests throughout the country. The main theme of the convention was to be rural development, but other matters relating to the national development in general were inevitably to come up for examination.

This is a brief outline of some of the activities under way in Zambia which I believe are relevant to this Conference. I hope I have not created the impression that we in Zambia have no problems. On the contrary, we have a host of difficulties and problems, just as have other countries represented here, and in some cases ours are greater. Our geographical position means that we share borders with minority and hostile régimes whose policies are a complete negation of what the ILO stands for as far as the dignity of man is concerned. And because we in Zambia have the moral courage to oppose their inhuman racial policies these minority régimes are always endeavouring to damage our economic development, not to mention our political stability. But, of course, our country's philosophy of humanism, which puts man before any ideology, leaves no room for compromise with those reactionary régimes whose guiding doctrine is the subjection and humiliation of the black man.

We are also a landlocked country, which makes it difficult for us to export and to import necessary commodities. However, thanks to the amicable relations with our sister countries to the north, we are now developing more reliable routes for our exports and imports to the north of us, thereby moving away from our traditional routes to the south.

Our other problems in Zambia are those created by the backward-looking policies of the former colonial masters; this, of course, is common to all African countries. Because the past colonial rulers were primarily interested in getting as much as they could from the colonies for the benefit of their own mother countries, when the time came the colonisers left the African countries, and particularly Zambia, ill-equipped, especially in terms of skilled and professional manpower. Even worse perhaps, rural areas were absolutely neglected, to the extent that our African governments have had to begin right from scratch in the matter of economic and social development.

With this background it is a pity that rich nations, especially the former colonial nations, often accuse African governments of extravagance, pointing out that at the time of attaining independence the national coffers contained very heavy balances. But they conveniently forget that a newly independent country has to accelerate its over-all national development at a pace unequalled in the life of the contemporary developed countries.

Furthermore, in order to attract skilled and professionally qualified manpower, who are mostly foreigners, African countries have to incur excessive expenditure both in the form of emoluments and of fringe benefits for this type of worker. Since national

development is synonymous with independence, African countries have no choice but to incur such excessive expenditure, which in any case is the only way to lay a firm foundation for continued development and a rewarding future.

Clearly, therefore, the rich nations of the world, and particularly the former colonial Powers, should stop rebuking the developing countries and, instead, render more assistance both in cash and in kind.

Allow me now to reaffirm Zambia's confidence in the international organs and in particular in the ILO. We very much appreciate the forward-looking activities undertaken in favour of the African countries, activities which have been, and continue to be spearheaded by the International Labour Organisation. When I say this, I have two things in particular in mind: the role which the ILO plays in setting international standards for the various fields falling within its competence, and its direct contribution to the development of African countries through technical co-operation activities. As one of the beneficiaries of the ILO's technical co-operation schemes, Zambia is truly grateful.

The record of the ILO's material contribution to the development of our countries, especially since 1959, is nothing if not impressive and merits the highest acclamation. We know—and it is recorded in the Director-General's Report—that whereas the ILO's total expenditure on technical co-operation in Africa was barely 10 per cent in 1959, this rose to as much as 40 per cent in 1968. It is only to be hoped that the ILO will not relax its noble endeavours, because African countries will be unable for some time to come to execute successfully their national development programmes unaided. I make no apologies for stating that our countries require still more assistance from the ILO and the other specialised agencies of the United Nations, because we have the unenviable task of reconstructing our economies and developing our local manpower resources which were largely neglected by our past colonial masters.

Finally, to close on another equally serious note, I wish fully to associate my country, my delegation and my humble self with the sentiments expressed by various previous speakers in connection with the ILO's attainment of its fiftieth anniversary and also the well-deserved award to it of the Nobel Peace Prize. We in Zambia have participated fully in the fitting celebrations of the ILO's fiftieth anniversary. You, Mr. President, and the Conference may wish to know that His Excellency Dr. Kaunda, President of the Republic of Zambia, flew to Geneva last June to address the ILO's annual Conference as part of Zambia's celebrations of the ILO's fiftieth birthday. In addition, a number of tripartite seminars were conducted throughout Zambia last September and October, and various other activities were also arranged.

Mrs. CHESSON (*Government delegate, Liberia*)—My delegation, having sat under the President's gavel since his election as President of this Third African Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation, feels justified in joining our brothers who have preceded me in congratulating him on his unanimous election to this high office. We would also like to congratulate the Vice-Presidents of the Conference on their election and we express the hope that with their continued co-operation the President will conduct the affairs of this Conference to a fruitful conclusion.

My delegation and I would also like to take this opportunity of complimenting the Director-General for his untiring efforts in the formulation and execution of the programmes which have made it possible for the ILO to receive the Nobel Peace Prize. Although we have, in one way or the other as Members, participated in the execution of the International Labour Organisation's programmes, we cannot but commend the Director-General for his laudable performance as the protagonist in the ILO drama.

In the Director-General's Report under discussion, he has given us a comprehensive and accurate presentation of prevailing conditions in Africa which affect the promotion of economic and social growth in the region. The critical analysis which he makes of the

various aspects of the situation in his detailed discussion of social and economic development, rural development and urban growth, and social change in Africa is certainly profound.

In Liberia we regard the question of employment as one closely linked to the problem of economic emancipation not only of our country but of the entire African Continent and we attach great importance to the over-all issue.

Two years, ago, in realisation of the labour situation, the Government saw the necessity of granting autonomous status to the National Labour Affairs Agency. Immediately that was done, an employment division for the formulation and implementation of employment policies was established, the examination of existing employment programmes was commenced and new ones to meet the needs of our changing society were formulated.

Although some of the factors connected with the execution of these programmes present a dismal and frustrating picture at times, the Government's firmness in the execution of these programmes has resulted in remarkable improvements. We find it impossible, however, even to contemplate any employment programmes without due consideration of health and education. All of us know that a healthy individual is able to produce more than a sick individual; and, likewise, he is able to contribute more fully to the economic development of the country. The Government has undertaken the construction of hospitals and clinics in all areas of the country in order to facilitate the healthy conditions necessary to ensure increased production.

The Government, on its own and in some instances in co-operation with employers or others, has embarked upon extensive vocational training programmes in an effort to upgrade the workers. Literacy campaigns, which have been afoot for more than a decade, are still carried on and on-the-job training is being encouraged. In our education programmes we have not ignored the fact that it is necessary for the workers to be informed and to understand their obligations and responsibilities to their organisations and their country. To that end the Government encourages the workers to take advantage of national or international seminars or any other form of instruction in line with national policy which assists in this regard, and progress in this area has been considerable.

The Director-General's Report emphasises the ILO's concern for the participation of workers' and employers' organisations in the task of nation-building. My Government has already given consideration and attention to this idea and has organised a national industrial relations council, a tripartite organisation the aim of which is, *inter alia*, to promote awareness among both employers and workers of their role in the development and building of their nation.

We fully believe that social change leads to social justice if it is based on and inspired by a respect for the freedom, equality and dignity of man. In Liberia we are cognisant of the fact that government action alone cannot generate the requisite momentum necessary for the desired transformation of society. It is imperative to draw fully on the contribution that effective release of creative energy of the people can make in this regard. Participation carries with it a feeling of belonging and creates a sense of responsibility, an ingredient which is essential in the formulation and execution of national programmes geared towards economic and social development.

My delegation expresses the hope that the discussion of the fundamental issues presented to this Conference by the Director-General in his Report will serve to strengthen the bonds between the ILO and our respective countries.

Before taking my seat I should like to express my delegation's sincere thanks to the Government and people of Ghana for their warm welcome and generous hospitality.

*Interpretation from French:* Mr. GEORGET (*Employers' delegate, Niger*)—It is for me a great pleasure and a great honour to speak today before this august assembly, which has been instructed by the African Continent to discuss and to find positive

solutions for the various problems dealt with in the Director-General's Report. As usual, the Report before us is undeniably an objective and concise document, reflecting the major concern of our governments in their desire to create social conditions favourable to the harmonious development of our various countries.

I am pleased to stress here our appreciation of the positive action of the ILO on behalf of Africa, but I should like to add our gratitude to that indefatigable defender of the disinherited peoples, Mr. David Morse, who has given the whole of his universal prestige to Africa in helping it in its struggle against ignorance and poverty. Need we stress the confidence and care which this man has unceasingly shown for our continent? We need only recall the extent of the ILO's activities in Africa and the manner in which the Director-General has obtained the collaboration of the best sons of Africa, whose presence at this Conference is evidence of his determination that Africans should study their own problems.

Undoubtedly, although their number within our Organisation is not as high as we might wish, the quality of their training, their devotion and their competence in carrying out their difficult and lofty task do full honour to our continent, and encourage us to support the action of Mr. Morse.

I should like to revert to the important document which is before us. Its title, *Social Change and Social Progress in Africa*, might in itself be the subject of much comment, but I shall not go into full detail because the rules of the Conference and the fear of being importunate prevent me from speaking at any great length. I should, however, like to refer to certain omissions, which in no way detract from the remarkable character of the Director-General's statements. In the chapter devoted to rural development my attention has been drawn to some statistics which seem to me to date from 1955 and 1956. If we take into consideration the development of the countries concerned, the rural situation in that region has undoubtedly changed since then, which means that some of the figures quoted are somewhat misleading.

I note with satisfaction, however, the space devoted to the work of animation prior to rural development, which is the path chosen by Niger. Although my country is not among those quoted as having set up a co-operative sector, in actual fact, in 1968-69 the co-operatives of my country marketed 40 per cent of the national production of groundnuts, 60 per cent of the cotton and 100 per cent of the rice, thereby producing a turnover of over 1,500 million CFA francs, thanks to the assistance of ILO and other international experts. However, although certain shortcomings have often been stressed in the Report, I think that the example I have just cited is among the positive achievements to be credited to our Organisation.

The ILO's research effort must therefore be pursued, particularly through the study of community traditions and modern co-operation, but the rate of appearance of technical publications must be stepped up so that they can be of use in dealing with the existing rural situation.

Also, in many cases the experts who are competent in their countries of origin suffer difficulties of adaptation to African traditional structures. There should be periodic meetings between the ILO and FAO experts, which would permit the exchange of views and experience, guaranteeing the success of their joint action.

With regard to urban development, assimilation of the problems of the coastal countries to those of the Sahelian countries might create regrettable confusion in the public mind. A prior distinction should be made to refer to the problems which are peculiar to the countries of the Sahel. That could facilitate specific solutions, however, excluding harmonisation among countries whose economies cover different products but which may have complementary outlets.

In Niger the urban population represents, in terms of administrative, economic or geographic importance, 8 per cent of the total population. However, in twenty years the urban population will have doubled whereas the total population will have increased by only 60 per cent.



The conclusions of the Director-General's Report must be examined with attention, because effective social change in Africa will be possible only if realistic measures to promote it are drawn up in advance.

In countries with a predominantly rural structure, the urban structures have not taken any organic form, and those which exist are a collection of rural agglomerations which have come together haphazardly without there having been any clear intention of creating a town. There are several reasons for this. Firstly, many towns have been created recently without any effective tradition; secondly, the urban masses have arisen directly from the rural population without any real change in their behaviour; thirdly, economic development generally follows urban development, rather than the contrary; fourthly, the urbanisation movement tends to lead to disguised unemployment, resulting in a general lowering of the level of skill of manpower; fifthly, the very low level of the mass of society as a whole leads to inadequate provision of housing, where the migrant family does not find the protective framework of its original community and therefore risks becoming fundamentally dissociated from it; and sixthly, the personality of the individual must be adapted to a structure which it has not prepared or which it has not experienced.

In such a situation the improvement of working conditions and of housing conditions are areas where ILO intervention is needed.

In the light of these considerations on the rural aspect of our Sahelian society, the industrial dynamism which should be the motive element in our development is too often held back by the slow rise in our standard of living. But does not the heart of the problem lie in the actual potential for employment which exists at present? The problem of unemployment is certainly one of the most serious problems affecting the developing countries. The preparation of an employment policy with a view to harmonious development and to overcoming unemployment calls for considerable statistical information and an adequate training programme.

Improvement of agricultural productivity must be accompanied by rational industrialisation permitting substantial raising of standards of living in rural areas and so creating poles of attraction for our young persons, whose real value lies in their future maturity. It is desirable that educational programmes, particularly at the primary level, should include initiation into rural life so as to stabilise young persons in their family environment and enable them to become prosperous producers.

The main objective of human resources planning in Niger is an over-all assimilation of the results of experiments with a view to the development of the human personality which have been successfully undertaken in recent years as well as an understanding of the problems of employment and training which have hitherto been treated in a different manner.

Above all, it seems indispensable to outline a national employment policy applying to the whole of the active population, whether rural or urban, wage-earning or other. Pride of place must, of course, be given to the employment of young persons, who are the most numerous applicants for it and those who will benefit most from the training policy which is its corollary.

The institutional means of preparing and applying this policy is the Human Resources Committee. Regarding training and employment, the following working procedure will be followed for the preparation of the plan.

Evaluation of the needs of the public, semi-public and private sectors will relate to employment needs not presently foreseen; natural replacement of personnel, either from new entrants to the labour force or by recruitment of individuals from outside the sector concerned, or by substituting national personnel for foreigners; fresh needs created by new operations which are included in the economic and social development plan.

This work requires a perfect knowledge of the present employment situation—a condition which is far from being fulfilled—and a rational appraisal of employment

objectives having regard to the structures which it will be possible to develop, available financial resources and other factors, such as productivity and scientific management, to which insufficient consideration has been given so far.

Projections have already been made regarding needs in the rural economy. An inquiry is in progress on sectors catered for by the National Administration School, and the situation in the private sector is analysed in reports of the National Manpower Office. There remains a great deal to be done in the public sector and as regards employment forecasts in the private sector.

However, for the full success of employment policies, we think that our countries should be provided with labour administration of a healthy and well-organised kind. This must be the instrument of enlightened formulation of social measures and their harmonious and effective implementation. It is indispensable that public servants in labour administration should have the same prerogatives as those given to magistrates, for instance, so that they may enjoy more prestige and have complete independence in the performance of their duties. They should also have sufficient resources to enable them to carry out their great responsibilities.

In this connection I should like to stress here my full appreciation of the good work done by the ILO at the Yaoundé Training Centre for Labour Administrators and for the importance it attaches to the question of workers' education.

However, this valuable social policy will be effective only if the system of social security is strengthened and adjusted to the evolution of the urban and the rural sectors. In many African countries, industrialisation, urbanisation and evolution towards a monetary economy have broken the cohesion of the family and the self-contained traditional communities. The workers are exposed to an increasing number of risks inherent in life in an industrialising society, and this inevitably involves loss of—or a considerable decrease in—income and consequent destitution. Social security is one of the principal means of ensuring that heads of families have sufficient means of livelihood, adequate medical care, and pensions to free them and their families from the dread of an uncertain future. The ILO must tirelessly continue its work in this field, of whose advantages we are well aware. An African institute of social security should be set up, and regional experts from a number of countries should be appointed to assist and guide those who run our social security funds. All African countries should have the chance to benefit from this experience. Harmonisation of systems must be sought in order to render multi-national action effective.

All the observations I have made will not be valid unless the Organisation has sufficient resources. The United Nations Development Programme makes an important contribution, but it is not sufficient, particularly because the UNDP is more sensitive to the economic than to the social aspects of development.

I should like, therefore, to insist firmly that the technical co-operation credits under the regular budget of the ILO be not only maintained but increased, and that the ILO seek to develop its activities under the UNDP and in co-operation with the other United Nations agencies.

I should like, before closing, to reiterate to the President my sincere congratulations on his election, which the Employers' group has authorised me warmly to support.

I should like also to congratulate and thank all our employer friends in Ghana for the practical assistance which they have constantly given us.

As for the Secretary-General, whose devotion and patience in the defence of the cause of social justice and peace are known to all, I should like to ask him to accept my congratulations for the high level of the work of our various conferences.

I should like also to thank all the members of the staff and the experts who, scattered throughout Africa, ensure the appreciation of the generous work of the ILO.

Mr. BAAH (*Employers' delegate, Ghana*)—I am happy to be able to join speakers who have preceded me in congratulating Mr. Kaleo on his election as President of

this Conference. My organisation and, indeed, the entire people of Ghana greet him very warmly on this historic occasion and wish the Conference every success under his presidency.

The Report of the Director-General is of great significance and relevance to the Government and people of Ghana, who are striving to diversify their economy by transforming rapidly from a traditional subsistence sector into a modern industrial sector. Efforts in this direction seem to be frustrated and undermined by excessive and uncontrolled population growth, agricultural stagnation due to the rural exodus and, above all, the unhealthy financial position which was inherited from the old régime.

Although accurate information on the drift to the towns is difficult to obtain, it is obvious from the look of things that the population of our towns and cities is increasing twice as fast as the over-all population, due to the influx of migrants from the countryside and other irresistible factors. To combat the flight from the land to the urban areas, my organisation supports the Government's recent measures to encourage the youth to stay on the land, or to return to it, through the establishment of well-thought-out farm settlements and, above all, the appeal to mature, trained agriculturalists to return to the land to help bring modern methods of farming to the countryside.

The conditions and assurances under which interested civil and non-civil servants would be able to avail themselves of the offer are still being worked out, but it is our fervent hope that they will be attractive enough to stimulate interests so as to induce many mature and trained agriculturalists to respond to the challenge and thereby make our agricultural evolution a reality. May I add that for the whole strategy to succeed, it is essential to provide the rural areas with basic medical and social facilities, such as hospitals with qualified physicians and ancillary medical staff including dentists, nurses, midwives and public health specialists; electricity and good drinking water; housing that meets the elementary standards of hygiene; and entertainment and cultural centres.

We are happy to agree with the Director-General that it is only when living conditions are improved, when education and health services are expanded and improved, and when other social services and amenities are brought to the villages and to nomadic groups, so that rural people can live better and more fully, that the attitude of young people to rural life and work can change and they may become less eager to drift to the towns. It is against this background that my organisation welcomes the creation of a new Ministry for Rural Development whose primary purpose is to co-ordinate the rural planning, development and social welfare services being provided by various government institutions and agencies in rural areas to improve rural standards of living through community development.

Ghana, like other African countries, is faced with problems of mounting unemployment and underemployment resulting partly from the reorganisation of the State corporations soon after the February revolution. This has been aggravated by the fact that the labour force is growing by about 100,000 people leaving our schools, colleges, universities and other institutions of learning each year. With our industrialisation effort gaining momentum, we have realised that there is an acute shortage of skilled manpower, such as doctors, engineers, architects, surveyors, statisticians, economists, high-level scientific personnel in teaching, research work, etc., agriculturalists of all kinds, managers, supervisors, foremen in building and electrical trades, and middle-level and clerical scales such as secretaries, stenographers and mechanics. Broadly speaking, the lack of co-ordination between educational planning and economic and social planning means that, at all levels of education, pupils leaving school as well as students leaving university often remain unemployed. In order to overcome those defects it appears desirable to ensure a coherent policy of training and appropriate co-ordination of all government and private institutions involved in the planning,

organisation and management of training activities in the country. This is essential because training which is not geared to the economic and social needs of a country is worthless and wasteful as regards human resources.

It may interest the Conference to learn that a Manpower Board, on which my organisation is represented, has been established in Ghana by decree. Although this Board is charged, among other things, with the responsibility of formulating plans and policies for development, education, training and for the effective utilisation of all human resources in all sectors of the national economy, we welcome the inclusion on the agenda of the Conference of the item concerning a Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa. From the point of view of my organisation, this item is a prerequisite to the successful implementation of the World Employment Programme which was launched earlier this year in Geneva with the aim of helping countries to create additional productive employment. In a nutshell, the Programme sets out guidelines for national action through the establishment of administrative machinery in key fields such as development, strategy policies for investment, education, training and rural development and the use of more labour-intensive methods in industry; youth employment and training; and action to reduce the size of the labour force through family planning or otherwise. My technical advisers on the Conference Committee dealing with this item look forward to fruitful exchanges to enrich our knowledge and thus help us to make an effective contribution to the work of the Manpower Board.

Regarding the question of the application of labour-intensive techniques, I wish to assure the Workers that my Association appreciates the need to improve labour-intensive techniques, which are emphasised throughout the Programme as helping to reduce unemployment, but I would urge that such techniques should be applied only when economically sound and in the best interests of the undertaking. It is also the view of my Association that, in this age of scientific advancement, the attractiveness of labour-intensive methods should not be allowed to hinder the introduction of modern technology.

Regarding the call for stabilisation of migrant manpower, I subscribe, with some reservation, to the school of thought that holds that migration between countryside and town and back again is an excellent thing as long as the circumstances are such that the African worker cannot earn a decent living in any one place. As regards productivity, however, I hold a view contrary to the general thinking; as a matter of interest, the Ghana Employers' Association conducted a survey into absenteeism in the undertakings of its members and the replies to the questionnaire proved that, except in the mines, the labour turnover was negligible. It will also interest you to know that wage-earning peasants employed in our towns form a stable migrant labour force and enjoy leave of not less than fourteen working days with full pay in any calendar year of continuous service. Further, irrespective of where they come from, they are granted additional leave with or without pay to attend to urgent family matters, depending on the nature of each case. In all such cases members of my organisation have always been sympathetic to genuine requests. Nor is that all: all collective agreements make provision for the release of trade union officials to attend to trade union activities for varying periods without loss of pay.

We note with interest the Director-General's remark that the challenge to development lies in the mobilisation at all levels of the national energies, within the framework of national policy. We of the Ghana Employers' Association are freely and effectively playing our part on various committees and boards such as the Management Development and Productivity Institute, the Prices and Incomes Commission, the Labour Advisory Committee, etc. It is therefore regrettable that the membership of the National Service Corps, which was announced yesterday evening by the Prime Minister, did not include the Ghana Employers' Association. However, we would like to be closely associated with other committees responsible for dynamic development

policies. To that end, I pledge our enthusiastic co-operation in all fields of activity which stimulate the growth of private enterprise and the economy as a whole.

Aware of the need for a sound industrial relations policy which, in turn, is conducive to that social peace without which national development may suffer a severe setback, my Association has endeavoured to strengthen good relations with the officers of the Trades Union Congress and the Ministry of Labour and it has always ensured a meaningful dialogue to promote and strengthen harmonious relations between our members and their respective unions. We value this co-operation dearly and hope to keep it alive without, of course, sacrificing principles.

On the question of membership of confederations outside Africa, I wish to point out that the Ghana Employers' Association is affiliated to the International Organisation of Employers and the Organisation of Employers' Federations and Employers in Developing Countries, based in Geneva and London respectively. It is held by some schools of thought that such membership involves a danger of subordination to non-indigenous political and economic interests. As far as the Ghana Employers' Association is concerned, I wish to assure the Conference that our organisation is completely autonomous and in no way subject to the dictates of outside influences, nor does our membership prevent us from pursuing the targets set forth in the economic and social development plan devised by our Government. May I emphasise that, on the contrary, membership of such international organisations makes our organisation more effective through the exchange of documents and periodical meetings.

In conclusion, I wish to take this opportunity to appeal to all governments to reappraise the important role labour ministries can play in their respective countries. I make this appeal because it has been noted that labour ministries and departments have been denied the requisite funds with which to carry out their duties efficiently. I need not point out that a labour ministry is as important as any ministry of trade and industry, economic affairs and planning, finance, etc. Since labour ministries deal with human beings, with whose co-operation economic and social development can be effectively and successfully implemented, it is our view that they should be given the right tools and encouragement to make an effective contribution in their respective countries. I hope that all African governments will note this appeal and will take the necessary steps to ensure that labour ministries become effective instruments of development.

May I express the appreciation of the Ghana Employers' Association of the opportunity to address this gathering, and the hope and belief that the ILO will continue to go from strength to strength in its search for social justice for the benefit of all mankind.

Mr. MACHA (*Workers' delegate, Tanzania*)—On behalf of the workers of Tanzania, whom I have the honour to represent at this important Conference, may I associate myself with previous speakers in congratulating the President on his unanimous election. I wish him every success in his endeavour to steer the Conference to fruitful conclusions and I can assure him of my humble co-operation to that end.

The Conference is discussing matters of vital interest not only to the workers but also to the peasants of Tanzania. That is why the workers of Tanzania would like, through me, to share their feelings and aspirations with you, Sir, and with the members of this Conference. Allow me, therefore, to confine myself to the most important aspect of this Conference—namely employment policy.

You will agree with me, I think, that any effective action by trade unions to implement the objectives of the employment policy will depend on a number of factors among which are their strength and unity; their financial resources; the attitude of the governments towards the unions, and vice versa; the existence of a clearly defined and agreed path of development, politically, economically and socially; and a high degree of national consciousness and hence national unity.

The workers of Tanzania can humbly claim that, fortunately, these factors are present in their case. Thus we have a united labour movement so that workers can speak with one voice and with unity of purpose. About three-quarters of the wage-earners are members of the labour movement. Financially we are self-supporting. The Government's attitude to the labour movement is positive, as is that of the labour movement to the Government. And as far as national unity and consciousness are concerned, the workers of Tanzania have nothing to complain of, although they realise that they must be very vigilant against enemies of unity.

We have a nationally agreed and defined path of development, politically, economically and socially. This path was laid down in February 1967 in what is now known popularly in Tanzania as the Arusha Declaration, which enunciated the nation's policy of socialism—better known as *ujamaa*—and self-reliance, the implementation of which has so far led to, among other things, the placing of the major means of production in the hands of all Tanzanians. It happened that those means of production were to a large extent in the hands of non-Tanzanian monopolies whose headquarters were in their respective countries overseas, from where policies affecting the interests of the Tanzanian people were dictated. Thus the nation has been put in a position in which it can fairly and safely determine its own destiny. This exercise is viewed by the workers and the peasants as being nationalist-inspired in that it was a rejection of foreign domination of the economy of the country—a rejection which is acceptable and which is indeed a necessity, even for those countries which by coincidence or design found themselves in such a dominating position, because they could not permit the economy of their country to be determined by foreigners, and rightly so. On the other hand, the exercise is also viewed by the workers as an *ujamaa* exercise, in that the major means of production were not placed in, or transferred to, the hands of a few nationals who could buy shares but were put in the hands of the people so that they may be used for the benefit of all, for *ujamaa* rejects the exploitation of man by man or group by group.

The policy of socialism and self-reliance emphasises the need to rectify or reduce the gap in incomes between the small group of the urban population, which is relatively better off, and the large masses of the rural population, which are relatively worse off. To the workers, this meant that they had to accept certain restraints and bear in mind certain principles of national interest, in pursuance of their own interests. Thus, the workers of Tanzania had to accept in 1967 a national policy on wages, incomes, investments, rural development and prices.

As far as the wages policy is concerned, certain factors are now being taken care of by the trade unions and the employers in wage negotiations. Such factors include the need to increase employment and the economic expansion of undertakings. This means that any wage increases which would lead to redundancy of workers or which would obstruct expansion plans of the undertaking would be unacceptable in Tanzania. Another important factor to be borne in mind in collective wage agreements is the need to promote labour productivity through various methods, including the introduction of incentive schemes where possible. Equally important is the fact that increases in wages should not be paid for through increases in the prices of the goods or services produced. So the connection between the World Employment Programme and the national wages policy can be seen.

The workers also accepted, as long ago as 1962, the need for restraint in strike action, realising how destructive to a poor economy strike action can be. Thus we have adequate machinery for settling labour disputes without the need to strike, although under certain conditions workers can go on a legal strike. As a result of this, there now exists the necessary industrial peace conducive to investments and industrial expansion as a whole, resulting in increased employment. One aspect of employment policy should be that once a worker has secured a job it is important that, as far as possible, he keep it. As far as Tanzania is concerned, in 1964 the workers requested the Government to amend the Colonial Employment Ordinance, which gave employers the

so-called prerogative to hire and fire at will. An employer could in those days summarily dismiss an employee on very flimsy grounds. The People's Government saw the point and accordingly enacted a law which is referred to as the Security of Employment Act, 1964. This Act established, among other things, workers' committees in undertakings with ten or more union members and conciliation boards on an area basis. Since then, an employer in Tanzania can no longer summarily dismiss an employee without the consent of the workers' committee or a union representative or labour officer, where workers' committees do not exist by law. In the event of a disagreement between an employer and a workers' committee, either party may refer the matter to the Conciliation Board, a tripartite board whose decision is binding on the parties concerned, although there is provision for appeal. In that Act there is a part dealing with termination procedures but it has not been brought into force by the Minister responsible for labour matters. It is the hope of the workers that the Minister will, in the near future, bring this part of the Act into operation. Thus, the former prerogative of the employer to fire just because he did not like somebody's face is gone. A law such as this becomes even more important where unemployment exists because, as we all know, employers would exploit the situation to their own advantage.

Official tripartite discussions are now going on in Tanzania on how workers can participate closely in the management of undertakings. The union has been instrumental in initiating these discussions. Thus, it has so far been agreed that workers' councils consisting of members of management and workers' representatives be established to advise on almost all aspects of an undertaking, including programmes of productivity and examination of firms' performances, financially and otherwise. It has also been agreed to establish executive boards in the undertakings, which will counsel the head of the undertaking in the day-to-day activities of the enterprise. The executive board will consist of top management officials and workers' representatives from the workers' councils. Finally, it has been agreed that there be workers' representation on boards of directors. This policy will be put into effect soon, beginning with the parastatal sector which is now the dominant sector in Tanzania. However, the union is determined to negotiate with private enterprises to implement this policy without waiting for a third party to push it. I must point out, however, that it is not the aim of the union to deprive management staff of their responsibilities. That is why these institutions are advisory and viewed as instruments which management could make use of in furthering the interests of the enterprise. The union realises that the success of this exercise depends on proper education of workers and management and above all on the good will of all the groups.

How does this fit in with employment policy? If these instruments are handled carefully, they will contribute a great deal to industrial peace, improvement of productivity, raising the morale of the workers, and will stimulate expansion programmes, thus opening new job opportunities, and will, above all, boost the dignity of the worker.

It is not my intention to bore the Conference with union activities in Tanzania, but I believe that a Conference such as this is meant to provide, among other things, a forum for the exchange of ideas and experiences which could assist in seeking solutions to our common problems within the competence of the ILO.

I mentioned earlier that the effective role of the workers' organisations in the economic and social development of their respective countries will depend, *inter alia*, on their financial strength. I also mentioned that the workers' organisation in Tanzania is financially self-supporting. We depend on our own resources. In the field of economic investment, the union sets aside about 25 per cent of its income for this purpose. These funds are channelled through its subsidiary, the Workers' Development Corporation, a body financed solely by the union. It has been in operation since 1964. One of its objectives is to relieve unemployment by establishing various economic enterprises. We have so far established seven factories manufacturing a variety of goods. We have established a 700-acre mixed farm and nine catering units comprising restaurants,

canteens, hotels and bars. The total labour force in all these small-sized undertakings is about 800 so far. We also engage in tackling the problems of urban housing. We have been able to build several houses and flats for workers at a relatively cheap rent. Another 15 per cent of the union's income is devoted to workers' education and social welfare. Thus, for instance, we have also established two dispensaries, which have proved extremely popular because of good and cheap medical services rendered to the workers. One of the dispensaries is tending up to 600 out-patients a day.

In the current five-year national economic and social plan the workers' movement will set aside 6 million shillings for direct economic investment. In the field of housing, we are going to mobilise the workers to build their own houses on a self-help basis. Funds will be raised through the establishment of building societies. Greater emphasis will be put on productivity and the establishment of workers' councils.

As far as the rural problem is concerned, the union realises how interrelated are the fate of the peasant and that of the wage-earner. In general, the progress of the wage-earner will depend largely on the progress of the peasant. As long as the rural population continues to lag behind materially, the workers' efforts to improve their lot will be seriously hampered. That is why the labour movement supports wholeheartedly the Government's policy of establishing *ujamaa* villages, which will enable the masses to be mobilised into economic activities using modern techniques of agriculture and putting them in a better position, where they can be provided by the State with some of the social benefits which are now being enjoyed by the urban population.

The labour movement has been studying various methods of participating in the establishment of the *ujamaa* villages. We have so far arrived at the conclusion, first, that the union will raise, through various methods, special funds for the promotion of the villages. Second, we are going to organise groups of workers to spend their holidays at *ujamaa* villages so that they can help the villagers in various tasks, thereby boosting their morale. Third, we shall continue, in co-operation with the ministry concerned, to show appropriate films to various villages as part of their education programme.

Where ILO assistance is called for is in the manpower field. We lack adequate manpower to execute rapidly and efficiently all the activities and programmes which I have already mentioned. We need managers, engineers, economists, doctors, competent organisers, to mention only a few. The manpower problem is also interwoven with financial constraints, so we have to move slowly but surely. We believe that real development is that of the people themselves, by themselves and for themselves. Any external aid, therefore, should never, and can never, replace the people's own efforts for self-development. The aid can only assist. The workers of Africa will not forget that it is they, together with the peasants, who can save Africa from poverty, ignorance and disease, factors which brought us to degradation, oppression and exploitation.

In any case, it would be too much to expect that those who have oppressed us and exploited us—or anybody else—will provide us freely and adequately with means of escaping from this miserable situation.

Finally, the workers of Tanzania support the programme on employment policy in Africa as generally outlined by the ILO, to which we are very grateful because it is acting in the best interests of the workers and peasants of Tanzania.

*Interpretation from French:* Mr. PONGAULT (*representative of the Pan African Workers' Congress*)—It is with steadily increasing interest that the Pan African Workers' Congress examines the various Reports of the Director-General to successive African Regional Conferences. For their part, the trade unionists of our movement have contributed fully to the progress of the work of the ILO throughout the world, and particularly in Africa.

Measuring the ground covered, so far as Africa is concerned we are happy to see what has been done from the meetings of the Committee of Experts on Social Policy in Non-Metropolitan Territories to the sessions of the African Advisory Committee



and the African Regional Conferences. We are glad also to see the development in Africa of the ILO's operational infrastructure and we are happy to note the recruitment by the ILO of a greater number of African officials. We regret, however, the insufficient number of officials recruited from the workers' movement; such a situation conflicts with the principle of tripartism by giving the governments undue influence in the ILO.

Our criticism has one objective: to render the work of the ILO in Africa more effective. To prove our faith in its future, the organisations of my Congress have wished to be associated in all the manifestations marking the ILO's fiftieth anniversary. A special December 1969 number of our journal, *Travailleurs d'Afrique*, has been devoted entirely to that historic event.

But whatever meaning we attach to the celebration of the ILO's fiftieth anniversary and despite the satisfaction we feel at the meeting of our long-standing claims, we cannot ignore the immensity of the task which remains to be performed in order to translate into reality the principles and objectives of the ILO in Africa.

For us, the success of the task to be accomplished depends essentially on the respect by all governments and employers of the principle of freedom of association. Unfortunately, the efforts of the ILO have not had very much practical success up to the present in this field. There is worse: in the African context no national construction will be viable without the primacy of law over vested interests. When the workers call for trade union freedom and rights they are demanding only an effective means of participating in a responsible way in the building of their nations. We persist in believing that Africa will not be built by the politicians, the colonels and the technocrats.

We should like again to point out that this is a danger threatening all those who confuse unshared authority with efficiency. We must constantly repeat that authority may be necessary, but if it is to be well understood, and therefore effective, it must leave scope for consultation, advice and criticism. Without this there can be no real support by the people for national development. There can be no true civic spirit without the free, enthusiastic participation by citizens in the construction of their country. In stifling the essential rights of man, the African governments are obliged constantly to increase their expenditure on the police and army in order to ensure relative security for their authority, thus handicapping economic and social development. One of the fundamental causes of the persistence of underdevelopment and the relative failure of the first decade of African independence is precisely this confusion between unshared authority and efficiency.

The Report now before us has grasped very well the problem of employment in Africa and indicated ways and means of solving it. However, there are some aspects of this problem which have not been deeply analysed but which, however, influence employment and the standard of life of the workers to a certain extent.

Regarding senior personnel, a good effort of training has been made since the accession of our countries to independence, but the problem of their rational utilisation for development remains unsolved. In this regard, our analysis leads us to state certain facts. There is often a tendency to persuade public opinion that the "brain drain" is due only to greed for gain. In fact, many senior supervisors cannot find employment because of their political opinions. It is desirable that arrangements be made to create an organism responsible for placing skilled African senior personnel who, for political reasons, cannot work in their countries of origin. If this were done, the States which now appeal for technical assistance in the form of non-African staff could apply to that organism. Thus, priority for recruitment would be reserved for Africans for whose training the peasants and workers have made such sacrifices.

Moreover, some of those who agree to come back to their own countries do so with neo-colonialist ideas masked under the guise of technocracy and immediately demand the same privileges as their colonial predecessors.

Furthermore, some of our supervisors should have a sufficiently sound sense of honour and prestige to refuse to leave to foreigners work which they should do themselves.

Most African doctors prefer to work in capital cities and ministerial departments and leave of to the French, the British, the Chinese, the Russians and others the difficult task of helping the rural areas, where, by their devotion and human contacts, they finally acquire better understanding of the psychology of the sick people than the indigenous officers themselves.

As for middle-grade supervisors, a mass training policy is necessary to fill the gap between management and manual workers. The whole problem of supervision is involved here.

The questions relating to manual labour have been analysed in the Report, and we fully subscribe to the solutions recommended.

On the other hand, we should like to draw the attention of the ILO, the OAU and all other institutions to the gravity of the problems encountered by Africans working outside their own country. For some time, we have been observing, powerless to act, the development of a narrow nationalism which induces some governments to take action which prejudices the interests of non-national workers who in some cases have been called in to make up for the shortage of personnel in certain sectors. These poor people lose all their property and meet with great difficulties in establishing themselves in their own countries, which some of them have never even seen. Nobody has so far taken up their defence, even if only to provide fair compensation for their loss. Is this not an opportunity for the ILO to study a draft regional Convention safeguarding the interests of African workers serving outside their country? If I speak of Africans only, it is not because of racialism or regionalism but because Powers outside Africa have their own far more effective means of exercising pressure.

What is more, all too many African governments, faced with the problem of excessive concentration in major towns, limit themselves to taking authoritarian action aimed at sending to the interior of the country a number of the jobless without having in advance prepared the structures enabling them to take up productive work outside the towns.

In the case both of expelled aliens and of the unemployed persons in the towns, only the implementation of major works, either by a State or within the framework of an international agreement, would make it possible to use this unutilised labour capacity for the development of countries.

As regards economic matters, we are happy to take the opportunity offered by this Conference to take stock of the situation. This so-called Development Decade is really ending in disillusionment. We must recognise that the gap between our continent and the rich countries is growing, and, rather than speaking of the countries in the process of development, we should speak of the countries in the process of exploitation.

With regard to production, the first thing is to profit from the wealth of the soil and of the subsoil, which should be placed first and foremost at the disposal of the whole of our population. There is a fight to obtain raw materials and commercial agriculture is being exploited to the detriment of domestic consumption. Our attention must be devoted to improving the productivity of subsistence agriculture. For Africa, the index of food production fell by 2 per cent between 1963 and 1967. This means that we are eating less than six years ago, and we note that the Director-General points out that our domestic requirements are being neglected, which explains the outward flow of already rare foreign currency. His Report lists a series of measures which should be taken and which we support.

We shall therefore merely stress the role of rural animation, which should lead to a true revolution in outlook, in production techniques, in marketing, in financing, and we should also stress the need to link agricultural expansion to a first phase of industrialisation in order to consume products manufactured in the country itself, while relying at the same time on an indigenous agricultural equipment industry. As regards industrialisation, our first action is to eliminate the false choice posed as between heavy industry or light industry.

There are some industries which contribute to industrialisation and there are some which do not, or do so only to a lesser extent. The conditions to be imposed are that the industry should contribute to the modernisation of agriculture, to the extension of the industrial sector itself, to an effective struggle against the scandalous dependence of our economy on outside sources and to ending the domination of the major international trusts.

The efficacy of industrialisation will be measured by its capacity to help our countries to emerge from outside domination. Regrettably, that is not what we now find. Local reinvestment of value added is rare and the greater part of investments provided for in our national plans comes from abroad. That is why the industrial sector obeys almost exclusively decisions taken outside Africa, and it must be acknowledged that the concern of foreign industrialists often tends not towards substitution industries but rather towards sectors which bring in large profits and which accentuate the dependence of our economies on foreign countries. Thus, our industries are often merely a foreign enclave within our economies, at the service of capitalism and giant multi-national firms.

We would recall that foreign investment is designed above all to procure raw materials for the countries of the West and of the East rather than to develop our resources. The figures available on the subject clearly prove that this is so.

To this financial domination, strengthened by the successive devaluations of the so-called "hard" currencies, must be added the domination resulting from trade. For one thing, the share of African commerce in world trade is falling. Our exports are now only 3.9 per cent of the total, whereas they were 5 per cent of the world total in 1950; again, our products are earning less and less money.

This problem of the deterioration of the terms of trade will be solved only when the countries of the Third World are able to reverse the power balance in international trade. We must act together to abolish all these forms of imperialism of a cultural, economic, political and social kind imposed by the different Powers of the northern hemisphere for their own profit alone.

We must snatch from them the levers of control in economic decision-making. More than a modification or stabilisation of prices, it is a qualitative, structural change that must be brought about: we must aim at a revolution, not just at a few marginal alterations.

To conclude, I wish to say a few words on the distribution of accrued wealth, which is as important as production and investment policy. Whereas the industrialised countries were able to progress thanks to the exploitation of the wage-earners, part of whose income was seized by the bourgeoisie and reinvested within the national territory, the same cannot be allowed to come about in our case—first, because as workers we wish to be responsible for the utilisation of the savings which have been created by our labour and which should be used for our development; and second, because certain African notables are too often in the service of the big international companies and foreign Powers. Rather than aiming at the growth of the nation and the continent, this new bourgeoisie prefers the safety of investments in Europe or the United States or imported luxury products which only aggravate our adverse balance of trade.

In our opinion, a just distribution policy should aim at fair remuneration for all producers, beginning with the peasants and wage-earners; at resettling the unemployed and underemployed; at restricting the range of earnings; at aligning high salaries and profits to the possibilities of the country; at creating savings capacity; and, lastly, at abolishing usury and speculation.

We are aware that these questions are consequences of the power relationship between social groups and must be stated in political terms. These problems must be solved if we wish to develop as free and responsible persons and not as satellites of any ideology.

As Africans we must all ensure that all men of good will can combine their efforts, despite differences of opinion, so as to guarantee the success of our struggle against

underdevelopment and all kinds of imperialism. Our task is exalting and no one has the right to waste his energy in vain political or religious quarrels, still less in fratricidal wars.

The next ten years must be considered as the premises for a united Africa in which men, by their determination and their labour, will have conquered violence, ignorance, injustice and poverty.

Tolerance, the will to progress, good-neighbourliness, respect for law and unity of action must be considered as the bases of our struggle against those who exploit us and keep us in mediocrity. Our salvation should be sought neither in the West nor in the East but in our own determination to ensure the promotion of our peoples.

Mr. ISHOLA (*Workers' delegate, Nigeria*)—I wish to congratulate the President, on behalf of all the workers of Nigeria, on his election to the exalted office of the presidency of this memorable Conference. His election is grounded on appreciation of his excellent personal qualities evidenced in the most able way he has been guiding this Conference. It is further reinforced by the unanimous, involuntary desire of all of us to honour his great country, Ghana, whose lavish hospitality we are currently enjoying.

This Third African Regional Conference of the ILO bears an indelible imprint of pleasant occurrences. It is being held in the year the International Labour Organisation is celebrating its fiftieth anniversary. During this Conference the Declaration of Philadelphia promulgating the protection of human rights, which was signed twenty-one years ago, has come of age, and most significantly last week during this Conference the ILO was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo. The workers all over my country felicitate the Organisation, the Secretary-General and the members of the Governing Body on this rare honour bestowed on the ILO. The ILO is regarded everywhere as a laboratory of human relations. Human problems are dissected and solutions are found through dialogue. It is the most dynamic forum for the meeting of minds of the essential economic trinity—government, employers and workers. Little wonder that it has won the Nobel Prize before its mother, the United Nations. From now on, the ILO should be renamed IPO—International Peace Organisation.

In his Report the Secretary-General touched upon the political instability which is prevalent in most countries in Africa and is an impediment to economic progress. The underlying cause of political instability is perhaps the emergence of charismatic leadership in many African countries during the changeover from foreign to independent indigenous rule. This type of leadership mellows under the strain and stress of political, social and economic pressures and realities. Hero-worship is replaced by disaffection, loyalty by civil disobedience, peace by disorder and coup and counter-coup become the rule rather than the exception. Since political stability is a *sine qua non* to economic development and progress, this Conference should call on the United Nations, through the ILO, to study and synthesise, as a matter of the utmost urgency, the remote and immediate causes of political instability in Africa and to prescribe remedies. The United Nations may wish to consider and implement a crash programme in the form of a Marshall Plan for Africa and request the developed nations, more especially the great Powers, to subscribe to it honestly and sincerely. The crash programme should satisfy these essential requirements, namely the provision and strengthening of the essential infrastructures, through intensification of mass education, production of necessary skills—low, intermediate and high level—for development, provision of good housing and health facilities and provision and improvement of communications; and a dynamic agricultural revolution. This would quell the hunger for physical and spiritual nourishment and reduce the unemployment prevalent in many African countries. Starvation of the mind and body and large-scale unemployment are among the evils at the root of political instability in Africa.

It is noteworthy that many African countries, including my own, have benefited substantially from ILO technical co-operation programmes. It must, however, be

pointed out that the planning and execution of those programmes are, in many respects, devoid of the element of tripartism. In most cases, governments have unilaterally planned and executed the programmes without consulting the employers and workers. I wish to appeal humbly to the ILO to eradicate this unwholesome practice and to insist on consultation of employers and workers by governments at every stage of the planning and execution of any of its technical programmes in Africa.

It is noted with satisfaction that ILO expenditure on technical co-operation programmes in Africa increased substantially in the decade which has just ended. Nevertheless the budget allocation for these is not sufficient for the undertaking of programmes that will make an adequate impact on the economies of African countries. May I suggest to the United Nations through the ILO that in addition to the 1 per cent of GNP contributions which developed nations are required to make to the development fund for underdeveloped countries, all the great Powers involved in the arms race and the exploration of the moon should be requested to divert 1 per cent of the money spent on those projects to swell the kitty for the founding of technical programmes in Africa. They should remember that poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere.

The ILO road must not lead backward to the dark days of oppression, repression and the callous and flagrant violation of human rights. The award of the Nobel Peace Prize summons it to go forward vigorously to a new era of dedication and unswerving loyalty to the ideal of achieving an enduring solution of the problem of humanity—peace.

Although hostile forces eager to destroy the ILO have waxed considerably stronger over the years, its indestructibility is buttressed by the indomitable will of its Members—men of peace who are unalterably dedicated to the protection and defence of the inviolability of the principle of peace.

This year the torch of peace for mankind has been handed on to the ILO by the award of the Nobel Peace Prize; may it not be extinguished in its hand but continue to glow and show the path to peace for mankind to pursue.

At this point I should like to digress in order to give some information to the Conference. I have been reliably informed that one or two African Member States of the ILO are trying to shelve their responsibility by asking the Workers' delegates of their countries to this Conference to be responsible for their own expenses for travelling and subsistence. If this information is correct, this is action which violates the Constitution of the ILO, especially, if paragraphs 1 and 2 of article 3 and subparagraph (a) of paragraph 2 of article 13 are read in conjunction. By this action of which I am complaining the tripartite nature and structure of the ILO are being imperilled. Therefore I respectfully urge the Conference to insist that all ILO member States should strictly observe the Constitution, this being a prerequisite for and condition of membership.

Finally, a long speech is like the wheel of a bicycle—the longer the spoke, the larger the tire. I conclude with the prayer that the ILO may go from strength to strength and the wisdom of God continue to inform our deliberations.

*Interpretation from Russian:* Mr. AVERIANOV (*observer, USSR*)—First of all, please allow me on behalf of the 89 million members of the trade unions of the USSR to convey to the participants in the Conference and above all to the representatives of the trade unions of the countries of Africa warm greetings and wishes for success in their work.

The Conference is considering important problems relating to the development of the African countries, and therefore its work is being followed attentively by the workers and the public in general in the countries of the various continents. The proper solution of these problems will determine to a large extent the rates of economic and social development of the countries of Africa and consequently their role and place in the contemporary world.

It is no secret that the majority of the existing problems in the countries of Africa are the heavy legacy of the shameful system of colonialism. For a long time the former colonial powers impeded in every way the economic and social development of the African countries, maintaining them as a source of cheap raw materials and a market for their industrial goods. They are continuing that policy, attempting to hold their positions on the African Continent so that they may profit further from the exploitation of the peoples of the countries of Africa.

Moreover, the aggressive character of imperialism, which is attempting to maintain its positions in former and remaining colonies, has been strengthened. This is seen in the aggressive, predatory action of Israel against the Arab peoples, in the policy of imperialism in the Portuguese colonies—Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), in the unleashing of barbaric racialism in South Africa, Zimbabwe and South West Africa. The imperialists and colonisers are attempting to turn the Portuguese colonies, Rhodesia and South Africa into a strategic political and economic bridgehead directed against the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Africa.

However, despite these attempts, the anti-imperialist revolution in Africa continues to grow wider and deeper. The achievement of political and economic independence has become the main aim of all national patriotic forces in Africa.

The workers of the USSR, who underwent great trials in their struggle for social liberation and for the freedom and independence of their country, understand and sympathise with the aspirations of the freedom-loving peoples of Africa. The founder of the first workers' and peasants' socialist State in the world, the consistent internationalist and champion of friendship among the peoples, V. I. Lenin, the centenary of whose birth the workers of all countries are preparing to mark, called for the utmost efforts to conserve and develop the unity of the international working class as a necessary condition for success in the struggle to liberate the proletariat from all forms of national and social oppression.

The trade unions of the USSR, pursuing their principle of the widest consolidation of all sections of the international trade union movement on a class basis, are engaging in great efforts with a view to deepening and developing their fraternal links of co-operation with the trade unions of the countries of Africa. The struggle of the workers and the trade union organisations of the countries of Africa to strengthen their national independence and sovereignty for the creation of an independent economy and for the improvement of the welfare of the working masses in defence of their vital rights and freedoms, is fully understood and supported by the workers of the USSR. The All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions at present maintains friendly links with the trade union centres of almost all countries of the African Continent. It gives them a wide range of support and assistance.

The AUCCTU warmly welcomed the creation of the All-African Trade Union Federation, considering this as an important step towards the consolidation of the forces of the African workers, and it has established with the AATUF friendly links which have taken the form of sound regular collaboration.

In developing and strengthening their solidarity with the workers of Africa, the trade unions of the USSR give the trade union organisations of the African countries the moral and material assistance they need in order to carry out their organisational work, to strengthen the ranks of the national trade union movement and to engage in mass educational and training work among the workers.

For eight years now the trade unions of the USSR have been helping the developing trade union movement in Africa and the other continents to train trade union members. Each year dozens of trade union militants spend ten-month training periods in the trade union school in Moscow. We shall continue to do everything possible for the further strengthening and development of our fraternal links with the trade union movement and workers of Africa and to demonstrate our active solidarity with their struggle for national freedom and sovereignty and the independent development of their countries.

The Report of the Director-General and the other reports submitted by the ILO to this present session of the Conference devote considerable attention to participation of the trade unions and other organisations of the workers in social and economic development. The trade unions of the USSR are eager to share their experience in this and other fields of trade union activities. We always stress the necessity to allow for the specific social situation within which trade union activities are conducted.

After the Socialist Revolution in October 1917, we encountered great difficulties in our country. The economy of the country had been wrecked. Hunger and poverty were rife. The overwhelming majority of the population was illiterate. There was no point in looking for outside help. No experience yet existed in the construction of a socialist society. Everyone knows the outstanding achievements of our people in a relatively short period. What gave us the possibility to do this? Above all, the concentration of all the resources in the country in the hands of the socialist State through nationalisation; the establishment of workers' control over production and the distribution of the national product; the organisation of general training and education; active participation by the whole of society in settling the questions which arose for the young socialist State. It must be stressed that all of our activities were based on uniform state plans for national economic development.

An important role was played by the trade unions. They participated actively in preparing and implementing the plans. They also participated in drafting and in enforcing the labour legislation of the country. The trade unions conducted extensive organisational and educational work among the workers of the population. They helped to get production going again and to organise the educational establishments most appropriate to the real needs of production and the workers. The trade unions undertook a range of initiatives in order to solve existing problems. Their proposals were reflected in legislation. Not a single question relating to production and the position of the workers could or can be settled without taking the trade unions' views into consideration. In all undertakings of the national economy, the trade union organisations acting for the wage-earners and salaried employees every year conclude collective agreements and supervise their application. These collective agreements fully reflect matters concerning improvement of organisation of work, hours of work, improvement of the system of remuneration, organisation of vocational training, provision of safe and healthy working conditions, satisfaction of the general and cultural needs of the collective, such as housing construction, building and maintenance of kindergartens and nurseries and cultural and educational institutions, and so on.

The collective agreement in a Soviet enterprise has force of law. Failure by the management to comply with any provision of the agreement entitles the trade union organisation to introduce proceedings with a view to sanctions against the director of the undertaking, his dismissal or even his penal prosecution. The management of the enterprise has no right to dismiss any wage-earner or salaried employee without the consent of the trade union organisation. Any disputed question arising between the workers and the administration is settled directly within the undertaking by means of special commissions on labour disputes, which include equal numbers of representatives of the management and the trade union organisation. If the two sides do not agree or if the worker is not satisfied with the decision of the commission, the matter is referred to the trade union organisation, whose decision is then binding for the administration, or alternatively the worker may appeal directly to the people's court.

The trade union organisations in the USSR are endowed with the rights of control over application of labour legislation and industrial safety and health standards and regulations. For these purposes the trade unions have a staff of technical and legal inspectors whose instructions are binding for the management of undertakings.

The comprehensive system of social insurance, which in our country is administered by the trade unions, takes good care of the interests of the workers in the event of

temporary disability, old age or sickness, and it also provides for rest and cure in sanatoria, rest homes and hospitals.

Special attention must be paid to the fact that the broad rights of the Soviet trade unions are laid down in the law, including the Constitution. Our experience shows that application of the system of planned regulation of the utilisation of labour resources and the training of manpower is an important condition for ensuring the fullest and most rational employment of the whole able-bodied population and the supply of skilled manpower for the economy. The planned regulation of training and utilisation of labour resources permitted, as long ago as 1930, the full liquidation of unemployment.

The recognition and genuine safeguarding of the right of the workers, and above all of their trade unions, to participate in preparing and implementing national development plans in all African countries would substantially help towards successful solutions of the problems before those countries. In the final analysis, the successes of the social and economic development of any country will depend on the ownership of the natural wealth of the country and also on the extent to which the workers' organisations, and in particular the trade unions, participate in preparing and implementing national development plans.

The ILO could make a valuable contribution to that end. The trade unions of the USSR, for their part, are prepared to share their experience with the trade unions of the African countries—under ILO auspices, if desired—particularly through the organisation in the USSR of seminars for representatives of trade unions from the African countries on a wide range of problems relating to labour relations.

*Interpretation from French:* Mr. SANDOS (*Workers' delegate, Central African Republic*)—I welcome the opportunity now offered to the General Union of Central African Workers, which I have the honour and privilege of representing at this Third African Regional Conference, to express the opinions of the workers of our country on the problems raised by the Director-General in his Report; but before doing so I deem it my duty to congratulate the Minister of Labour and Social Welfare of Ghana on his election to the presidential Chair. His remarkable personal qualities and his competence more than justify the choice of the Conference. It is a pleasant duty to work under his authority, and I am convinced that thanks to his abilities our proceedings will reach a successful conclusion.

The Director-General's Report is an admirable—indeed an exceptional—document both in form and in substance. It has stimulated the reflections of my organisation on two particular points: rural development and the participation of employers and workers in economic and social development.

Regarding rural development, the General Union of Central African Workers cannot conceive of economic progress in Africa without the development of the rural sector. Economic data indicate that my country has an enormous potential and also reveal the importance of agriculture as the sector occupying most of our people and the one in which the standard of living and way of life leave most to be desired; to transform that deplorable environment is the chief concern of political and occupational leaders in the Central African Republic.

The Government has decided upon a great national campaign to that effect, applying first in agriculture and subsequently in other areas. We call it "Operation Bokassa" after its promoter, General Jean Bedel Bokassa, the President of our Republic.

The General Union of Central African Workers is proud to tell this Conference of the objectives and achievements of this campaign. Firstly, we are banishing the old ideas which have hitherto dominated traditional agricultural practice in our country; secondly, we are putting an end to the situation in which the sole function of agriculture is to permit the farmer's own subsistence—everyone engaged in it must be provided with the financial resources which will bring him decent conditions of life. To reach



that ideal the Government has made available to farmers modern means and methods designed, on the one hand, to increase and rationalise their production both for immediate consumption and for the market and, on the other hand, to achieve maximum productivity.

Ideas having been thus modified and the action which the State can take to promote agriculture having been defined, the Government has decided on the establishment of various institutions, to have competence as regards rural animation, the collection and marketing of agricultural products, propaganda for modern methods of farming, and information and training of farmers. These institutions are known as Regional Development Offices and the National Pioneer Youth.

Furthermore, the striking success of Operation Bokassa, thanks to the agricultural promotion measures decided upon and undertaken by the Government, has favoured and facilitated private enterprise, particularly in the form of co-operatives. Innumerable co-operative societies have come into existence, and these sustain and strengthen the State's contribution to Operation Bokassa, so that the economic development of the Central African Republic may be no illusion but something real and tangible.

The General Union, aware of the necessity of this long-term view, endorses the objectives of Operation Bokassa and participates wholeheartedly in their pursuit.

The Director-General has raised in his Report the important question of the indispensable need for participation by employers and workers in the conception, elaboration and execution of state decisions aimed at economic development. My organisation congratulates the Central African Government on the conditions provided for us and the privileged position in which we are placed on all the bodies responsible for giving opinions on decisions affecting the economic life of the nation. The Government associates the General Union of Central African Workers in the elaboration of economic development plans and counts on it to promote their execution. The General Union is represented on various bodies which have a decisive role to play in public administration, such as the National Labour Advisory Board, the High Council for the Civil Service, the High Council for Social Security and the Council of the National Manpower Office.

These various forms of association foster and render effective the discussion and agreement thanks to which trade unions and Government determine and implement, in a peaceful, frank and serene atmosphere, the measures necessary for national economic development.

I should not like to pass over in silence a particular point in the Director-General's Report which relates to the ILO's activities in our country. It is important both to the workers in general and to my organisation in particular. The objectives of the ILO in social matters are noble indeed, and we workers are comforted to see that the Central African Republic, a member of this international organisation, has ratified many Conventions guaranteeing for us conditions of life and work conducive to human dignity. It is thanks to these international standards, and also to practical co-operation by the ILO, that the trade unions in our country have been able to unite for effective, orderly participation in economic development.

As regards technical co-operation the ILO has done a great deal in the Central African Republic to promote, maintain and develop the permanent communication to the workers of information on their rights and duties in industrial relations.

We therefore attach great importance to the workers' education aspect of technical co-operation, and we would wish the fruitful relations already existing between the General Union of Central African Workers and the ILO to be maintained and developed.

My Organisation also seeks to establish closer links with other trade union organisations. It is affiliated to the Pan African Workers' Congress and to the World Confederation of Labour. It maintains good relations with other trade union centres so as to achieve a better understanding of labour problems throughout the world.

Such are the reflections of the General Union of Central African Workers, which has delegated me to this Conference. May they help towards the solution of one of the problems with which Africa is faced in its efforts for a better future; that is my earnest hope.

In closing, I transmit to the people and Government of Ghana the thanks of my Federation for the warm welcome and generous hospitality which they have extended to us on the occasion of the present Conference.

Mr. WOLF (*observer, Israel*)—I should like to begin with heartfelt congratulations to the Honourable Minister of Labour of Ghana, who honoured us all in accepting the presidency of this important Conference.

Many sincere thanks are due to the host Government, which has done the utmost to facilitate the excellent functioning of the Conference and its Committees.

I would like also to congratulate the ILO, the Secretariat and all its devoted staff, who are not sparing any effort in their hard work to ensure the success of the Conference.

I should like to bring to this important gathering the greetings of the Government of Israel, on whose behalf I am attending the Third African Regional Conference. I have also been asked by the Histadruth, the Israel Federation of Labour and the employers' association to convey their feelings of true amity.

Last year, the twentieth anniversary of the State of Israel, also began the second decade of Israel's co-operation programme with the developing countries. During its twenty years of statehood, Israel has succeeded in establishing and strengthening relations with nations which, though geographically far apart, share common aspirations of national development and a dream of a just and peaceful world. If, during the first ten years of independence, Israel necessarily concentrated on internal problems of building the country economically, socially and culturally, during the second decade it was found that certain experience had been acquired and techniques devised which were of value at home, and which, it was felt, could also be of interest to other emergent States troubled by many of the same obstacles. Israel was one of the first countries to act upon the concept that States still in the process of development could help each other, and thus its international co-operation programme was born. Our co-operation with African countries began here in our beautiful host country. Ghana was the first country with which we had a co-operation project. From here it was extended to other countries in the African Continent.

Israel's programme of technical co-operation is a twofold one, comprising the sending of experts to serve abroad for periods ranging from a few weeks to several years and the instructing of trainees and students from these countries through a system of special courses and institutions as well as in the regular educational and research installations. Whenever possible these two aspects are co-ordinated in an integrated project in which the trainees return home qualified to participate in or assume control of a project begun with the advice of the visiting expert.

To date, over 2,500 experts from Israel have served in sixty countries under the framework of bilateral co-operation agreements, multilateral arrangements with specialised agencies of the United Nations and agreements with regional bodies; 11,000 students and trainees have participated in various courses and seminars in Israel, including 2,300 from African countries who participated in courses devoted to development, co-operation and labour problems at our Afro-Asian Institute for Co-operative and Labour Studies.

The ability of a country to co-operate with others is not restricted by its size or wealth. Israel has been able to use its own development experience as a basis for co-operation projects abroad. Its need for improvisation at home has prepared it to adapt basic plans to realities abroad. Finally, as a recipient of international development aid, Israel is pleased and proud to be able to assist other States in the attainment of the economic independence indispensable to true world peace.

The Report on social change and social progress in Africa, submitted to this Conference, is a comprehensive survey of economic and social trends in Africa, in both rural and urban areas. The chapter on employers' and workers' participation in national development is most enlightening. We enthusiastically support many of the recommendations of the Report.

May I conclude by congratulating the ILO and its able and distinguished Director-General, Mr. David A. Morse, and all his co-workers on the most exciting historical event of the award of the Nobel Peace Prize, so well and truly deserved. Peace, or *shalom* in Hebrew, is the common and daily greeting with which one welcomes one's neighbour and friend. Peace was the main theme of our prophets, and peace, the welfare of the people and international brotherhood are the pillars on which the State of Israel was built. Those are our strong common links and mutual interests with the African countries. Those are our common goals with the ILO.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. FRANCK)—The discussion of the Report of the Director-General is now terminated.

*(The Conference adjourned at 12.15 p.m.)*

## NINTH SITTING

Wednesday, 17 December 1969, 10 a.m.

*President: Mr. Kaleo*

### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT POLICY: SUBMISSION, DISCUSSION AND ADOPTION<sup>1</sup>

The PRESIDENT—The first item on the agenda is the report of the Committee on Employment Policy. I call upon Mr. Shehata, Chairman of the Committee, and Mr. Cissé, the Reporter, to come to the rostrum.

I now invite Mr. Cissé, Reporter of the Committee, to submit the report.

*Interpretation from French: Mr. CISSÉ (Government delegate, Senegal; Reporter of the Committee on Employment Policy)*—Allow me first of all, on behalf of the Committee on Employment Policy, to thank warmly its Chairman for the skill, understanding and patience displayed by him in directing our debates. The Committee likewise thanks the officials of the ILO who spared no effort to ensure that our work was successfully completed. The Committee likewise warmly congratulates them on the very complete reports they submitted as a basis for our deliberations. Once more, on behalf of the Chairman of the Committee, I have to thank warmly the Vice-Chairmen and the Government, Workers' and Employers' members for the understanding and courtesy they showed throughout our debates.

The report I now submit for your consideration is the fruit of the work done by a committee which was able to surmount group interests and to consider only the ways and means whereby African underdevelopment might be overcome. For a long time now meetings of this kind have merely served as forums in which different ideological trends and opposite groups of interests were confronted, but those meetings provided no positive results. Today I am exceedingly glad to observe that this period of sterile polemics is now practically over and that all Africans are becoming steadily more aware of the need for common action, without which it would be very difficult—indeed impossible—to overcome the many obstacles which impede social and economic development.

This attitude is illustrated by the conclusions reached by our Committee, which was fully aware that concerted efforts would have to be made for many years to come to raise the standard of living of our peoples, which is still very low.

With this in mind the Committee emphasised how urgent it was to devise effective policies to achieve full utilisation of manpower as soon as possible and to raise the level of skills so as to increase production both in towns and in the countryside. In addition, it unanimously and resolutely affirmed that employment policies should be bound up with wages and incomes policies and that, in any event, wages should be such as to enable a worker and his family to live decently.

Such aims, decided by common agreement, clearly demonstrate the spirit in which our deliberations took place and provide a striking demonstration of the change in

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<sup>1</sup> See Third Part, p. 202.

attitudes which is now proceeding. Employers and workers are now aware that their interests are interdependent, because economic and social expansion cannot be the work of a single section of African society. The time has come for a fruitful exchange of views which will offer new hopes for Africa.

I apologise for this lengthy preamble which seemed to me very necessary, for it is exceedingly important to acquaint this august assembly with the spirit which prevailed during our deliberations. So I now submit for your consideration the report and the resolution which, I am convinced, as they stand, will be unanimously supported by the whole assembly, as they were by the three groups in our Committee.

The PRESIDENT—The report is now open for general discussion.

Mr. D. A. R. PHIRI (*Employers' delegate, Zambia; Vice-Chairman of the Committee on Employment Policy*)—I promise you I will not make a very long speech. First, I would like to thank the Chairman of our Committee, Mr. Shehata, and all the others who took part in the debate, also in particular Mr. Bo-Boliko, the Workers' Vice-Chairman. At one stage I did not know whether I was a Worker or an Employer because I worked so closely with Mr. Bo-Boliko, whom I thank very sincerely. We tackled this problem not because we are Employers, Governments or Workers, but we thought that this is a problem which faces the whole of Africa at the moment. It cannot be sectional because there are millions of people who are unemployed and underemployed.

We seek the support of this Conference on a document which has been very well debated and very well thought out and we hope that the Office does not take it just as an academic paper but as a paper which needs action.

I must also give a note of warning. One of the sections of the resolution says that governments must be urged to ratify the Employment Policy Convention, 1964, but I would like to say that ratification of the Convention does not necessarily mean action. I urge governments, more than anything else, to take the problem much more seriously, whether they ratify Conventions or not. We need action and we can only live peacefully in Africa if people know they are being productive and are adding to what Africa is going to be in the future. So I do ask this Conference unanimously to adopt this report.

*Interpretation from French:* Mr. BO-BOLIKO (*Workers' delegate, Congo (Kinshasa); Vice-Chairman of the Committee on Employment Policy*)—On behalf of the Workers, I should like in turn to express our gratitude to our Chairman and to our Reporter, as well as to the Secretariat of the Office who assisted us in our difficult task, which was to draw up an appropriate employment policy for Africa. Our group was particularly gratified at the full understanding which it encountered on this occasion from the representatives of the Governments and the Employers. This understanding enabled us to arrive rapidly at the positive results which are set out in the report.

The report and resolution now before the Conference for examination and adoption reflect all the areas of concern not only to the workers but also to all those who consider employment policy as an essential element in the economic and social development policy of each African country.

The resolution concerning the Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa is, moreover, the logical continuation of the work of the Third Session of the African Advisory Committee, held in Dakar in 1967, and represents the African contribution to the World Employment Programme of the ILO.

The Workers' group expresses its fullest satisfaction at the results attained and proposes to the Conference that it adopt the report without any further discussion concerning the form or the substance, so that we may get down to the practical application of the programme outlined therein.

Perhaps we should add that, with regard to employment, Africa is somewhat behind Latin America and Asia. Nevertheless, we hope that with the adoption of this programme today that gap will be closed, thanks both to the quality of our resolution and the speed with which the African States will set about implementing it. I therefore think that the first gesture by our States should be the ratification of the Employment Policy Convention, 1964 (No. 122), without any further delay.

Once again I would call on the Conference to adopt this report and resolution unanimously.

Mr. BERNA (*representative of the United Nations Development Programme*)—It is indeed a privilege for me to address these brief remarks to the Conference on behalf of the United Nations Development Programme, which I have the honour to represent at this important Conference. This Conference is of great interest to the UNDP and I should like to take this opportunity to thank the ILO for its invitation to us to participate. We are very closely associated with the development activities of the ILO in Africa and in fact we are a major partner in many of the important projects which the ILO is currently implementing in collaboration with the governments of this continent. This Conference is also of special interest to us because of the major role that our co-operation with African governments plays in the over-all programme of the UNDP.

I should like to take this occasion to state that we consider it a great privilege to collaborate with the governments of Africa in their efforts to bring the fruits of economic and social development to their peoples.

Turning now to the important report and resolution before us, while all three major topics with which this Conference has dealt are of interest to us, I have followed with particular interest the discussions concerning employment policy and the proposed Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa. The UNDP is in full agreement with the basic view that the achievement of the highest possible level of productive employment should be a major goal in the economic and social planning of developing countries. We believe, furthermore, that the task of providing productive jobs for an expanding population and workforce is becoming an increasingly urgent problem that will require serious attention during the next Development Decade, on the eve of which we now stand. For this reason the UNDP has affirmed on a number of occasions its strong support for the ILO's World Employment Programme.

We are, moreover, demonstrating our support for the Programme in tangible, if initially somewhat modest, ways in several regions of the world. In Latin America, the first region chosen by the ILO for the implementation of the World Employment Programme under the Regional Employment Programme for Latin America and the Caribbean, we are collaborating in the initiation of exploratory and preparatory work in several countries of that region. This work, which has either started or is proposed to be started soon, is aimed at assisting several governments of Latin American countries which are ready to move ahead in elaborating effective human resources development and employment promotion programmes. In Asia the UNDP is currently providing several experts for the nucleus regional team which the ILO has organised in that area as the first step towards formulating an Asian manpower plan. Other agencies, including the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, are also co-operating in that programme.

Turning now to Africa, I can assure the Conference that the final resolution concerning the Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa that will be adopted by this Conference will be studied with the greatest interest and care by the Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme. I have already mentioned the importance that we attach to the problem of employment promotion and skill development in developing countries, and our interest in this problem is no less in Africa than it is in Latin America or Asia. We realise, of course, that the resolution represents a kind of general charter, the technical details of which still remain to be filled in so that a specific and concrete

plan of action may emerge. We shall follow the elaboration of that plan with great interest. If a specific request for assistance should subsequently be addressed to the UNDP, I can assure the Conference that it will be given the most serious consideration.

With your permission, Mr. President, I should now like to comment briefly on two aspects of the resolution that I consider particularly worthy of note.

The first is the strong emphasis that is placed on the need for action at the national level by the individual countries of the region. This orientation is very much in line with our own thinking in the UNDP. We believe—and this has certainly been the consensus of the Conference—that the success of any programme in the field of employment policy will depend primarily on what happens at the country level. This is not to say that there are not important regional and sub-regional aspects of the problem which also require attention. But in the last analysis the success or failure of the Jobs and Skills Programme will be determined by the degree of priority which individual governments are willing and able to assign to it and by the energy and determination with which they set about creating the necessary machinery for its implementation. It is therefore of central importance, in our view, that whatever action is taken at the regional level should be truly catalytic in nature and should result in stimulating and strengthening action at the country level.

The second aspect of the resolution on which I should like to comment concerns the invitation that has been addressed to the agencies of the United Nations system to collaborate with the ILO in the implementation of this important Programme. This emphasis on inter-agency action and co-operation is certainly well placed. The twin problems of employment promotion and skill development are so complex and so intimately bound up with the over-all problem of general economic development, and involve so many different sectors of a country's social and economic structure, that it clearly lies beyond the capability of any particular agency to provide a complete solution. The ILO itself has made it clear on many occasions that it conceives the World Employment Programme not so much as an ILO programme as a framework within which it hopes that all agencies of the United Nations system will come together in a joint effort. I believe that the United Nations agencies will respond to the invitation to co-operate in implementing a Jobs and Skills Programme in Africa, for the Programme is surely one of great importance. What has to be given very careful attention is how to ensure a genuine inter-agency approach at the operational level that will be both truly unified and will at the same time permit each agency to contribute according to its own unique competence and genius. I suggest that this aspect of the Programme is one that calls for very careful study as the details are worked out in the months ahead.

I mentioned earlier that UNDP support of the World Employment Programme in Asia and Latin America has thus far taken the form of assistance in launching action of a preparatory and exploratory nature. A corollary of this has been that our financial commitment has thus far been rather modest. It would be a great mistake, however, to attribute this to a lack of enthusiasm for the Programme or to reluctance to participate. In actual fact, precisely the opposite is true. We consider the objective of the Programme to be so important that we are deeply concerned that very careful planning precede any attempt to launch a major action in this field. We are dealing with a very complex and difficult problem and are just at the beginning in our search for solutions. In this situation, we in the UNDP believe that an initial period of exploratory and carefully prepared planning work is essential in any area or country where it is intended to implement an employment promotion programme. This initial phase, of course, must in due course be followed by action on a larger scale, particularly action taken by governments within the appropriate context. Wherever possibilities for effective action develop and are supported in the necessary ways by the governments concerned, I can assure the Conference that there will be no lack of willingness on the part of the United Nations Development Programme to co-operate with all concerned in developing major programmes.

In conclusion, I should like to congratulate the ILO and the President of the Conference on the very efficient way in which the Conference has been organised and conducted. I should also like to express my sincere appreciation to the Government of Ghana for its very warm and cordial hospitality during our stay in this country. Like the other participants in the Conference, I shall carry away with me the memory of a very gracious and hospitable host.

Mr. BENTUM (*Workers' delegate, Ghana*)—I should like to associate myself with previous speakers in supporting the very excellent work done by the Committee. I feel sure that the work covers nearly all the points that are relevant to the problems of unemployment in Africa.

I should like to underline one important aspect which, in the interests of the workers, we consider to be very relevant. This is the point about training and education. We realise that even in areas where there are employment opportunities workers are denied the right to work because they have not got the requisite training and experience. This makes the report a very important document for workers, since not only does it show the way to resolving the unemployment problem but it also gives a positive direction as to how this could be done.

We also realise that unemployment is one of the sources of all social evils in society. It is a source of political instability and it is a source of a lot of suffering by the working people. This is why, in lending our support to this report, we feel that it is flexible enough to leave no government with any difficulty in trying to formulate the points raised in this report. It is also our view that it is detailed enough not to create any difficulties as to what is left to be filled in. Finally, it is positive enough to make it work and succeed.

With this, I lend my support to the report.

The PRESIDENT—As there are no further speakers we can now pass to the adoption of the report. I will first put the report itself, exclusive of the resolution. May I take it that the Conference adopts the report unanimously?

*(The report is adopted.)*

RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE JOBS AND SKILLS PROGRAMME FOR AFRICA,  
SUBMITTED BY THE COMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT POLICY: ADOPTION<sup>1</sup>

The PRESIDENT—I will now put the resolution concerning the Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa.

May I also take it that it is the wish of the Conference to adopt the resolution unanimously?

*(The resolution is adopted.)*

The PRESIDENT—I should like to thank, on behalf of the whole Conference, the Chairman and the Reporter of the Committee, as well as the members of the Committee, for a job well done. Thank you.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON LABOUR ADMINISTRATION:  
SUBMISSION, DISCUSSION AND ADOPTION<sup>2</sup>

The PRESIDENT—We now turn to the second item of business, which is the report of the Committee on Labour Administration. Mr. Riahi, the Reporter, will submit the report.

<sup>1</sup> See Third Part, p. 215.

<sup>2</sup> See Third Part, p. 192.



*Interpretation from French.* Mr. RIAHI (*Government delegate, Tunisia; Reporter of the Committee on Labour Administration*)—I do not think it necessary or even useful to spend much time explaining the question which I have the honour to present to you today. The texts which are submitted for your approval are perfectly clear and speak for themselves. However, I do feel that I should speak of the profound interest shown in labour administration problems by all the members of our Committee—Government, Employers and Workers. Their attitude has enabled us to overcome differences of opinion and arrive at unanimous conclusions, which are set out in the two texts before you.

As concerns the first of these texts, which contains guidelines for our States in the matter of labour administration, I must insist on the importance that the Committee has attached to social policy and hence to the administrative machinery for its formulation and implementation. The first operative paragraph of the resolution therefore stresses the need for effective, strong and dynamic ministries of labour participating fully in the process of development planning at the highest level. The second paragraph states that “Social policy should be given the same importance and priority as policy in the fields of finance, economic planning, justice, internal security and foreign affairs.” Furthermore, the Committee stressed the lack of resources available to labour departments, which were understaffed, short of funds, and in dire need of transport facilities and premises. It also insisted on the necessity for having staff who are independent, well trained and well paid.

Future action by the ILO to advance labour administration in African countries is the subject of the second resolution, which outlines a programme which should be adopted and progressively intensified. Among the various forms of technical co-operation mentioned there are two essential points: on the one hand, the Advanced Training Centre for African Labour Administrators already operating in Yaoundé has received encouragement from the Committee, and it is hoped that further support will be given by recipient governments to enable it to expand its activities. The Committee has also recommended the setting-up of a centre for English-speaking countries along similar lines. As regards methods of action, an appeal has been made for improved co-ordination, mainly through the integration of the various projects in which the ILO participates in Africa.

I do not wish to end without expressing my personal pleasure at seeing this subject treated for the first time at a regional conference and my satisfaction at the successful outcome of our deliberations. I cannot refrain from expressing the hope that the same subject will again be brought up in other regions and that the International Labour Conference itself will lose no time in considering these problems, whose influence on economic and social development can no longer be denied.

The PRESIDENT—The report is now open for general discussion.

Mr. LAMIKANRA (*Employers' delegate, Nigeria*)—I wish to support the motion that the report on labour administration just presented to this Conference by the Reporter of the Committee on Labour Administration be adopted.

In doing so, I should like first of all to thank the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Mpyisi, the Reporter, the Office officials and all fellow-delegates who have worked tirelessly discussing, analysing and preparing the report which is now before you. I should now like to single out one or two points which I feel require your special attention.

The first point I wish to emphasise is that the tripartite nature of the ILO should continue to be reflected in the labour administration in all African States. It already exists in theory but, as you will know, it is very easy to neglect the practical aspect of any subject and the papers which contain the theory are often left in desks to moulder away. That is why we should like this subject to be given your full attention and that

its contents should be implemented. The second point is that in order to obtain the required efficiency in the ministries of labour in the different countries the Committee unanimously agreed to reaffirm the urgent necessity for providing labour administration services with the materials they have lacked until now. We feel that those two points are very important and, in supporting the adoption of the report of the Committee on Labour Administration, I would urge that this Conference should ensure that the ILO should co-operate fully to supplement the programme.

It is now left for me to thank you, Mr. President, and all the delegates who have worked so tirelessly to make this report possible. I recommend that this report be adopted.

Mr. SENKEZI (*Workers' delegate, Uganda; Vice-Chairman of the Committee on Labour Administration*)—I feel pleased at having been called upon to speak on this report of the Committee on Labour Administration. First of all, I should like to associate myself with the remarks made by previous speakers in thanking the Chairman, Mr. Mpyisi, the Reporter and the other members of the Committee, Government and Employers, who have throughout appreciated the views presented to the Committee by the Workers.

Labour administration in Africa is very important. In our Committee there was unanimous concern that ministries of labour should not be regarded as third-class ministries and it was unanimously agreed that when we return home we should urge our governments to ensure that because of their importance to the economic development of Africa, serious consideration is given to these ministries when budgets are being drawn up. Another important point discussed by the Committee was the necessity for the independence and impartiality of labour administrators. This has been well brought out in the report. Another important point is the question of the salaries of labour administrators. We all agreed that labour administrators should feel they can make a career in the ministries of labour, and therefore the ministries of labour should not become the training ground for the private sector or other government services. It was unanimously agreed that labour administrators must have a career and that they should continue to work in the service. Also the Committee agreed unanimously that in the present-day economic development of Africa, workers must be given equal opportunities with other citizens. This has particular reference to the question of education. We appreciate the efforts which the ILO has put into the existing workers' college in Yaoundé and we agree that it is important now for the ILO and the African member States to see to it that they establish a college of a similar nature in the English-speaking countries of Africa.

I think I should not take up any more time but simply say that I find this report very interesting and commend it to the Conference for adoption.

*Interpretation from French:* Mr. N'GOM (*Workers' delegate, Senegal*)—After the statement which has been made by the Workers' Vice-Chairman of our Committee, Mr. Senkezi, who has as usual spoken with much authority and competence, I would not wish to delay you for any length of time regarding the conclusions of this report. I would, however, like to support very strongly the thanks which he addressed to the Chairman of our Committee and to our Reporter, whose contribution was of great value for the success of our work. I wish to emphasise particularly the co-operation we had from the representatives of the Employers. For once the Employers and the Workers were unanimous in defending their points of view concerning the problems faced by labour administrations, and we should like to think that this is proof of the understanding they show of our concerns.

We hope that this comprehension will not end here in Accra but that in June next year in Geneva we shall be able to count on the co-operation of African employers, so that in our common struggle to bring Africa out of its underdevelopment we may

once again go beyond our group interests and unite so that by our joint efforts we may reach as positive results as we have achieved today.

Finally, I wish to thank the members of the International Labour Office staff for the very high quality of the work which they have performed and the support which they have given us, as well as the co-operation we have always had from them. I wish to thank too the representatives of the various international organisations who have supported us and fought shoulder to shoulder with us, proving that the solidarity of the working class is more than a hollow phrase.

As the Workers' Vice-Chairman of our Committee said, we hope and believe that the report will be adopted unanimously.

Mr. ISSIFU (*Workers' adviser, Ghana*)—At the risk of repetition, but very necessary repetition, I want to associate myself with the expressions of gratitude to the Committee which dealt with this subject, as well as to its Chairman, the Vice-Chairmen and the Reporter and to all members of the Committee.

Associating myself with previous speakers, I want to mention that, broadly speaking, as rightly underlined in the report, the advantages that are to be obtained from an effective and efficient labour administration far outweigh the effects of labour disputes. Therefore I have taken the rostrum to say briefly, in my own name and in the name of the Ghana TUC delegation, that we support the report and commend it to the Conference for unanimous adoption, just as the Conference adopted the previous report before it.

The PRESIDENT—As there are no other speakers, I can now put the report to the Conference for adoption. May I take it that the report is adopted unanimously? It is so adopted.

*(The report is adopted.)*

RESOLUTION CONCERNING LABOUR ADMINISTRATION,  
INCLUDING LABOUR INSPECTION, IN AFRICA, SUBMITTED BY  
THE COMMITTEE ON LABOUR ADMINISTRATION: ADOPTION <sup>1</sup>

The PRESIDENT—We now come to the resolution concerning labour administration, including labour inspection, in Africa. As there are no objections, I take it that the Conference adopts the resolution unanimously.

*(The resolution is adopted.)*

RESOLUTION CONCERNING ACTION BY THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION  
TO ADVANCE LABOUR ADMINISTRATION IN AFRICAN COUNTRIES,  
SUBMITTED BY THE COMMITTEE ON LABOUR ADMINISTRATION: ADOPTION <sup>2</sup>

The PRESIDENT—We will now take the resolution concerning action by the International Labour Organisation to advance labour administration in African countries. May I take it that the resolution is adopted unanimously?

*(The resolution is adopted.)*

The PRESIDENT—It now remains for me to thank the Chairman and officers and all the members of the Committee for the excellent work represented by the report and resolutions which we have just adopted.

<sup>1</sup> See Third Part, p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> See Third Part, p. 210.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON TECHNICAL CO-OPERATION:  
SUBMISSION, DISCUSSION AND ADOPTION <sup>1</sup>

The PRESIDENT—The third item of business is consideration of the report of the Committee on Technical Co-operation. I call on Mr. Bokonga, Government delegate, Congo (Kinshasa), Chairman and Reporter of the Committee, to submit the report.

*Interpretation from French:* Mr. BOKONGA (*Government delegate, Congo (Kinshasa); Chairman and Reporter of the Committee on Technical Co-operation*)—I have the honour to submit for your approval the report and conclusions, together with a resolution, unanimously adopted by the Committee on Technical Co-operation, of which I had the honour of being both Chairman and Reporter. I would draw your attention particularly to the important conclusions which were unanimously adopted by the Committee at the end of its discussions. These conclusions deal not only with the national institutional machinery for technical co-operation but with technical co-operation in general and the part to be played by the ILO.

Before I leave this rostrum I have the pleasant duty of offering my sincere thanks to all the members of the Committee for their genuine co-operation and particularly to Mr. Bastid, the Employers' Vice-Chairman of the Committee, and Mr. Grant, the Workers' Vice-Chairman. I should like to thank also the officials of the ILO Secretariat for their valuable assistance, particularly Mr. Ndisi, the representative of the Secretary-General in the Committee, and Mr. Wolf, the Legal Adviser.

Having said this, I most sincerely hope that the Conference will unanimously adopt the report, the conclusions on the subject of technical co-operation in Africa, and the resolution concerning the outflow of trained personnel from projects established under ILO technical co-operation. I would remind the Conference once again that these three documents were adopted unanimously by the Committee on Technical Co-operation.

The PRESIDENT—The report is now before the Conference for general discussion.

*Interpretation from French:* Mr. BASTID (*Employers' delegate, Ivory Coast; Vice-Chairman of the Committee on Technical Co-operation*)—What is clearly understood can be clearly expressed, and that is the case with our report on technical co-operation. We all understand our role and hence we produced this almost perfect document, which we are now submitting for the approval of this honourable assembly. However, I should like to draw your attention to certain particular points which gave rise to some concern among the Employers, particularly paragraph 11 of the report, which synthesises our misgivings.

The aim we wished to attain was to reinforce the tripartism on which the ILO is based and I think we succeeded very well in doing so. We also devoted attention to the choice of experts and the part to be played by them, and also to the situation, often precarious, in which they find themselves when their mission is finished. We were concerned, too, with the training of counterparts who, as you know, in some countries have not fulfilled the duties for which they were trained; we hope, however, that in the future all this will be settled successfully.

Finally, may I recall the efforts made by the International Centre for Advanced Technical and Vocational Training at Turin. I, and certain of my friends here present, have the honour to be members of the Board of that Centre and we are trying to make progress towards the welfare of our peoples and the attainment of the ends we have set ourselves—the training of medium-level and managerial personnel for our undertakings in Africa. This is an objective towards which we must all strive if we wish to put into force the decisions taken at the last congress on the Africanisation of undertakings held in Abidjan in 1969.

<sup>1</sup> See Third Part, p. 196.

I think I have said all I wished to say and expressed all the concerns taken into account in the preparation of the document now submitted for your approval. It was unanimously adopted by the Committee and I hope that the Conference will do the same.

Before leaving the rostrum I take the liberty of addressing the distinguished representative of the United Nations Development Programme. I hope that the high walls which surround the UNDP may be pierced by a little aperture through which a small amount of money may trickle out and reach us from time to time; I would also hope that we will not have to face the mountainous volume of paperwork which we are required to complete, only to be told then that our project is not on the programme! I apologise for that, but I felt I had to say it to the representative of the United Nations Development Programme. I wish also to say that we must make all the efforts possible within our limited resources—because we do not have much at our disposal—to ensure that the tug-of-war between the United Nations agencies ceases, so that we will know who has been chosen as director of a project, which agencies are responsible for implementing it, and which are not. All this is an embarrassment to us because in Africa we are in a great hurry to make up for lost time.

Finally, to show there are no hard feelings, I take this opportunity to express my thanks to you all.

Mr. GRANT (*Workers' delegate, Sierra Leone; Vice-Chairman of the Committee on Technical Co-operation*)—Speaking on the Workers' behalf in support of the motion on technical co-operation, I wish just to say that I have never been so happy as when I attended this Committee. I thought I was going to meet three classes: one a force of policy, another the force of keeping prestige, and the third a force of human relations. I think you can better interpret the appropriateness of these forces, but I took it that the Workers represented the third force—human relations—and I was happy to meet a man such as the last speaker, Mr. Bastid, who showed us the spirit of human relations. In supporting this, I am very happy that cognisance has been taken of the fact that it is appreciated that a tree cannot make a forest and as a result we have been able to get an understanding that workers and employers should have an equal share in participation in these activities and we should share our views on all aspects of technical co-operation problems. With this in view, I think as in the past there was actually a lack of consultation and this does not make for progress in our countries. In the contributions which have been made by both management and governments, a spirit of good will has been shown enabling us not only to achieve our objectives but also to show what tripartism is.

I wish to thank all those who contributed both in the International Labour Organisation and other organisations, and to thank the Chairman. I make special reference to Mr. Bastid who has done so much to contribute to the preparation of this report.

Therefore, I hope you will give your unanimous support to the report.

Mr. FOGAM (*Workers' adviser, Cameroon*)—I do not think it would be worth while for me to repeat all that has been said already, but there is no doubt that the contribution of Mr. Bastid, Employers' spokesman, should be mentioned from this rostrum. He has been able to manoeuvre in his usual cheerful way, in order to bring about a happy marriage between the Workers and Employers which has received the blessing of some of the Governments. I hope that the beginning of the Second Development Decade will be marked by this spirit of tripartism which has been so happily established, and with good will, and I hope that those governments which have always thought of tripartism at the national level as being *infra dig.* so far as they are concerned will appreciate from now on the useful results that tripartism can produce.

As a member of the Board of the International Centre for Advanced Technical and Vocational Training in Turin, I should not like to leave this rostrum without stressing the useful role which that international technical body has been playing so far as Africa is concerned. I know that some governments have been contributing towards

its upkeep with the little they have, and it might be of great interest to our brothers of the developed world to feel that they still have much to do as far as the Centre is concerned, because it is one of the greatest contributions of the ILO. I feel that Africa must patronise training at the Turin Centre—a centre which has no strings attached, a centre which is responsible for the training of medium-grade manpower—from which I am sure both employers and governments benefit greatly.

Mr. JAMES (*Workers' adviser, Nigeria*)—I should like to start by telling a little story. In a short dialogue between a mountain and a squirrel one day, the mountain spitefully called the squirrel a useless little prig. The squirrel replied: "I am little, no doubt, but I humbly submit I am not useless. I agree that you do provide very good squirrel tracks, and a home, and I am very grateful to you because you are very useful. I cannot be as big as you; you cannot be as little as I, nor can you be as furry. Talents differ, but all are needed in this world to serve a definite purpose. You may be big, but you are immovable, you are exposed without choice to the torture of the elements. I can escape them. However, I cannot carry forests on my back—but you cannot crack a nut."

It was with that spirit of understanding that we went into this Committee and we found that the Employers, Governments and Workers had come to fulfil a definite purpose. It seems that the magic of the Nobel Peace Prize has inspired us.

First of all, we found for the first time the Employers seeking our hand in marriage; and then we found the Governments offering to play the role of priest and anoint the marriage. That was a very good gesture, and I think that from now on we shall work together in this spirit of tripartism. A fountain of understanding from which springs mutual respect and trust is the only source which can transmute practice into good, lack of understanding into understanding and mutual respect into cemented mutual respect and which can, furthermore, strengthen the solidarity of the working people. I do agree that all are "workers", including employers and governments; everyone wants to be called a worker. However, we want to remain workers.

I would urge the Conference, in this spirit of tripartism, to accept the resolution unanimously and without any reservation.

The PRESIDENT—As there are no further speakers the discussion is now closed, and I will put the report to you for adoption. May I take it that the Conference unanimously adopts the report?

*(The report is adopted.)*

CONCLUSIONS ON THE SUBJECT OF TECHNICAL CO-OPERATION IN AFRICA,  
SUBMITTED BY THE COMMITTEE ON TECHNICAL CO-OPERATION: ADOPTION <sup>1</sup>

The PRESIDENT—I will now put for adoption the conclusions on the subject of technical co-operation in Africa, submitted by the Committee on Technical Co-operation. I take it that they are unanimously adopted by the Conference.

*(The conclusions are adopted.)*

RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE OUTFLOW OF TRAINED PERSONNEL FROM  
PROJECTS ESTABLISHED UNDER ILO TECHNICAL CO-OPERATION,  
SUBMITTED BY THE COMMITTEE ON TECHNICAL CO-OPERATION: ADOPTION <sup>2</sup>

The PRESIDENT—The last text which I now put for adoption is the resolution concerning the outflow of trained personnel from projects established under ILO

<sup>1</sup> See Third Part, p. 212.

<sup>2</sup> See Third Part, p. 215.

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technical co-operation. If there are no objections, I shall take it that the resolution is adopted unanimously.

*(The resolution is adopted.)*

The PRESIDENT—I should like to express my thanks, on behalf of the Conference, to the Chairman, officers and members of the Committee for the good work they have accomplished.

*(The Conference adjourned at 11.45 a.m.)*

## TENTH SITTING

Thursday, 18 December 1969, 10.15 a.m.

*President: Mr. Kaleo*

### REPLY OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO THE DISCUSSION OF THE REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL

The PRESIDENT—The first item of business this morning is the reply of the Secretary-General to the discussion of the Report of the Director-General. I have the greatest pleasure in calling upon Mr. Jenks, Secretary-General of the Conference, to reply to the discussion on the Director-General's Report.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL—This has been a positive debate on subjects of major importance, a debate which will be of great value in shaping the future programme of work of the ILO in Africa. To all who have participated in it in so positive a spirit we owe, as an Organisation, a most real debt. But before I proceed to comment on some of the questions which the debate has covered I would like to say a few words on the more general question of the present place of Africa in the ILO.

The fiftieth anniversary of the ILO has coincided with the completion of the first decade of a continuous ILO presence in Africa. Ten years have now passed since we opened the first African Field Office of the ILO at Lagos. Ten years have passed since the First Session of the African Advisory Committee. During that time there has been a fundamental change in the relationship of Africa and the ILO. You are now full and equal partners in all our work. You are, if you will allow me to say so, well and ably represented in all three groups of the Governing Body. African Ministers have presided with distinction over both the Governing Body and the Conference. In the highest ranks of the International Labour Office we have, as has been recognised in the debate, sons of Africa, of whom, since they now belong to us no less than to you, we are no less proud than you. We are, as has also been recognised, making steady progress with African appointments to the middle ranks, whenever possible by the merited promotion of those recruited young who have done well in our service. We now have eight offices in Africa, staffed to a considerable extent by Africans and all but one of which have at the moment African directors. We have done this within the universalist philosophy which we regard as fundamental.

Our African colleagues, like all of us, serve the whole world and are available for service everywhere. While we all remain sons, and we hope loyal sons, of our own cultures, we discharge our public duties not as Africans, or Americans, or Asians, or Europeans, but as servants of mankind, all bound as officials of the ILO by the same solemn pledge to serve impartially the whole world community. We will never Africanise the whole of our operations in Africa, any more than we will regionalise or nationalise our operations anywhere else in the world, because they are world and not African operations. What we will do, increasingly, is to use African staff elsewhere no less extensively than we use staff from elsewhere in Africa, and so build up, throughout the world, a balanced world service fully and fairly representative of its varied cultures,



traditions, experience, outlook and aspirations; by so doing we will, simultaneously, give Africans wider opportunities throughout the world and give Africa the best we can for each specific purpose at each particular time. This world service will remain, as it has always been, the impartial servant of the whole Organisation. Meanwhile, our policy in Africa will, within the general framework of our world-wide policy as determined with your full co-operation by the Conference and the Governing Body, be increasingly shaped by, and be responsive to, the views and wishes of regular sessions of the African Advisory Committee and the African regional conferences. We will, I need hardly add, continue to develop further the close working relationships which we have already been so happy to establish with the Organisation of African Unity, the League of Arab States, the *Organisation Commune Africaine et Malgache*, the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, the East African Community, and a number of other African bodies. These relationships fall within a world-wide pattern of mutual confidence and co-operation between the ILO and the leading regional organisations in all parts of the world. In none of these matters are we satisfied with what we have done; progress will continue, and will continue with a momentum which is still gaining force; but I doubt whether any of us who were in Lagos at the First African Regional Conference in December 1960 thought then that we could go so far so fast so successfully.

Having attended all of the African meetings of the ILO I sense fully in this meeting, as I began to sense in Dakar, something new, which I hope you will allow me to describe as a poised maturity, which is of the happiest augury for the future. May I be so bold as to attempt to epitomise the spirit of this maturity? I believe it to be something like this. We have faced difficulties, we have faced them together, and we have overcome them in common understanding. We enter the second half-century of the ILO to do a job together, for Africa and for all mankind. The job, initiated at a much earlier date, is one on which we have worked together during the last ten years with a special intensity and in a new relationship. Let us now, with no further complexes from the past in any quarter, get on with the job.

What is this job?

This debate has once again confirmed its essential nature and its critical elements: the great mass of mankind are still ill-paid, ill-fed, ill-housed, ill-clothed, poorly educated and often in poor health; hunger, ignorance, disease and want continue to be the lot of the great majority of God's creatures.

This remains their lot, although man now has at his disposal the resources and skill to split the atom and conquer the moon and the stars. We have not yet the skill, or perhaps the will, to make the earth a habitable place, where healthy men and women are well educated, usefully employed, fairly paid, well fed, sensibly clothed and well housed, play their parts as citizens in the community and the economy, and live together in a peace of freedom and justice.

Half a century ago these evil things were regarded as the unhappy but inevitable lot of the great mass of mankind for untold years to come. Half a century of the ILO has changed all that. The human mind no longer tolerates these evil things. To this evolution in men's minds the ILO has made a vital contribution.

The second half-century of the ILO must take us forward from the revolution in men's minds to the revolution in men's lives. In the affluent societies of the more advanced countries, grave as may be the cases of want amid plenty which still remain, the revolution in men's minds has already been followed by a revolution in the lives of the broad masses. We now need a comparable take-off into self-sustaining economic growth for social progress throughout the world. We must use our new resources to meet the ancient and perennial needs of all mankind. During the second half-century of the ILO these evil things must be left behind for ever. No one who has travelled in Latin America, the Caribbean, Asia or Africa—and I have been in all four during this anniversary year—can doubt the immensity of the need, the urgency of the

challenge, or the continuing uncertainty of the outcome unless we devote more consistently and boldly to the task a will and skill which have been all too intermittent. We have been stung out of complacency, but that is not enough. The ILO has a vital part to play in forging an effective partnership for development and ensuring that the partnership remains true to the true purpose of development: social progress.

I will not attempt to review everything which has been said in the course of the debate, but everyone who has spoken may rest assured that every suggestion made will be most carefully considered by the Director-General.

There has been general agreement in the debate that the crux of social policy for the foreseeable future, in Africa as throughout the developing world, is employment. The basic facts are simple. The population of the world has doubled in half a century. At present rates of growth it will double again by the end of the century. The volume of employment is increasing much more slowly than the population. The result is that already high percentages of unemployment and underemployment are becoming higher. We are told on reliable authority that unemployment and underemployment in the developing world may shortly represent 50 per cent of the labour potential. It has become clear that economic growth alone will not necessarily reduce the volume of unemployment and underemployment but may even increase it. Employment policy has therefore become vitally important, politically, economically, and socially. Employment is politically important because unemployment breeds political instability and chaos. Employment is economically important because it is a source of economic momentum; by expanding purchasing power it expands the internal markets necessary for expanded production. Employment is socially important because it creates the vital sense of belonging to the community and having a respected place in it. This is the context in which we have marked the fiftieth anniversary of the ILO by launching the World Employment Programme.

Of the World Employment Programme as such I will say but two things. It is a whole and it is a part. It is a whole in the sense that it is an attempt to develop employment creation, manpower forecasting and planning, placement, training, transfer of labour, migration and control of aliens where necessary, and much else besides in an orderly way as parts of a comprehensive long-term policy for the full and rational use of human resources to meet human needs. It is a part in the sense that any such policy can be successful only if it is fully accepted as a central feature of a general economic policy in which employment, trade, investment, infrastructure, industrialisation, rural development, the diversification of industry and agriculture alike are all treated in relation to each other as inseparable elements of a general strategy of economic growth for social progress.

You have at this Conference made a major contribution to the World Employment Programme by adopting the Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa. It has been immensely gratifying that so many of you have found the proposals which we submitted to you at the beginning of the Conference to be practical and closely suited to African needs. The decisive stage, that of making a reality of the Programme which you have now adopted, still lies ahead. A number of governments have already expressed an interest in pilot national projects and we will be having at an early date further discussions with them. It is clear from the positive statement made to the Conference by the representative of the United Nations Development Programme that worthwhile and hard-headed proposals will receive the most serious consideration from the UNDP. You have entrusted to us a heavy responsibility in the matter, and we will endeavour to discharge it to your satisfaction, but you have also assumed yourselves a heavy responsibility which can be discharged by yourselves alone. The success of the Jobs and Skills Programme now depends primarily on you. We will do our utmost to help, but we can do no more than help. Are you going to accept the attainment of the highest level of productive employment as a major political aim? Are you going to make firm and lasting commitments to pursue that aim? Are you going to take

appropriate measures to ensure that the importance of maximising productive employment is taken fully into account in all decisions concerning general economic policy? Are you going to reappraise, and modify as appropriate in the light of their effects on employment, national policies on such matters as investment, industrial technology, rural development, construction and public works, education and training, as well as matters more clearly included within the scope of employment and labour policy as such? Are you going to make the national arrangements necessary for effective co-operation in the Programme? These essential elements in its success are essentially your responsibility. Are you going to make, each of you, a national effort comparable to that which achieved the greatest things in your national history? If you make this effort, if you do these things, we will strain every nerve to give the utmost help in your efforts to wipe unemployment from the face of Africa by mobilising your human resources to meet your human needs.

There have been frequent references in the debate to the question of migratory and foreign labour, and the Conference will no doubt expect me to say something on this difficult question. My task in so doing is facilitated by the fact that the question is in no sense a new problem for the ILO and we have evolved a reasonably clear view of the principles applicable to it.

The only solution for the employment problem is a vigorous expansion of the whole economy. It is no solution for each country to seek to protect its own workers by placing restrictions on the employment of foreign workers who have helped and are helping it to build up its economy. The ILO has been steadfast in maintaining this principle since the First Session of the International Labour Conference in 1919 and has a clear responsibility to continue to do so. It is perhaps entirely natural and altogether understandable that each country should be tempted to give preference in employment to its own citizens, though the movements for regional economic integration which are becoming increasingly important in many parts of Africa as elsewhere imply an increasing willingness to accept freedom of movement for labour as well as for goods and capital. But it must be evident that the tendency to give preference to nationals—natural as it may sometimes be—poses problems of an economic, social and human character which call for the closest study, in co-operation, where appropriate, with the representatives of those who may be affected by such policies.

There have developed over the centuries in Africa natural movements of labour, which have not recognised, or been much affected by, existing national boundaries. The traditional seasonal southwards movement of labour during the dry season from the northern savannah regions of West Africa is but one example; there are others to be found in East, Central, North and Southern Africa. If these natural movements, among others, are to be increasingly brought under control, then the economic, social and human consequences need to be carefully evaluated, and taken into sympathetic account in making any administrative arrangements. The various instruments which the ILO has evolved over many years past to protect migrant workers embody many of the principles which might guide governments in determining their policy in this field. But perhaps we need to consider the matter further in the light of the position as it now stands and the effect of the emergence of so many new States in creating frontiers where there was previously freedom of movement. Might there, perhaps, be some agreed principles, evolved by discussion through the ILO without exclusive regard to any specific case, which governments would be willing to apply in such cases as may arise hereafter?

Without attempting at this stage to anticipate the possible outcome of such discussions, might we not hope to reach in the course of them a considerable measure of agreement on some such propositions as these: firstly, that before initiating new policies or measures relating to foreign labour the relevant facts should be fully ascertained by impartial inquiry and published; secondly, that once the facts have been ascertained and made known the measures to be taken should be discussed with any

governments, substantial numbers of whose nationals are likely to be affected; thirdly, that before taking any such measures their prospective effect on essential services, the harvesting of crops, and the normal functioning of the economy generally should be carefully considered; fourthly, that the action proposed should be fully and simply explained in such a manner as to avoid hardship or panic arising from misunderstanding of its scope and probable effect; fifthly, that reasonable notice should be given in an effective manner of any restrictive measures likely to cause hardship; sixthly, that such measures should not be put into operation until the necessary administrative arrangements required for their application without unnecessary hardship have been completed; and seventhly, that whenever any considerable transfer of labour is involved adequate provision should be made for transport, transit camps, the removal of property, and in particular tools and personal effects, and other such matters before the policy is put into effect? These are principles of a general nature and they should be examined objectively in the light of a full and balanced picture of the complexity of the labour situation which long centuries of uncontrolled, or virtually uncontrolled, migration at a time when settled frontiers were unimportant have created in so many parts of Africa.

It is natural that in the context of newly won independence the problem should appear in each country to be primarily a national problem, but it invariably and inevitably has pronounced international aspects and is a proper matter of international concern. Failure to deal with the whole question wisely and imaginatively, with humanity and prudence, could create chaos—nothing less—in large parts of Africa. The ILO cannot escape the responsibility which falls on it in the matter by reason of its mandate to seek equitable economic treatment for workers employed in countries other than their own. The whole question is one which it may well be desirable for us to consider further in its African context, perhaps in the first instance at a meeting of the African Advisory Committee.

Another matter of interest which has been raised, primarily in connection with employment policy, is that of the special position of small island States; we will look into this in an appropriate context.

On labour administration there is little which I need or can add to the comprehensive and precise conclusions on the matter which have been adopted by the Conference. They state the essence of the matter in the opening paragraphs of the preamble and the operative clauses of the resolution which you have adopted. Ministers of labour or social affairs have a vital responsibility for the promotion of social progress, which is the cornerstone of political stability and should be the purpose of economic development. Their ability to fulfil this responsibility depends upon the financial and material resources made available to them and upon their status and authority in relation to those of other government departments. The development of social policy should constitute one of the major concerns of the policies of each African country, and should be fostered by effective, strong and dynamic ministries of labour participating fully in the process of development planning at the highest level; social policy should be given the same importance and priority as other fields of policy and all appropriate institutional measures should be taken for this purpose. These are the fundamental bases of the conclusions which you have reached. The details are essential to give reality to these broad principles, but I need not linger upon them. It will, I trust, suffice for me to restate firmly our intention to co-operate fully, through technical co-operation and in every other appropriate way, with the efforts of the labour ministries of Africa to make themselves equal to their task.

The Conference has also adopted valuable conclusions on technical co-operation. They restate the urgency of a substantial increase in the volume of development aid from all sources, and the importance of taking fully into account the whole range of potential ILO co-operation in the promotion of economic and social development and avoiding an imbalance between human resources development and our programmes

relating to general conditions of work and life and social institutions development. While recognising the need for a high-level and central co-ordinating body in each country with sole responsibility for co-ordinating all external technical assistance, and ensuring that all interested bodies within the country concerned, and in particular employers' and workers' organisations, are consulted as appropriate, they emphasise how imperative it is to ensure that this central body is fully responsive to the social purposes of economic development. Again, I will not burden you with the detail which has already been considered fully in committee, but there is one question of general policy on which it may be helpful for me to comment further.

There has been considerable discussion at this, as at earlier meetings, of the relationship between the tripartite character of the ILO and its technical co-operation programme. This has always been a somewhat difficult matter and certain difficulties remain inherent in it. The ILO technical co-operation programme is a part of complex national and international programmes of a much broader national and international character; its effectiveness depends on its fitting into the over-all plans of governments and it is financed, internationally and nationally, and must therefore be administered, nationally and internationally, as a part of over-all development programmes. One of its distinctive purposes is, however, to give social direction to economic development as a whole, and this is a question in respect of which employers and workers have a direct interest and responsibility and a major contribution to make.

May I make a suggestion concerning a pragmatic way in which we could make some useful progress in the matter? Would it not be possible for the Minister of Labour or Social Affairs in each country in which there is a substantial ILO technical co-operation programme to take personally from time to time the initiative in convening employers' and workers' representatives to discuss the position, problems and prospects of the programme informally at a round table with himself and any other ministers concerned or their representatives and with ILO representatives, who would normally be the Director of the competent area office, and the chiefs of all the ILO projects in the country? Such a practice could develop by experiment and experience; it would require no formal sanction and need no institutional character; it could be intensified where it proved useful, suspended or abandoned where it proved unnecessary or unprofitable, revived as it again became desirable. Such a practice might well prove useful to governments, to employers and to workers, and to the ILO, in securing a clearer picture of what we should be doing and the difficulties to be overcome to do it better and in securing a fuller understanding and support for what we are trying to do. It would, in respect of ILO projects, bring the over-all plan into much closer and more fruitful contact with those whose lives are being planned, to the benefit of all concerned and of the over-all plan itself. It would involve no duplication of other national or international arrangements and would fulfil a function which is not, and cannot be, fulfilled by any of them. For our part, we would welcome such a practice and would co-operate in full in developing it.

The habit of government-labour-management co-operation evolved in the ILO may, indeed, have a wider importance for the future of Africa. Throughout Africa the stability of government unhappily remains an acute problem. Traditional authorities at every level have lost much of their authority and nowhere has Africa in search of democracy as yet found a new equilibrium. In such a situation, where the past is no more and nations have not as yet achieved full nationhood, economic forces and organisations may be an integrating factor of exceptional political importance. An effective framework of labour-management relations may be a significant contribution to the stability of the State itself. Trade unionism and employers' organisations, having played a distinguished part in many of the independence movements and furnished a significant proportion of the political élite of the new States, now have a further and comparable opportunity to ensure the future of what they have played so large a part in creating; governments have an opportunity to enlist them in a free partnership

in a common task; by so doing, governments can greatly increase their authority and influence as governments responsible for the welfare of their peoples and unable to achieve it without the spontaneous response of a dynamic economy in an alert community. Full and frank consultation before policy is crystallised or action becomes irrevocable is the ABC of healthy government-labour-management relations. Trade unionism and employers' organisations have, of course, a clear obligation, to their own members no less than to the community as a whole, to take a broad and long view of the interests of the community as a whole, to concentrate on their proper responsibilities rather than on matters more appropriate for political action, and to respect the authority of government in respect of matters which are essentially the responsibility of government; but, as a corollary to this, governments have an interest no less than an obligation to give national policy the breadth, vigour and shrewdly practical character which become possible only when the organised forces of production have a full opportunity to make a full contribution to it. In the modern world, people no longer do what governments tell them to do; they do what governments enlist their loyalty in doing. Loyalty presupposes understanding; it can be invoked only by imagination; to inspire and retain the confidence without which they cannot give a dynamic lead to the economy, governments must dare to place confidence in the responsible leadership of economic life among employers and workers alike and, by placing such confidence in it, make that leadership ever more responsible and thereby worthy of their confidence.

One of the most responsible tasks of the ILO is to create and maintain a climate of government-labour-management co-operation in which it becomes instinctive in each of the partners in a three-way dialogue both to take, and to help his partners to take, the broad and long view vital to the vitality of democracy in giving a vital stimulus to vital economic growth. The solidity and durability of such a partnership presupposes genuine freedom of association tempered by a high sense of responsibility in the common pursuit of the welfare of the community as a whole. There will be many difficulties, and perhaps many failures, but there is no other way of enlisting the potential momentum of the whole community in its economic development or the self-interest of the whole community in its stability. It is issues of this order of magnitude which are involved when we plead for freedom of association and tripartite co-operation. Africa can use the ILO to build itself a framework of labour-management relations which could develop into a vital factor in the political stability of the whole continent.

May I perhaps quote Okomfo Anokye from the Ashanti play:

“ Great is your destiny  
And great your power  
If you but knew  
The force of unity.”

If we allow destiny to forge for us

“ Greater bonds of unity  
Than man can ever make ”

that will be true not only of Ashanti or Africa but of all mankind.

And so we close the last Conference of the fiftieth anniversary of the ILO. We close it with a natural pride in a memorable landmark. We close it with a profound sense of solemn re-dedication to the abiding purposes of the ILO. And as we close it, we put to ourselves the inevitable question: What now?

This epilogue is but the prologue. How will our successors, fifty years from now, judge what we will then have done during our second half-century? Will they then regard us as worthy of our heritage from our first half-century?

The answer will depend on the integrity, the imagination and the staunchness which we bring to the tasks of the coming years: on our integrity, because it will be

constantly tested by the corrupting influences of partiality, prejudice and power; on our imagination, because it will be constantly defied by new problems calling for a new and dynamic approach; and on our staunchness, because it will be constantly tried by the magnitude and persistence of our problems, problems so grave that they pose starkly the issue of survival not only for civilisation but for man.

The integrity, the imagination and the staunchness, through which alone we can fulfil the responsibilities which await us, must draw their vitality from reason and morality and find expression in a continuing re-dedication to the abiding purposes of the ILO.

What do we seek?

We seek peace, an enduring peace in an organised world community which gives us on the world scale the equivalent of good government in the modern State.

We seek peace through social justice, a peace which is more than the halting of hostilities, a peace of the good life in a fellowship of freedom.

We seek social justice through economic growth; to share the fruits of plenty more fairly, we must first produce them.

We seek to devote economic growth to social justice; economic growth alone may accentuate rather than eliminate injustice.

We seek to enlist in a common purpose the power and responsibility of government and the vitality of the organised economic forces of the community designed to serve in a balanced manner the interests of the whole community.

We seek these things for all mankind, professing and practising the unity of mankind and the equality of man.

We seek these things in freedom, valuing above all things the freedom of the human spirit.

We seek these things with the pragmatism of practical idealism. We believe in our ideals, but we believe that their value lies in the realism with which we convert them into facts.

Our pragmatism of practical idealism expresses these purposes in the specifics of social policy; in employment policies designed to ensure that economic growth makes a full and wise use of human resources, respects human values, and maximises human satisfaction; in youth policies which give the growing youthfulness of the community a growing sense that the future belongs to it; in status of women policies, which bring the home as well as the workplace into the modern age; in rural development policies designed to civilise the countryside instead of proliferating urbanisation in its most uninhabitable forms; in minimum living standards and income policies designed to promote greater social equality; in social security policies which express the old ideal of human solidarity in misfortune in the language of the mobility of labour in modern society; in environment policies which treat the working environment as one of the elements of human environment most requiring urgent protective action; in labour-management relations policies which give labour and management vigorous and effective roles in promoting together the expansion of the economy and agreeing together upon a fair division of the expanded product; in labour administration policies which provide effective administrative tools for achieving all these things; and in much else besides. These things alone, leaving aside what cannot now be foreseen, give us a full agenda for a full half-century.

Our pragmatism of practical idealism finds ways of achieving these purposes in the mutually complementary modes of action of the ILO, all of which are essential elements in the comprehensive strategy of peace through social progress: studies, debate, standards, inquiries, advisory services, operations, and such others as the future may evolve. All those modes of action are governed by three first principles.

The ILO is an instrument of dialogue; its fundamental purpose is to promote fruitful dialogue among and within nations. Without dialogue, and consensus achieved through dialogue, there can be neither peace nor social justice. It is more important

to agree on somewhat less than to be logical about rather more. How much can, in fact, be agreed depends on time and place. Subject to principles and essentials, a larger measure of agreement is almost always worth more than an ideal plan.

The ILO is an instrument of action. We are not an academy of the social sciences. Everything we do is, or should be, geared to action. The test of its value is the immediacy and generality of its impact on the lives of ordinary people, the people of whom God must have been so fond because He made so many of them.

The ILO is an instrument of policy. There is no merit in action in itself or in ILO action as such; their merit lies in what they contribute to the formulation and execution of wise policy, and the test of policy is what it does for man. Studies, debate, standards, inquiries, advisory services, operations, and whatever new forms of action the future may evolve, are all subject to this implacable test. Our policies are not drawn from a computer; they are set forth in the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation and the Declaration of Philadelphia and embodied in solemn obligations binding on member States; they are determined by human values. We will settle for nothing less than the freedom and dignity of all mankind.

So let us return to our homes, fortified in our faith in the future, bidding each other, as is meet, a merry Christmas, but bracing ourselves with new resolves, not for the coming year alone but for many years to come, to seek in the fellowship of freedom the larger destiny of man.

The PRESIDENT—I should like to thank Mr. Jenks most warmly on behalf of all of you for the reply which he has just made to the discussion of the Report of the Director-General.

#### CLOSING SPEECHES

The PRESIDENT—Our Conference is fast drawing to an end and there are a few closing speeches to be made. I call first on Mr. Franck, Government Vice-President of the Conference.

*Interpretation from French:* Mr. FRANCK (*Government Vice-President of the Conference*)—At the close of this Third African Regional Conference, during which throughout the past ten days each one of us has spontaneously given of his best to contribute to the solution of the labour problems of Africa, I venture first of all to convey to this assembly the fraternal greetings of the people of the Central African Republic through its President, His Excellency General Jean Bedel Bokassa. The President of the Central African Republic follows labour questions in Africa with close interest and attention. Thus he warmly welcomed the convening of this Conference of the International Labour Organisation in Africa. Such a Conference, in his view, offers the best means by which Africans can deal with their problems themselves without recourse to cut-and-dried formulae, whether capitalist, communist or of any other character. Therefore he asked me particularly to convey his very best wishes for the success of this Conference.

My election as Vice-President of this Conference is an honour for my country. I greatly appreciate this token of your confidence, for which I thank you most sincerely, and I trust that my humble contribution to our labours has not proved a disappointment to you.

If we have been so outstandingly successful this is due first and foremost to the most valuable assistance offered by the people and Government of Ghana. The warm welcome we have enjoyed, the generous hospitality so typical of Africa in general and of Ghana in particular, the comfortable, indeed luxurious, premises and working conditions—all these have contributed greatly to the success of this Conference. This success is also due to the high quality of the documents submitted by the Director-



General of the ILO to serve as a basis for our discussions. These documents, at once concise and exhaustive, show once more that the ILO makes use of men whose skill and devotion to the cause of social justice and world peace serve the ideals pursued by the Organisation. I am referring to Mr. David A. Morse and his collaborators, who do everything possible to ensure that the ILO's mission shall be accomplished and to this end tackle labour problems wherever they arise in any of the four regions of the world. The work they do is remarkable and I can only offer my congratulations and express the wish that they will persevere in their task.

The award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the ILO on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary shows clearly that the whole of mankind supports the principles championed by the ILO—world peace and a better life for mankind in circumstances of social justice. On behalf of my delegation I offer my warmest congratulations to the ILO on this great distinction.

Finally, Mr. President, it is to you personally and to the other Vice-Presidents of the Conference that we are indebted for our success, for you have displayed great energy and extraordinary ability in ensuring the success of our work. It is with the greatest pleasure that I congratulate you on the splendid way in which you have discharged your responsibilities.

Our Conference is now drawing to a close. It has given us an opportunity to size up the labour problems which exist in our continent and to exchange views as to how they should be solved. We have adopted various resolutions and recommendations. My one wish is that they should be put into effect vigorously, that they should not remain a dead letter.

As regards a number of problems raised in the course of our work, it seems to my delegation that their solution is possible provided there is peace and co-operation, both within Africa and throughout the world. We are sufficiently aware today of the dangers of war and social upheavals to realise that universal and lasting peace is essential if mankind is to accomplish anything constructive. History shows with every day that passes that there is no limit to what man can accomplish provided he enjoys the peace necessary to exploit, organise and master nature. May I in this connection quote an extract from a speech made by the President of the Central African Republic, His Excellency General Jean Bedel Bokassa. He said: "Although man can be justly proud of having conquered the moon and walked on it, we must not forget our own planet, beset as it is by the problems of poverty, ignorance, hunger and disease."

Our situation shows how immense and diverse are our problems and how pressing is the need for peace if they are to be solved.

Only if there is peace can we who are responsible for handling labour questions create the machinery necessary to eliminate exploitation of the workers and ensure universal, effective social justice. Only in such circumstances shall we be able to devise and apply policies leading to full employment and the welfare and security of our peoples.

My delegation attaches great importance to peace but it also considers that it is essential to ensure inter-African and world-wide co-operation. The late Barthélémy Boganda, founder President of the Central African Republic, at a time when the African countries were becoming independent, said "*Vae soli*", that is to say, "Woe to the man who is alone". This thought should always be present in our minds because today more than ever before we have to confront a powerful foe, namely under-development, and only by pooling our efforts within the framework of inter-African and world-wide co-operation shall we manage to surmount these evils of the twentieth century.

That is why we have to create or reinforce the regional or international bodies which deal with technical and economic problems.

The admirable and magnificent dam at Akosombo, which will provide Togo and Dahomey with electric power, is a splendid example of this co-operation.

The various problems raised in this Conference, either in the Director-General's Report or by the delegates in the various committees, have clearly shown how necessary it is to have such co-operation to solve labour questions. These labour problems in Africa are in fact exceedingly complex and often very changeable in character. This being so, we must try to solve them by very sincere and very frank co-operation among the African countries. One way would be to enter into agreements on manpower mobility, reciprocity as regards social security, and harmonisation of our social welfare legislation.

The Central African Republic is ready to co-operate with all peace-loving countries and all organisations, providing that such co-operation is designed not for destruction but for construction.

My country expresses the wish that there may be more conferences and consultations among the African countries so that in the concert of nations Africa may be represented and respected.

I do not wish to finish without saying a word of thanks to our interpreters. Their conscientiousness and assiduity have enabled us to understand each other throughout this Conference. I feel that they are real artists since they have succeeded in surmounting language barriers and thereby establishing mutual understanding.

I would also thank the anonymous staff behind the scenes, who have provided the real motive power behind our Conference; then the delegates for their diligence, their assiduity and the interest they have always taken in the work before us.

In the Central African Republic, such persons would have been considered as equivalent to the pioneers of Operation Bokassa, because it is with this spirit of responsibility, this sense of a duty well done, that we intend to carry on our fight against underdevelopment.

Finally, thanking all those who have organised this Conference, I would ask you, Mr. President, to convey my gratitude to the people and Government of Ghana for all they have done on behalf of my delegation.

*Interpretation from French:* Mr. GEORGET (*Employers' Vice-President of the Conference*)—Speaking on behalf of the Employers' group of the African Continent, I have the pleasant duty of expressing to you, Mr. President, to the people of Ghana and to its Government our profound gratitude for Ghana's hospitality offered to this Conference, as well as for all the facilities provided and the material arrangements which have contributed so much to the success of our work.

It is also with genuine pleasure that to all the employers of Ghana, and through them to the Chairman of our group, Mr. Baah, and to our friend, Frank Bannerman-Menson, who represents them efficiently on the Governing Body of the ILO, I pay public and well-deserved tribute for the generous and constant hospitality which they have bestowed upon us with warm friendship. These marks of appreciation also go to our worker friends of Ghana whose hospitality, particularly yesterday evening, has really made us feel at home among them.

If I were to attempt briefly to summarise the most salient impressions for me, and I think also for my group, I would say that there are three. First of all, there has been a spirit of frank and cordial collaboration among the three groups of the Conference and in this respect I would pay tribute to the entire Workers' group, which unceasingly showed the greatest understanding for the serious economic and social problems of the African countries, and of the rural world in particular, while at the same time vigorously defending the workers' interests. This spirit of collaboration augurs well for the climate which should reign between the two sides in our States when we come to putting into operation the conclusions of our work.

Secondly, we all know how many political and other problems threaten that African unity to which we are so deeply attached, and the inopportune discussion of which here might well have disturbed the smooth running of the work of the Conference. In

this connection, I wish personally to congratulate each delegate. We showed a degree of moderation that should serve as a model for our future conferences. In fact, have we not in this respect given an example for our General Conferences in Geneva? A note of warning, however: it would have been a good thing if this moderation shown by the delegates had been respected by *all* the observers who spoke in plenary sittings.

Thirdly, the Conference has shown in the clearest possible manner that the time has passed when it was possible to believe that the adoption of texts would be sufficient in itself to improve the employment situation or to raise the standard of living. If we examine the conclusions which we adopted without a single dissident vote, we see that everywhere stress is laid on the role of technical co-operation, on the hopes placed in it and on the realism which must inspire it. That is certainly where the future of the ILO lies, that is to say in technical co-operation, bringing together governments, employers and workers in a common effort with a view to solving the specific problems of acute concern in the development of our continent. We have reason to fear that certain obstacles have arisen which are liable to restrict the assistance which the United Nations grants our Organisation when it acts as executing agency for the United Nations Development Programme. We hope that these fears are unfounded, for we truly wish to see a great increase in the ILO technical co-operation programmes carried out in collaboration with the United Nations.

I should like to add the congratulations of the Employers' group to those expressed on the occasion of the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the ILO. This honour is evidence of the prestige enjoyed by our Organisation throughout the world. I hope that Mr. Jenks will convey our message of congratulation which is also addressed to Mr. David A. Morse, our Director-General, whose absence at this Conference I feel certain we have all regretted.

In conclusion I should like to address my thanks to all those who have enabled this Conference to take place under the best of conditions. First to you, Mr. President, and to all your compatriots who, in whatever capacity, have helped us in our work. We would not wish to forget Mr. Jenks and all of his collaborators, to whose efficiency we have become so accustomed that I wonder whether we are not sometimes tempted to abuse it. I hope that when we all return home we shall be able to give the widest possible dissemination to the brilliant statement just made by Mr. Jenks.

To all of you I say *au revoir*. I wish you a safe return home, a joyful festive season and a prosperous and happy New Year.

*Interpretation from French:* Mr. AWAB (*Workers' Vice-President of the Conference*)—The work of our Conference is coming to an end and I shall probably be the last speaker to be able to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election to the presidency of this Conference and to express my admiration of you and of the way you have carried out your task. I wish also to express my warmest thanks to all those who wished to honour me, and through me the Moroccan workers whom I represent, by electing me a Vice-President of this Third African Regional Conference. I am thinking first of all, and very naturally, of the Workers' delegates who made this election possible in a fine spirit of unity which I am pleased to emphasise here. This honour and this confidence are the expression of the striking spirit of solidarity which the African workers bring to the struggle which is being waged by Moroccan workers for liberty, democracy and social justice.

One can say that an atmosphere of tolerance and reciprocal understanding seems to have reigned over this Conference, and this has enabled it to conclude its work with an unprecedented serenity, particularly where regional conferences are concerned. I can only be glad of this because such a spirit requires appreciation of the crucial problems facing Africa, and the will to solve them.

The International Labour Organisation, thanks to its tripartite composition, has furnished us with a unique setting in which to achieve that result. The workers mean

fully to assume their responsibilities in ILO conferences, so that the tripartite system which we defend will not be an abstract formula or a principle affirmed in eloquent speeches but which remains without application in practice. All delegates participating in a tripartite meeting must have the right to express openly and freely the position of their constituents, be they governments, employers or workers, all the while enjoying the immunity guaranteed by the Constitution of the ILO, which unfortunately is not always the case.

The Workers who have taken part in this Conference consider that it has achieved positive results and that it even marks a turning-point as regards the difficult employment problem, which is by extension the problem of the development of our young African States. The merit belongs to the International Labour Organisation, for it has been able over the last few years to convince the international agencies concerned that any idea of development must necessarily involve a sound employment policy. This idea is generally accepted, and it is with this in mind that the workers have given their entire support to the World Employment Programme of the ILO.

It is clear that whatever the excellence of the solutions suggested they will not yield positive results as long as the ever more numerous masses of the underprivileged are not involved in the development process and as long as they are unable to contribute to the solution of this problem.

Other important questions have also been debated, sometimes sharply but always, as I have said, in a constructive spirit. I refer particularly to the question of labour administration, which all too often does not occupy the place to which it is entitled in the general policy of our States. For us workers, labour inspection is one of the most valuable means of social advancement; but to be truly effective the competence and, above all, the independence of the inspection staff must be ensured.

The important field of technical co-operation was also a separate item on the agenda. The question is one with which we are familiar, and it is linked, furthermore, by its very nature to development problems. The exchanges of views on this item have once again confirmed the absolute necessity of involving, at every step, the most active groups in the beneficiary countries, and more particularly the workers' organisations, which should take an active part in the preparation, operation and evaluation of all technical co-operation projects administered by the ILO if it is really wished to achieve the best possible results.

May I refer finally to the excellent Report of the Director-General, which has given us a realistic picture of the social situation of our continent. The reaction which this has called forth, as shown by the numerous speakers who have come to this rostrum, is a token of the interest which it aroused. I wish to refer more particularly to Chapter V of the Report, which deals with human rights and international labour standards, and to join the Director-General in making an urgent appeal to African delegates to ratify and genuinely apply the Conventions adopted by the ILO, especially those dealing with the protection of human rights, in particular the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948 (No. 87), and the Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention, 1949 (No. 98).

We are happy also to note that in his Report the Director-General attaches very great importance to the participation of workers in national development.

There can be no doubt that these are problems which are of particular concern to the African workers, because of the struggle which they wage unceasingly in order to improve the situation and foster social progress. It is with good reason that the Director-General says in his Report—

“ Before going on to describe the responsibilities at present assigned to the trade unions in African countries, and thus to define the part they play in the work of national development, it may be useful to touch on the difficulties with which they have to cope. Most of these difficulties have to do with obtaining effective recognition of freedom of association and the right to organise. . . .

“ While it is true that the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948 (No. 87), and the Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention, 1949 (No. 98), have been ratified by many African countries, there are a number of African States in which their practical application runs into difficulties.”

Freedom of association is still lacking or is appallingly circumscribed and restricted in a number of African countries. There are still some countries in which workers are deprived of the most elementary freedoms: freedom of association, freedom of expression and freedom of bargaining. There are countries where the existing trade unions are systematically stifled, their leaders arrested and imprisoned, their funds confiscated and their publications seized.

Faced by such situations, the workers can only express their profound indignation and call on the International Labour Organisation, which was created to protect and defend their interests and which has worked for a half-century towards this aim, to reinforce its means of control of the effective application of Conventions and Recommendations, to recall to governments that they must respect their undertakings, to denounce them when they violate their international obligations and to place all the weight of its moral authority in the service of the downtrodden.

If we insist on this point, it is because we are convinced that our very best plans for development can only be successful in so far as the trade union movement is assured of enjoying objective conditions which permit it to contribute to the great task of economic reconstruction of our countries.

I note, finally, with great sadness, that once again numerous regions of Africa are absent from our debates because of the colonial régimes which continue in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), not to mention the abject régimes of *apartheid* in South Africa and Rhodesia, which we condemn once again here with the greatest energy.

I can also not forget our brothers, the Palestinian workers, who, driven from their lands, homes and jobs, are today forced to take up arms with their whole people in the fight to recover their dignity, their country and their work. We hope that one day we shall see them here among us within the ILO.

We consider that the ILO, which was created for the workers and their advancement, is our Organisation, and we are therefore very happy, in this year of the fiftieth anniversary of its creation, to see what a positive role it has played in fostering universal social justice.

It is only right, therefore, that the Nobel Peace Prize of 1969 should have rewarded the task to which these workers have always given their total support.

I wish to conclude by saying that the workers have always played the role of motive force which is theirs in this Organisation. Conscious of their responsibilities, they have shown during the work of this Conference the necessary maturity and purposefulness. By their spirit of comprehension, by their contribution to the discussions and by their constructive proposals, they have shown that they are equal to their task and know how to discharge their national and international responsibilities.

I wish to thank you once again, Mr. President, for the way in which you have directed this Conference. I wish to say to the Secretary-General and to his immediate collaborators, as well as to all the members of the Secretariat of the Conference, how grateful the Workers of the Conference are to them for their comprehension, co-operation and assistance. I wish to express once again my gratitude to the interpreters and to all the technical staff for the less spectacular, no doubt, but so essential work that they have done to help us carry out our tasks.

To all of you I wish a happy return to your countries and much success in your work.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL—All that remains for me to say now is “ thank you ”. Recalling the wise advice which was given to us the other day by our cyclist friend from Nigeria that the longer the spoke the greater the tire, I will say “ thank

you " briefly. But, while I will say " thank you " as briefly as is consistent with my duty, it is my duty to thank specifically those who have contributed so much to the success of this Conference.

I should like, with your permission, to begin by acknowledging my indebtedness to my own colleagues. My debt extends to and includes all of them but they will, I know, forgive me if I mention only two by name: my good friend Albert Tévoédjrè, whose wisdom and loyalty we have come to value so highly and who has become so great a tower of strength in all our work; and my good friend Mr. Ndisi, who has been proved to be his worthy successor as Regional Co-ordinator in Africa and who has brought to that task all the practical skill of the trained and experienced administrator.

We have, Sir, a very special debt to the authorities who have made it possible for us to meet here. I should like to begin by thanking the authorities of the State House and the authorities of the State Transport Corporation, without whose help it would have been impossible to make the excellent practical arrangements which have so greatly contributed to the smooth work of this Conference.

No less is our debt to those who have cared for us in such leisure hours as we have spared ourselves. Among them I should like to mention particularly the Arts Council, who gave us so much pleasure on Tuesday evening, and the Volta River Authority, who gave us so inspiring a picture on Sunday of the potentialities of economic development in Africa. We are no less indebted to our friends of the TUC, whose guests we were last night, and to our friends among the Ghana employers, whose guests we have been on various occasions during these last ten days. May I also, with your permission, Sir, thank all of the officials of your Ministry and of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs who have borne so heavy a load in making the arrangements for this Conference and who have come to be in the course of the Conference such trusted colleagues of our own staff in servicing it. I would, if I may be forgiven by all the other officials concerned—and I feel confident that they welcome what I am about to say—say how great a pleasure it gives to all of us to see Mr. Vanderpuije back with us this morning with his invariable and inevitable smile.

The Conference owes much to those who have served it as chairmen of the various committees, as vice-chairmen and as reporters. All the committees completed their work in a most expeditious way and all of them reached unanimous conclusions. That is perhaps the best test of the quality of the chairmanship which a committee has had and of the quality of the leadership which the groups in the committee have had.

We are equally indebted to the Vice-Presidents of the Conference, who have assisted you, Sir, in steering the ship safely home to port.

May I ask you to convey the very special and warm personal appreciation of the whole Conference to the Acting Chairman of the Presidential Commission, Mr. Harlley, and to the Prime Minister, Dr. Busia. We are all most grateful to the Acting Chairman of the Presidential Commission for the tone which he set for the whole Conference at the opening ceremony and for the gracious hospitality which the Commission extended to the Conference as a whole last Saturday evening. We would also appreciate it if you would again inform the Prime Minister how greatly the Conference valued his presence among us on the occasion of the ceremony marking the award of the Nobel Peace Prize, and how greatly it appreciated his having taken the Conference so fully into his confidence on that occasion.

May I also, Sir, concur in what has been said by your fellow-officers in thanking you. You have imparted to the Conference that note of cheerfulness and determination to get along with the essential things which is, I believe, a characteristic of your countrymen. We are most grateful to you for everything you have done and I should like on this occasion, on the Director-General's behalf, to present to you something which you have used only to open and close the session: it is this gavel. This gavel is given to you at this stage only as a symbol. At a later stage you will receive it in the form of a more imposing gavel duly inscribed, but when a conference finishes with a little time in hand

it is sometimes difficult to have the gavel inscribed in time. In those circumstances, I will ask you to accept it today in its present form just as a symbol of the more imposing form which it will ultimately take. Thank you very much for everything you have done to make this Conference a success.

The PRESIDENT—The Third African Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation is now coming to a close. I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to make a few remarks.

First, let me reiterate my gratitude to you all for the honour you have done my country, Ghana, and me personally, when you elected me unanimously as your President. You all, and in particular the Officers of the Conference and the Chairmen, Vice-Chairmen and Reporters of the Committees, have rendered my task as President, through your unfailing courtesy and close co-operation, more agreeable than I expected. Once again, please accept my deepest thanks.

This Conference, over the proceedings of which I have had the honour to preside is, to say the least, of very historic significance. It is the last meeting of the ILO in this year of its fiftieth anniversary. On 10 December 1969 a special session was held, here in this hall, to mark the award simultaneously in Oslo of the Nobel Peace Prize to the International Labour Organisation.

Furthermore, and this I believe is important, one can easily discern throughout its proceedings an uninterrupted spirit of solidarity, tolerance and understanding among all delegates and groups. Need I tell you that the reports and resolutions of the Conference were all adopted unanimously?

I feel that I must stress the cardinal importance of one result of this Conference: the adoption of the Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa. This is the most ambitious and yet realistic programme ever to be launched by the ILO in Africa. It is a programme, as we all know, that responds to immediate needs in Africa; and I am sure African governments will assign to it the highest priority in their development plans. I most sincerely congratulate you all on this positive achievement, and in doing this I am by no means belittling the value of the rest of our work.

My thanks also go to the honourable members of the Governing Body delegation, who, in a spirit of solidarity, have come all the way to Accra to participate in our Conference.

I would be failing in my duty if I were not to make special mention of those known and unknown "soldiers of peace", if I may say so, without whose efforts we could not have achieved anything. I am thinking of you, Mr. Secretary-General, your close colleagues, those officials who manned and served on the different committees, the interpreters and verbatim reporters, the secretaries and all those who made our work easier and contributed to the smooth functioning of the Conference. I should like to thank them all, on behalf of the whole Conference and on my own behalf, for their tactful courtesy, for the advice discreetly given and for the service promptly and willingly rendered. Small wonder that this is so, for it is the tradition of the Office.

Lastly, I thank you for your attention. I wish you a merry Christmas and a happy New Year, Godspeed and safe return to your homes. We in Ghana, the people and Government, have been very fortunate in having you in our midst for the last two weeks. We will certainly cherish happy memories of you all.

I now declare the Third African Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation closed.

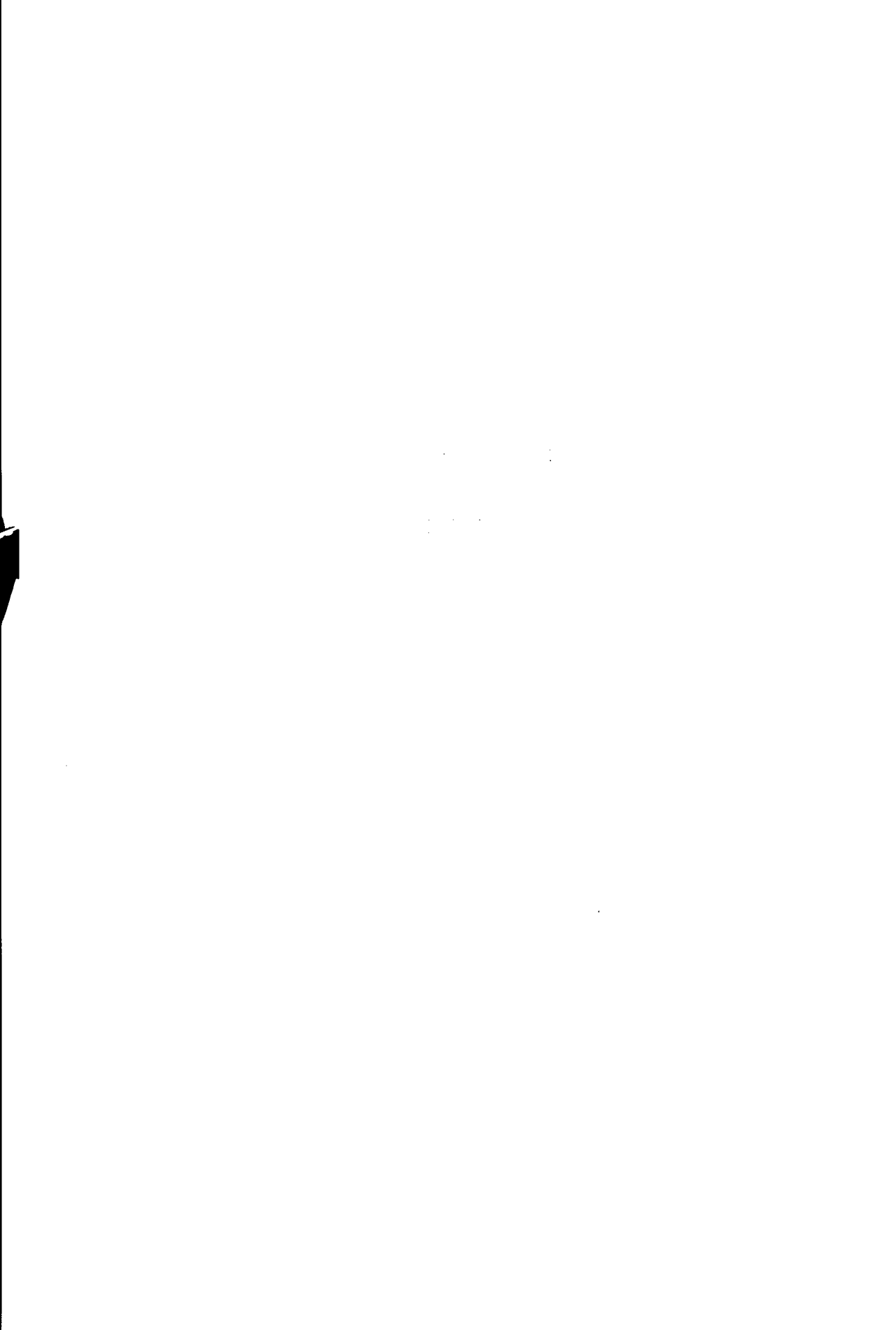
*(The Conference closed at 11.45 a.m.)*





**THIRD PART**

**APPENDICES**



## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX I

#### Reports of the Selection Committee

##### (1) First Report.<sup>1</sup>

###### ELECTION OF OFFICERS

The Selection Committee has elected the following officers:

*Chairman:* Mr. AMEDE (*Ethiopia*).

*Employers' Vice-Chairman:* Mr. BAAH (*Ghana*).

*Workers' Vice-Chairman:* Mr. BO-BOLIKO (*Congo (Kinshasa)*).

###### SETTING-UP OF THE TECHNICAL COMMITTEES OF THE CONFERENCE

The Selection Committee recommends that the Conference should appoint the following committees:

*Committee on Labour Administration:* 42 members (24 Government members, 8 Employers' members, 10 Workers' members).

*Committee on Technical Co-operation:* 31 members (16 Government members, 10 Employers' members, 5 Workers' members).

*Committee on Employment Policy:* 56 members (24 Government members, 14 Employers' members, 18 Workers' members).

The list of members of these Committees will be found in the Annex to the present report.

###### DISCUSSION OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL'S REPORT

The Committee recommends to the Conference that the discussion of the Director-General's Report should begin on Tuesday morning, 9 December 1969. In order to ensure the smooth working of the Conference, the Committee recommends that delegates who wish to take part in the discussion of the Director-General's Report should hand in their names without delay to the Clerk of the Conference and that the list of speakers should be closed on Friday, 12 December, at noon. It also recommends that they should make every effort to be on hand and ready to speak at the sitting at which they are to be called upon to address the Conference.

###### RESOLUTIONS SUBMITTED UNDER ARTICLE 13 OF THE RULES CONCERNING THE POWERS, FUNCTIONS AND PROCEDURE OF REGIONAL CONFERENCES CONVENED BY THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

The Committee recommends that the two resolutions submitted under article 13 of the Rules concerning the Powers, Functions and Procedure of Regional Conferences Convened by the ILO, viz. the resolution concerning mobility of labour in Africa and the resolution concerning the outflow of trained personnel from projects established under ILO technical co-operation, should be referred to the Committee on Employment Policy and the Committee on Technical Co-operation, respectively.

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<sup>1</sup> See Second Part, p. 16.

## ANNEX

*Committee on Labour Administration**Government members:*

*Algeria.*  
*Burundi.*  
*Cameroon.*  
*Central African Republic.*  
*Congo (Kinshasa).*  
*Dahomey.*  
*Ethiopia.*  
*Ghana.*  
*Kenya.*  
*Mali.*  
*Morocco.*  
*Niger.*  
*Nigeria.*  
*Rwanda.*  
*Senegal.*  
*Sierra Leone.*  
*Tanzania.*  
*Togo.*  
*Tunisia.*  
*Uganda.*  
*United Arab Republic.*  
*Upper Volta.*  
*Zambia.*  
*1 vacant seat.*

*Deputy members:*

*Chad.*  
*Gabon.*  
*Mauritania.*

*Employers' members:*

*Mr. Ahmed (Sudan).*  
*Mr. Amenyah (Togo).*  
*Mr. Baah; substitutes: Mr. Thomson, Mr. Hayford (Ghana).*  
*Mr. Georget; substitute: Mr. Monteil (Niger).*  
*Mr. Lamikanra (Nigeria).*  
*Mr. Nakibinge (Uganda).*  
*Mr. Richmond (Kenya).*  
*Mr. Rouster (Burundi).*

*Deputy members:*

*Mr. Blake (Sierra Leone).*  
*Mr. Sandrier; substitute: Mr. Oechslin (France).*  
*Mr. Sansal (Algeria).*

*Workers' members:*

*Mr. Benmiled (Tunisia).*  
*Mr. Bentum (Ghana).*  
*Mr. Booka (Congo (Kinshasa)).*  
*Mr. Meless-Mel (Ivory Coast).*  
*Mr. Ndambuki (Kenya).*  
*Mr. N'Gom (Senegal).*  
*Mr. Sandos (Central African Republic).*  
*Mr. Senkezi (Uganda).*  
*Mr. Simwanza (Zambia).*  
*Mr. Wora (Gabon).*

*Deputy members:*

Mr. Coulibaly (*Ivory Coast*).  
Mr. Kane (*Mauritania*).  
Mr. Ngom (*Cameroon*).  
Mr. Nortey (*Ghana*).  
Mr. Nunoo-Quaye (*Ghana*).  
Mr. Ouedraogo (*Upper Volta*).

*Committee on Technical Co-operation**Government members:*

*Algeria.*  
*Chad.*  
*Congo (Kinshasa).*  
*Dahomey.*  
*Gabon.*  
*Ghana.*  
*Mali.*  
*Morocco.*  
*Nigeria.*  
*Senegal.*  
*Sierra Leone.*  
*Sudan.*  
*Tanzania.*  
*Togo.*  
*Uganda.*  
*United Arab Republic.*

*Deputy members:*

*Burundi.*  
*Cameroon.*  
*Central African Republic.*  
*Ethiopia.*  
*Kenya.*  
*Mauritania.*

*Employers' members:*

Mr. Agbo-Panzo (*Dahomey*).  
Mr. Amenyah (*Togo*).  
Mr. Baah; substitutes: Mr. Essuman; Mr. Danquah; Mr. Ketoe (*Ghana*).  
Mr. Bastid (*Ivory Coast*).  
Mr. Diallo (*Senegal*).  
Mr. Georget; substitute: Mr. Monteil (*Niger*).  
Mr. Kimbimbi (*Congo (Kinshasa)*).  
Mr. Malafa (*Cameroon*).  
Mr. Nebo; substitute: Mr. Greve (*Liberia*).  
Mr. Sandrier; substitute: Mr. Oechslin (*France*).

*Deputy members:*

Mr. Ahmed (*Sudan*).  
Mr. Lamikanra (*Nigeria*).  
Mr. Richmond (*Kenya*).  
Mr. Rouster (*Burundi*).

*Workers' members:*

Mr. Baiden (*Ghana*).  
Mr. Fogam (*Cameroon*).  
Mr. Grant (*Sierra Leone*).  
Mr. James (*Nigeria*).  
Mr. Kikongi (*Congo (Kinshasa)*).

*Deputy members:*

Mr. Anim (*Ghana*).  
 Mr. Briki (*Algeria*).  
 Mr. Coulibaly (*Ivory Coast*).  
 Mr. Diarra (*Mali*).  
 Mr. Macha (*Tanzania*).

*Committee on Employment Policy**Government members:*

*Algeria.*  
*Burundi.*  
*Cameroon.*  
*Central African Republic.*  
*Chad.*  
*Congo (Kinshasa).*  
*Dahomey.*  
*Ethiopia.*  
*Gabon.*  
*Ghana.*  
*Kenya.*  
*Mauritania.*  
*Nigeria.*  
*Senegal.*  
*Sierra Leone.*  
*Sudan.*  
*Tanzania.*  
*Togo.*  
*Tunisia.*  
*Uganda.*  
*United Arab Republic.*  
*Upper Volta.*  
*Zambia.*  
*1 vacant seat.*

*Deputy members:*

*Mali.*  
*Morocco.*

*Employers' members:*

Mr. Baah; substitutes: Mr. Ampah, Mr. Meyer, Mr. Tagoe (*Ghana*).  
 Mr. Bonnefoy (*Cameroon*).  
 Mr. Dembélé (*Mali*).  
 Mr. Gebeyehu (*Ethiopia*).  
 Mr. Hassan (*United Arab Republic*).  
 Mr. Kifile (*Tanzania*).  
 Mr. Lamikanra; substitute: Mr. Oloshuga (*Nigeria*).  
 Mr. Latimer (*Mauritius*).  
 Mr. Nakibinge (*Uganda*).  
 Mr. Nebo; substitute: Mr. Greve (*Liberia*).  
 Mr. D.A.R. Phiri (*Zambia*).  
 Mr. Sandrier; substitute: Mr. Oechslein (*France*).  
 Mr. Sansal (*Algeria*).  
 Mr. Sipamio Berre (*Gabon*).

*Deputy members:*

Mr. Agbo-Panzo (*Dahomey*).  
 Mr. Diallo (*Senegal*).  
 Mr. Georget; substitute: Mr. Monteil (*Niger*).

*Workers' members:*

Mr. Agbahungba (*Dahomey*).  
 Mr. Awute (*Togo*).  
 Mr. Badr (*United Arab Republic*).  
 Mr. Bo-Boliko Congo (*Kinshasa*).  
 Mr. Briki (*Algeria*).  
 Mr. Coulibaly (*Ivory Coast*).  
 Mr. Diarra (*Mali*).  
 Mr. Hassane (*Niger*).  
 Mr. Ishola (*Nigeria*).  
 Mr. Issifu (*Ghana*).  
 Mr. Kane (*Mauritania*).  
 Mr. Ly (*Senegal*).  
 Mr. Macha (*Tanzania*).  
 Mr. Ngom (*Cameroon*).  
 Mr. Nijembazi (*Burundi*).  
 Mr. Omer (*Sudan*).  
 Mr. Ouedraogo (*Upper Volta*).  
 Mr. Solomon (*Ethiopia*).

*Deputy members:*

Mr. Fogam (*Cameroon*).  
 Mr. Benmiled (*Tunisia*).  
 Mr. Ahinful-Quansah (*Ghana*).  
 Mr. Sandos (*Central African Republic*).  
 Mr. Tetteh (*Ghana*).

**(2) Second Report.<sup>1</sup>**

## COMPOSITION OF COMMITTEES

The Selection Committee recommends that the following changes be made in the composition of the Committees:

*Committee on Labour Administration:* Government deputy members: add *Ivory Coast*. Workers' deputy members: add Mr. Ekamba-Elombé (*Congo (Brazzaville)*).

*Committee on Employment Policy:* Government members: add *Ivory Coast* (to fill the vacant seat).

**(3) Third Report.<sup>2</sup>**

## COMPOSITION OF COMMITTEES

The Selection Committee recommends that the following changes be made in the composition of the Committees:

*Committee on Labour Administration:* Government deputy members: add *Liberia*. Workers' deputy members: add Mr. Kawah (*Liberia*).

*Committee on Technical Co-operation:* Government members: add *Liberia*. Workers' deputy members: add Mr. Pakiry (*Mauritius*), Mr. Gray (*Liberia*).

*Committee on Employment Policy:* Government members: add *Liberia*. Workers' deputy members: add Mr. Pakiry (*Mauritius*), Mr. Sonpon (*Liberia*).

## APPOINTMENT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

Under article 10 of the Rules concerning the Powers, Functions and Procedure of Regional Conferences Convened by the ILO each regional conference shall, on the nomination of its

<sup>1</sup> See Second Part, p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> See Second Part, p. 70.

Selection Committee, appoint a Credentials Committee consisting of one Government delegate, one Employers' delegate and one Workers' delegate.

The Selection Committee recommends that the Credentials Committee should be composed as follows:

*Government group: Mr. Kirahuzi (Burundi).*

*Employers' group: Mr. Blake (Sierra Leone).*

*Workers' group: Mr. Fogam (Cameroon).*



## APPENDIX II

### Credentials

#### Report of the Credentials Committee.<sup>1</sup>

#### I. COMPOSITION OF THE CONFERENCE

1. The Credentials Committee, which was appointed by the Conference at its sixth plenary sitting, met on 12 December 1969 to examine, in conformity with article 10 of the Rules concerning the Powers, Functions and Procedure of Regional Conferences, the credentials of the delegates and advisers attending the Conference. The Committee was composed as follows: Mr. Kirahuzi (Government member, Burundi) (*Chairman*); Mr. Blake (Employers' member, Sierra Leone); and Mr. Fogam (Workers' member, Cameroon).

2. Credentials in the form of official instruments, official letters or official telegrams have been received in respect of the members of the delegations shown in the table below.

Country	Government delegates	Government advisers	Employers' delegates	Employers' advisers	Workers' delegates	Workers' advisers
Algeria . . . . .	2	2	1	—	1	—
Burundi . . . . .	2	—	1	—	1	—
Cameroon . . . . .	2	2	1	1	1	1
Central African Republic . . . . .	2	1	1	—	1	—
Chad . . . . .	2	1	—	—	1	—
Congo (Brazzaville) . . . . .	2	—	1	—	1	—
Congo (Kinshasa) . . . . .	2	4	1	—	1	2
Dahomey . . . . .	2	—	1	—	1	—
Ethiopia . . . . .	2	—	1	—	1	—
France . . . . .	2	1	1	1	1	1
Gabon . . . . .	2	—	1	—	1	—
Ghana . . . . .	2	8	1	9	1	7
Ivory Coast . . . . .	1	—	1	—	1	1
Kenya . . . . .	2	—	1	—	1	—
Liberia . . . . .	2	—	1	1	1	2
Mali . . . . .	2	—	1	—	1	—
Mauritania . . . . .	1	—	—	—	1	—
Mauritius . . . . .	2	—	1	—	1	—
Morocco . . . . .	2	—	1	—	1	—
Niger . . . . .	2	—	1	1	1	—
Nigeria . . . . .	2	1	1	1	1	1
Rwanda . . . . .	2	—	—	—	—	—
Senegal . . . . .	2	1	1	—	1	1
Sierra Leone . . . . .	2	1	1	—	1	—
Sudan . . . . .	2	1	1	—	1	—
Tanzania . . . . .	2	1	1	—	1	—
Togo . . . . .	2	—	1	—	1	—
Tunisia . . . . .	2	—	—	—	1	—
Uganda . . . . .	2	2	1	—	1	—
United Arab Republic . . . . .	2	1	1	—	1	—
Upper Volta . . . . .	2	—	1	—	1	—
Zambia . . . . .	2	—	1	1	1	1
Total . . . . .	62	27	28	15	31	17

<sup>1</sup> See Second Part, p. 123.

*Composition of the Conference*

3. The Conference was thus composed, at the time when the Committee met, of 62 Government delegates, 28 Employers' delegates and 31 Workers' delegates, i.e. 121 delegates in all. In addition there were 27 Government advisers, 15 Employers' advisers and 17 Workers' advisers, i.e. a total of 59 advisers. In the communications received from certain governments, some persons have been named both as substitute delegates and as advisers. For the purpose of the above figures, they have been included among the advisers. The total number of delegates and advisers who have been named in conformity with the provisions of the Rules concerning the Powers, Functions and Procedure of Regional Conferences to take part in the work of the Conference is 180. In addition, the delegation of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to the Regional Conference is composed of the Chairman of the Governing Body, two Government members, two Employers' members and two Workers' members.

*Observers*

4. Observers from seven member States have been appointed to attend the Conference.

*Representatives of Official International Organisations*

5. In accordance with paragraph 1 of article II—relating to reciprocal representation—the Agreement between the United Nations and the International Labour Organisation, which came into force on 14 December 1946, representatives of the United Nations are present at the Conference. Furthermore, the following official international organisations have also accepted the invitation to attend the Conference which was addressed to them in accordance with a decision taken by the Governing Body:

- United Nations Development Programme.
- Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.
- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.
- World Health Organization.
- League of Arab States.
- Organization of African Unity.
- African Development Bank.

*Representatives of Non-governmental International Organisations*

6. The following non-governmental international organisations accepted the invitation to attend the Conference:

- African Trade Union Confederation.
- All-African Trade Union Confederation.
- International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.
- International Federation of Plantation, Agricultural and Allied Workers.
- International Organisation of Employers.
- Organisation of Employers' Federations and Employers in Developing Countries.
- Pan-African Workers' Congress.
- Postal, Telegraph and Telephone International.
- World Confederation of Labour.
- World Federation of Trade Unions.
- World Young Women's Christian Association.

*Incomplete Delegations*

7. The Credentials Committee notes with regret that the above table shows that one Government has sent only Government delegates to the Conference, while three other Governments have appointed a Workers' delegate without appointing to date any Employers' delegate. In this connection, the Committee wishes to point out to governments accepting the invitation to be represented at a regional conference their duty to appoint, in accordance with article 1 of the Rules, complete delegations providing in particular for properly balanced representation of employers and workers.

II. OBJECTION TO THE NOMINATION OF THE WORKERS' DELEGATION  
OF SENEGAL

8. The Credentials Committee had before it an objection lodged against the appointment of the Workers' delegation of Senegal. The delegation consists of Mr. Doudou N'Gom, Workers' delegate, President of the National Confederation of Workers of Senegal (CNTS), and Mr. Mohamed Ly, adviser, an officer of the same organisation.

9. The objection is contained in a brief telegram from Mr. Alioune Cissé, of the National Union of Workers of Senegal (UNTS). Mr. Cissé expresses regret that almost all the workers belonging to this organisation should be unrepresented at the Conference, asserts that the Government acted arbitrarily in nominating the representatives whose credentials are contested, and requests the invalidation of those credentials.

10. The Committee points out, in the first place, that, unlike the procedure applicable at the General Conference, the Rules concerning the Powers, Functions and Procedure of Regional Conferences do not provide for the possibility of any such invalidation, its powers being prescribed in article 10 of the Rules.

11. Furthermore, the Committee notes that the author of the objection offers no proof in support of his assertions, in particular concerning the representative character of the trade union organisations concerned and their respective memberships.

12. Accordingly, while drawing attention to the importance of the rule whereby non-governmental delegates must be chosen in agreement with the most representative industrial organisations, the Committee decides not to accept the objection.

Accra, 12 December 1969.

(Signed) Aloïs KIRAHUZI,  
*Chairman.*  
T. A. BLAKE.  
G. B. FOGAM.

## APPENDIX III

### Resolutions

#### **Resolutions Submitted in accordance with Article 13 of the Rules concerning the Powers, Functions and Procedure of Regional Conferences Convened by the International Labour Organisation.**

##### **RESOLUTION CONCERNING MOBILITY OF LABOUR IN AFRICA, SUBMITTED BY MR. RICHMOND, EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE, KENYA**

The Third African Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation, meeting in Accra from 8 to 19 December 1969,

Considering the importance of labour problems and the importance of human resources as an important factor in economic development,

Considering the major role of labour in Africa,

Underlining the necessity of inter-African co-operation in the field of labour and social matters,

Realising the necessity to adopt positive employment and social policies in order to make available the highest possible pool of skilled manpower,

Realising the necessity to improve prospects of advancement for all elements of the community and fuller respect for human dignity and elimination of discrimination;

Recommends that all African member States aim to promote, by methods appropriate to national conditions, equality of opportunity and treatment in respect of employment and occupation first of all to citizens of the country, thereafter to citizens of adjoining countries and subsequently to citizens of other States Members of the OAU.

##### **RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE OUTFLOW OF TRAINED PERSONNEL FROM PROJECTS ESTABLISHED UNDER ILO TECHNICAL CO-OPERATION, SUBMITTED BY MR. BAAH, EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE, GHANA, MR. GEBEYEHU, EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE, ETHIOPIA, MR. GEORGET, EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE, NIGER, AND MR. RICHMOND, EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE, KENYA**

The Third African Regional Conference, having met in Accra, at its Third Session,

Noting with satisfaction the results achieved by the technical co-operation activities of the ILO in developing countries, as reflected in the establishment of various training and analogous centres which constitute an essential factor in the economic and social development,

Stressing the consequential need to ensure the smooth running and proper development of such centres by appropriately trained nationals, once a project is completed,

Recognising the need for retaining in the centres the services of national counterparts duly trained by international experts in the course of project implementation in order that the centres be run successfully and independently on final completion,

Considering that the departure which has often occurred of trained nationals from the centres to take up assignments offering them better prospects within the country, as distinct from the problems of the brain drain, is detrimental to the continuity of the work of technical co-operation, thereby seriously compromising the commendable results achieved in setting up the centres,

Stressing the urgent need to solve this problem by offering adequate security of tenure and remuneration to trained national counterparts, under conditions which compare favourably with the terms and prospects offered by industrial undertakings in the country,

Recalling the resolution concerning the promotion of adequate national institutional arrangements, particularly the association of employers' and workers' organisations in

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relation to technical co-operation activities of the ILO at national, regional and international levels, adopted by the 52nd Session of the International Labour Conference (1968);

Invites the Governing Body of the ILO to request the Director-General to investigate the reasons for such departure of counterparts and to report to it on—

- (i) the extent and causes of such outflow;
- (ii) the prejudicial effects involved in the continuity of projects completed under the operational programmes of the ILO,

and to suggest measures aimed at preventing this outflow.

Invites member States to take appropriate measures in order to guarantee the stability and the necessary continuity and autonomy of the bodies managing the centres which have been completed under the ILO technical co-operation programmes in close consultation with the employers' and workers' organisations of their country.

## APPENDIX IV

### Second Item on the Agenda: Labour Administration, Including Labour Inspection, in Africa

(1) Report Prepared by the International Labour Office.<sup>1</sup>

(2) Report of the Committee on Labour Administration.<sup>2</sup>

1. The Committee on Labour Administration, which was set up by the Conference at its third sitting on 9 December 1969, was composed of 42 members: 24 Government members, 8 Employers' members and 10 Workers' members.

2. In order to ensure equality of voting strength of the three groups, each Government member had 5 votes, each Employers' member 15 votes and each Workers' member 12 votes.

3. The Committee elected its officers as follows:

*Chairman:* Mr. Mpyisi, Government member, Uganda.

*Vice-Chairmen:* Mr. Richmond, Employers' member, Kenya, and Mr. Senkezi, Workers' member, Uganda.

*Reporter:* Mr. Riahi, Government member, Tunisia.

4. The Committee was called upon to examine the second item on the agenda of the Conference: "Labour administration, including labour inspection, in Africa." The Committee had before it the report prepared by the Office on this question (Report II), which was based on the conclusions reached by the African Advisory Committee at its Third Session (Dakar, October 1967).

5. The representative of the Secretary-General was Mr. Filali.

6. The Committee held four sittings.

7. At its third sitting the Committee set up a Working Party composed as follows:

*Government members:* Mr. Mpyisi (Uganda), Chairman, Mr. Riahi (Tunisia), Reporter, Mr. Nottidge (Sierra Leone), Mr. Negre (Mali);

*Employers' members:* Mr. Richmond (Kenya), Mr. Lamikanra (Nigeria);

*Workers' members:* Mr. Senkezi (Uganda), Mr. N'gom (Senegal).

The Working Party was charged with the preparation of the resolutions of the Committee, on the basis of the recommendations of the African Advisory Committee, the report of the Office and the comments and suggestions made by members of the Committee during the discussion.

8. In accordance with article 21, paragraph 3, of the Rules concerning the Powers, Functions and Procedure of Regional Conferences Convened by the International Labour Organisation, the Committee also set up a drafting subcommittee consisting of Mr. Negre, Mr. Lamikanra and Mr. Senkezi, representing respectively the Government, Employers' and Workers' members, the Reporter, the representative of the Secretary-General and the Legal Adviser of the Conference.

#### General Discussion

9. In his introductory statement, the representative of the Secretary-General underlined the appropriateness of discussing the subject at hand from the point of view of its aspects which were particular to African situations. In this connection he emphasised the common preoccupations

<sup>1</sup> ILO: *Labour Administration, Including Labour Inspection, in Africa*, Report II, Third African Regional Conference, Accra, December 1969 (Geneva, 1969). (Offset.)

<sup>2</sup> See Second Part, p. 154.

pation of all African countries with integrated economic and social development, and pointed out two essential considerations which linked this fundamental requirement to the question of labour administration: on the one hand, the role of the State in the process of economic growth presupposed the existence of an efficient administrative machinery for the formulation and execution of development plans; on the other hand, the need to create the greatest possible number of new jobs, which also was the motive behind the World Employment Programme, gave the labour factor, among the various components of production, a greater importance for economic policy in African countries. To the extent that it concerned itself with the problems of labour and manpower, labour administration was endowed with a vital function in the development effort. The representative of the Secretary-General stressed that the need for a close integration of labour administration with programmes of economic growth and social progress had already been the main theme of the discussions of the African Advisory Committee when it examined the same question at Dakar in October 1967. He recalled the conclusions and recommendations which had been adopted on that occasion, and which provided the central ideas for the report which was before the Committee. Within the framework which was accepted at Dakar, the Advisory Committee felt that labour administration could not be conceived solely as an instrument for the equitable distribution of a fraction of the national income, the amount of which was established without consulting it, but rather that it should be able to make its own contribution to the growth of national wealth. This could be achieved only by rethinking the structures, the objectives and the means of action which characterised labour administration services presently established in Africa.

10. The Committee agreed with the list of points for discussion appended to the report as a basis for discussion, as they reflected the essential concerns which came to light at the Third Session of the African Advisory Committee.

11. The Committee decided to complete the list by adding certain problems which were not described in sufficient detail. Thus, the Workers' members, seconded by the Employers' members, underlined the importance of workers' education programmes, and the need to intensify the effort of training labour officials in order to ensure that they were competent and impartial in their dealings with well-informed interlocutors. They were in favour of the creation of a regional centre for labour administration for the English-language countries, in the same way as had been done in 1965 at Yaoundé for the French-speaking countries; the latter centre was now consolidating its efforts within the framework of a United Nations Development Programme Special Fund Project. In connection with the question of structure, they insisted on the fact that labour ministries had to be independent from other departments whose concerns were often very divergent, in particular with respect to recognition of occupational organisations.

12. A large number of Government members emphasised the dilemma with which labour administration was faced because of the lack of human and financial resources at its disposal for the discharge of its growing responsibilities, especially in the field of participation in development. They pointed out, in particular, the need to enhance the importance of such administration by ensuring better co-ordination with other departments, and by perfecting the capabilities of its agents by giving them systematic retraining which would include more emphasis on economic questions.

13. The Employers' and Workers' members recommended the promotion of tripartism at all levels in order to associate employers' and workers' organisations with administrative action. They stressed that labour officials had to be impartial and the need to provide these officials with salary conditions and means of action which would guarantee effectiveness and stability. In this connection they pointed out that labour disputes represented in the national economy an expenditure which was out of all proportion to the expenses necessary for the proper functioning of the services which were entrusted with their prevention and solution.

#### **The Responsibilities of Labour Administration**

14. Moving to the discussion of the various points listed in the report which was before the Committee, the Committee agreed to include vocational training among the tasks of labour administration in the field of human resources, because of its importance in the framework of the participation of labour departments in economic development policy.

15. At the suggestion of the Workers' members the Committee underlined that the integration of social policy and economic policy had to be carried out by labour administration services in order to promote social justice.

16. The Committee also stressed the need for an increased effort in the field of the prevention and solution of labour disputes at the local level, and for the reinforcement of the relevant institutions to this effect.

#### **The Infrastructure of the Labour Administration Services**

17. Certain members expressed reservations as to the appropriateness of delegating power to other administrations of the State which did not always have the necessary qualifications; this sort of co-operation was only justified as a transitional measure.

18. On the other hand, permanent links were recommended both with other government services and with occupational organisations, both in a consultative capacity and as regards participating in the working of certain bodies such as those responsible for placement or vocational training. Steps should be taken to ensure that members of intergovernmental co-ordinating bodies attended assiduously. It was stressed that ministries of labour should be called upon to contribute actively to the process of economic development planning and should participate in the bodies responsible for such planning.

19. The need for quantitative information about the problems to be solved implied the setting-up or reinforcement of statistical services entrusted with the gathering and analysis of statistical data.

#### **The Budgetary Resources and Personnel Requirements of the Labour Administration Services**

20. The Committee unanimously agreed to reaffirm the urgent necessity of providing labour administration services with the material means which until now they had sorely lacked. The Employers' members stressed the ramshackle condition of the places of work of labour administrations, and the impossibility for their agents to move about between work sites because transport facilities were completely inadequate.

21. Referring to personnel resources, the Workers' members reminded the Committee of the dangerous situation created by the continual exodus of higher officials of labour administrations to other public services or to the private sector because of poor career prospects. To put a halt to this "brain drain" they proposed that conditions of service be made more attractive.

22. With regard to the status of officials, certain Government members pointed out that the rules enforced in their countries with respect to public service were not compatible with the grant of special conditions to labour officials; certain Workers' members felt, nevertheless, that within the framework of the general civil service regulations there could be an adaptation of the conditions of work of this particular category of officials to conform with the specific problems which they met in the exercise of their functions.

23. In view of the importance of the question of the availability to labour administrations of all types of resources, which was considered by certain members of the Committee to be the most vital point at issue, it was proposed to submit the resolutions adopted by the Committee to the highest levels in the States concerned, where decisions could be taken in this respect.

#### **Future Prospects for the Labour Administration Services**

24. Many Government members spoke in support of the guidelines which were proposed in the Office report. Particular attention was paid to the effort which must be made in the domain of research and the creation of specialised research units in the labour administration services in order to allow them to contribute effectively to the formulation of development plans, especially in human resources policy, by having at their disposal precise statistical information co-ordinated with information gathered by other public services.

25. The Employers' members emphasised that, although statistical studies were indispensable, research programmes should also deal with economic and legal questions.

26. For their part, the Workers' members expressed the hope that conclusions on research activity would be published quarterly rather than just annually.



### Labour Inspection

27. It was in this field that the lack of means of action was most severely criticised; mobility was an essential factor for effective control services, which could not carry out their tasks without transport facilities.

28. The Committee unanimously supported the need for an independent labour inspectorate, and described this independence both in terms of legal autonomy and by reference to the position of the courts, and in terms of freedom of action which implied the availability of adequate material means of intervention.

29. Certain Government and Workers' members emphasised the need to distinguish clearly between the labour inspectorate and other services of labour administration, in order to allow the former to concentrate on its duties of controlling conditions of work, especially with respect to safety and health.

30. The relationship between the labour inspectorate and the courts was also mentioned and it was pointed out that the slowness of the judicial process was a factor harmful to the authority of labour inspectors, whose testimony about infringements was often not followed up rapidly enough.

31. Finally, it was underlined that the defects which often arose in the training which labour inspectors had received until now should be corrected by appropriate supplementary programmes; moreover, the constant evolution of industrial techniques led to the recognition of the necessity of continual retraining, especially by means of periodical seminars.

### Technical Co-operation

32. During the discussion references were made frequently and on different occasions to the training requirements which were felt necessary, both for labour administration officials and for officials of workers' organisations, as well as directors of newly created firms, with a view to facilitating the application of social legislation in this sector. The ILO's activities in these different fields were approved and encouraged, within the framework of future prospects which had already been defined by the African Advisory Committee at its Third Session.

### Conclusions

33. At its fourth sitting, the Committee decided to incorporate its conclusions into two resolutions, concerning respectively labour administration, including labour inspection, in Africa, and action by the International Labour Organisation to advance labour administration in African countries. These two resolutions, as well as the present report, were adopted unanimously.

Accra, 16 December 1969.

(Signed) E. J. B. MPYISI,  
Chairman.

H. RIAHI,  
Reporter.

**(3) Resolution concerning Labour Administration, Including Labour Inspection, in Africa, Submitted by the Committee on Labour Administration.**

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**(4) Resolution concerning Action by the International Labour Organisation to Advance Labour Administration in African Countries, Submitted by the Committee on Labour Administration.**

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*(These resolutions were adopted without amendment by the Conference at its ninth sitting.<sup>1</sup> For the texts, see Appendix VII, pp. 207 and 210, Nos. 1 and 2.)*

<sup>1</sup> See Second Part, p. 157.

## APPENDIX V

### Third Item on the Agenda: Technical Co-operation in Africa: Integrated Programme for the Promotion of Adequate National Institutional Arrangements

#### (1) Report Prepared by the International Labour Office.<sup>1</sup>

#### (2) Report of the Committee on Technical Co-operation.<sup>2</sup>

1. The Committee on Technical Co-operation, which was set up by the Conference at its third sitting, on 9 December 1969, was composed of 32 members: 17 Government members, 10 Employers' members and 5 Workers' members.

2. The following were appointed as officers of the Committee:

*Chairman and Reporter:* Mr. Bokonga, Government member, Congo (Kinshasa).

*Vice-Chairmen:* Mr. Bastid, Employers' member, Ivory Coast, and Mr. Grant, Workers' member, Sierra Leone.

3. The representative of the Secretary-General was Mr. Ndisi.

4. In view of the composition of the Committee, each Government member was entitled to 10 votes, each Employers' member to 17 votes and each Workers' member to 34 votes.

5. The Committee held five sittings.

6. The Committee was called upon to examine the third item on the agenda of the Conference: "Technical co-operation in Africa: integrated programme for the promotion of adequate national institutional arrangements." It had before it Report III prepared by the International Labour Office on this subject.

#### General Discussion

7. The representative of the Secretary-General, introducing the report prepared by the Office, explained that it was in the interest of both governments and the ILO that the limited resources available to each for the promotion of economic and social development through technical co-operation should be put to optimum use. The ILO and the other aid-giving agencies were endeavouring to co-ordinate their programmes and their efforts with that in view; it was the task of the Committee to study how governments could for their part best co-ordinate and direct their own efforts towards achievement of the same objective. He drew attention to the major aspects of the question—policy co-ordination, administrative co-ordination and participation of employers' and workers' organisations—and suggested that the Committee might also wish to consider the question of co-ordination at the sub-regional and regional levels.

8. The Workers' group felt that the report did not deal sufficiently with ILO programmes of technical co-operation in Africa generally. However, they strongly supported the proposals contained in the report concerning the participation of employers' and workers' organisations in the planning and implementation of technical co-operation activities, and suggested various means by which these organisations could be enabled to participate more closely in programme

<sup>1</sup> ILO: *Technical Co-operation in Africa: Integrated Programme for the Promotion of Adequate National Institutional Arrangements*, Report III, Third African Regional Conference, Accra, December 1969 (Geneva, 1969). (Offset.)

<sup>2</sup> See Second Part, p. 158.

development within the ILO itself. These included the expansion of relations between the ILO and workers' organisations within Africa and the employment by the ILO of suitably qualified trade unionists in technical co-operation work.

9. The Employers' group considered that, although the report contained valid suggestions, it would have benefited from the inclusion of more factual material and concrete examples to illustrate the different points made.

10. A number of representatives from all groups took exception to the use of the terms " occupational organisations " and " industrial organisations " in the report. If it was intended to cover exclusively employers' and workers' organisations, then more specific terms should be used; if, however, it was intended to embrace other organisations with economic and social interests as well, this should be specified. The general feeling was that for purposes of the discussion only participation by employers' and workers' organisations should be considered. Some Government members, however, felt that other organisations of an economic and social character, such as co-operative organisations, should also be associated with the machinery of technical co-operation planning.

11. The Employers' members also stressed the importance of ensuring sufficient flexibility within the machinery of technical co-operation and of sincere and unreserved co-operation by all concerned in its functioning. They observed that, according to the report, government counterpart contributions to Special Fund projects in Africa exceeded in total the contributions of the international agencies concerned. They considered that the proportions should be reversed and that to this end the ILO should seek more financial aid from donor countries to promote technical co-operation activities in Africa. They also felt that the volume of aid should not be a function of the receiving country's ability to provide counterpart resources. The Employers were particularly interested in the promotion of training in entrepreneurship and small industries and praised the work of the International Centre for Advanced Technical and Vocational Training (Turin) in training management staff. In this connection it was suggested that the ILO should endeavour to promote a closer understanding between the well-established large enterprises, and especially expatriate firms in Africa, and nascent African enterprises to ensure that the former would encourage and assist rather than hinder the development of the latter. Arrangements should also be made to assist African businessmen, in particular by making capital available to facilitate the development of African enterprise. Lastly, representatives of all groups in the Committee urged that the aid-giving agencies should make still greater endeavours to co-ordinate their activities, particularly with regard to the advice they gave to governments on the formulation of, and executing responsibility for, technical co-operation projects.

12. A Government member inquired whether the institutional machinery under discussion was intended specifically to promote the interests of the workers or whether it was to be concerned with economic and social development generally. If the former were the case, then the matter should be handled through national labour ministries; if the latter were the case, however, discussion seemed unnecessary, as most of the countries concerned already had national machinery for the planning and implementation of technical co-operation.

13. The Employers' members observed that employers' and workers' organisations were frequently not invited to associate themselves with technical co-operation projects until these were too far advanced for the organisations themselves to be able to make a significant contribution.

14. A Government member described the benefits which his own country had derived from the establishment of adequate institutional arrangements at the national level. The main problem was that of ensuring that the technical co-operation provided corresponded fully to the goals and priorities of economic development. This implied that the efforts of governments to achieve co-ordination of the work of their different components should be matched by a similar effort to achieve co-ordination on the part of the aid-giving agencies. Lastly, he pointed out that the national authorities responsible for planning and technical co-operation should not try to take over the responsibilities of the technical ministries concerned.

15. A number of members suggested various means whereby the ILO could enhance the quality of the technical co-operation it provided. These included: in the selection of experts,

more attention to language qualifications and to personality as well as technical suitability including, in particular, the ability to adapt to local conditions; security of tenure for experts for the full period necessary for satisfactory completion of their assignments; more emphasis on the training of counterparts from the beginning of operations; greater flexibility in ILO procedures for the provision of technical co-operation; the appointment of ILO country representatives; more emphasis on information and identification missions; and the strengthening of the role of regional advisers.

16. A Workers' member pointed out that, as it was ultimately the employers and workers who actually brought each project to fruition, their organisations should be consulted as of right on all technical co-operation activities from their inception so that they could make a maximum contribution to the success of such activities.

17. Another Workers' member drew attention to the harmful consequences on economic and social development in Africa of the prevalence of political instability and unrealistic policies in some countries, and suggested that this state of affairs was possibly being encouraged by certain advanced countries interested in maintaining their former influence in Africa. He also pointed out that in any developing country a reorganisation of agriculture was a prerequisite for the launching of industrial development, and suggested that the ILO should give more attention to this field. Another Workers' member suggested that an appeal be made to advanced countries to devote part of their expenditure on armaments and space exploration to aid the developing countries. This last suggestion was supported by other Workers' members.

18. One Government member thought that it would be preferable to make the best possible use of existing national institutions concerned with technical co-operation rather than attempt to establish new ones. One way of achieving this was to pay more attention to the qualifications to be required of the personnel of these institutions. Another Government member emphasised the importance of having a single unit to co-ordinate all technical co-operation activities within each country.

19. One member of the Committee suggested that, as economic and social development planning was frequently hindered by lack of adequate social and economic data, the ILO should set up machinery in the countries concerned for the compilation of such data.

20. The representative of the Secretary-General explained that the agenda item under discussion had been taken up at the request of the African Advisory Committee at its Third Session. That Committee had requested that a specific problem of technical co-operation be examined at each ILO meeting at which African States would be represented. The assistance given by ILO to many countries, even those with central economic planning bodies, frequently suffered on account of fragmentation and overlapping of requests and of lack of authority on the part of the central planning authority. Furthermore, the machinery for economic co-operation was not always in a position adequately to secure co-ordination of the social policy aspects of technical co-operation activities. It was recognised that efforts were needed on the part of the aid-giving agencies to co-ordinate their activities with one another, and the agencies concerned were taking steps to achieve this. On the other hand, it had also been felt by the African Advisory Committee and by the Governing Body of the ILO that the weakness of technical co-operation machinery at the national level was also hindering the efficient and harmonious use of available resources. For this reason both bodies had considered it appropriate and desirable to have the subject discussed by the Third African Regional Conference.

#### Discussion of the Proposed Conclusions

21. The Committee then turned to the discussion of the substance of the conclusions contained in paragraphs 89 to 98 of the report prepared by the International Labour Office with a view to establishing a basis for the conclusions to be formulated by the Committee.

22. The Committee appointed its Chairman and two Vice-Chairmen to form a Working Party which would prepare draft conclusions for approval by the Committee.

23. The Workers' members submitted the following points for the consideration of the Committee:

(a) The value of ILO technical co-operation is fully recognised, but the Committee urges that the volume of aid from all sources be greatly expanded.

- (b) Economic development must be accompanied by social development, and one must not be carried out at the expense of the other.
- (c) The Committee is not satisfied that sufficient action is being taken to associate representatives of employers' and workers' organisations with ILO technical co-operation projects, and urges that this should receive high priority.
- (d) The Committee recommends that tripartite national committees should be appointed as soon as possible, to consider the planning of requests for ILO projects, the implementation of projects in operation, and the evaluation of results.
- (e) The recruitment of experts should not be, as at present, confined to persons from government circles. Employers and workers could, if requested, find fully qualified persons, and should be enabled to do so.
- (f) Reports of projects, whether interim or final, should be circulated to employers' and workers' organisations as well as government ministries. In this way, technical co-operation would receive the full and active support of the most representative organisations in each country.

These points were referred to the Working Party.

24. The substance of paragraph 89 was accepted.

25. In connection with paragraph 90 one Government member pointed out that the central co-ordinating unit must have sufficient authority to secure compliance with and implementation of its decisions by the technical ministries concerned. The substance of this paragraph was accepted without further comment.

26. The substance of paragraph 91 was accepted.

27. In connection with paragraph 92, several members reiterated the importance of associating employers' and workers' organisations with all stages of technical co-operation projects. With this comment the substance of paragraph 92 was accepted.

28. On paragraph 93, one Government member pointed out that, as a number of different ministries—including those responsible for labour, finance and economic development—were involved, the machinery of consultation would inevitably be complex if conflicts were to be avoided. On the understanding that complexity should not be allowed to reach a degree at which action was actually hampered, the substance of paragraph 93 was adopted.

29. In connection with paragraph 94, which was accepted, the importance of the contribution made by employers' and workers' organisations was emphasised by one member.

30. Paragraph 95 was accepted without comment.

31. On paragraph 96, several members took exception to the use of the words " industrial associations ", preferring the more specific term " employers' and workers' organisations ". This expressed a feeling, particularly on the Workers' side, that these organisations were the only ones outside government which need be associated with the national technical assistance machinery. It was argued that, as everybody was either an employer or a worker, representation of employers' and workers' organisations would be tantamount to representation of the entire population. It was also stated that employers' and workers' organisations were the only organisations in African countries with a well-established organisational structure of a nationwide character. As against this, some Government members drew attention to the desire expressed in paragraph 94 to have all who can make a real contribution to technical co-operation activities associated with their planning and implementation. It was also pointed out that in many countries workers' organisations represented only a small proportion of the workers in the countries concerned, and that, in countries where a plurality of national workers' organisations existed, inter-union rivalries sometimes made it difficult to associate them effectively with technical co-operation activities. In view of the fact that the situation varied considerably from country to country, the matter was referred to the Working Party with a request to seek a generally acceptable drafting of this point.

32. During the discussion on paragraph 97 a Workers' member recommended that the ILO should form a tripartite team to investigate wastage and duplication in technical co-operation activities. Some Government members considered that the constitution of such a

team might be an infringement of national sovereignty. The Workers' representative of the Governing Body stated that the Governing Body Committee on Operational Programmes regularly evaluated ILO technical co-operation programmes, and that this review sometimes revealed duplication and wastage. Fears were also expressed by some Government members that additional machinery for this purpose might be cumbersome to the point of hampering technical co-operation activities. Reference was made during the discussion to Point 23 of the conclusions contained in the resolution concerning the International Labour Organisation and technical co-operation adopted by the International Labour Conference at its 51st Session (1967). The matter was referred to the Working Party.

33. In reply to a query on paragraph 98, the representative of the Secretary-General explained that the ILO would be prepared, on request, to assist governments, in the fields in which it was competent, to organise their technical co-operation machinery.

34. The conclusions as a whole were referred to the Working Party for reformulation in the light of the discussions.

#### Discussion of a Resolution

35. The Committee examined the resolution concerning the outflow of trained personnel from projects established under ILO technical co-operation, submitted to the Conference by Mr. Baah (Employers' delegate, Ghana), Mr. Gebeyehu (Employers' delegate, Ethiopia), Mr. Georget (Employers' delegate, Niger) and Mr. Richmond (Employers' delegate, Kenya), and referred by the Selection Committee to the Committee on Technical Co-operation for examination.

36. The sponsors of the resolution explained its purpose. It was designed to give expression to a concern, which was widespread among members of the Governing Body Committee on Operational Programmes, over a problem with inter-regional ramifications which was prejudicing the viability of certain projects and had already been brought to the attention of the Joint Inspection Unit.

37. The problem was particularly acute in management training projects. In vocational training projects generally it was less so, as the conditions of service offered to counterparts in project centres were commensurate with those paid by private enterprise for similar work. In management training centres, in contrast, conditions of service of counterparts were often fixed by reference to civil service pay scales, which were usually considerably lower than those of private enterprise. Thus there was a tendency for qualified counterparts to drift back into private industry. The situation was aggravated by the fact that attractive offers were usually made to them only on completion of their training as counterparts, which normally occurred when the assignments of the international experts who had trained them were drawing to a close, i.e. when insufficient time remained to train a replacement counterpart during the life of the project. The resolution was designed to provide the Conference with an opportunity to give the Director-General a mandate to explore the whole problem and propose solutions which would ensure continuity of projects after the departure of the international experts and an adequate return on the investment made in projects.

38. One of the sponsors suggested that the possible measures to be taken might include the following: the spreading of projects over ten or fifteen years instead of the present maximum of five; the placing of centres under the control of a board, comprising representatives of employers' and workers' organisations and with a senior labour ministry official as chairman, and with executive and supervisory rather than advisory powers; the appointment of three or four counterparts to each expert; the provision of additional training to the best counterparts to qualify them for international expert posts; the replacement of international experts by counterparts as soon as possible and the granting to those counterparts of conditions of service similar to those of the experts themselves.

39. A Workers' member observed that general economic conditions and prevailing wage policies might make it difficult in some countries to offer to counterparts conditions of service similar to those of international experts. Another Workers' member pointed out that to obtain certain levels of skills it was necessary to pay world market prices. He suggested that the duration of technical co-operation projects of this kind should not be fixed as at present but should be made indefinite, the project to be subject to periodical review as regards the need for its continuation.

40. An Employers' member and a Government member stressed the need to establish centres on a permanently autonomous basis and suggested that specific mention should be made, in the last paragraph of the resolution, of the need for improved pay and conditions of service.

41. The resolution was adopted unanimously.

42. The discussions of the Committee being completed, the Working Party met to draft conclusions expressing the sense of the views expressed by the Committee.

43. At its final sitting the Committee adopted its report and the conclusions and the resolution which are submitted herewith to the Conference for adoption.

Accra, 16 December 1969.

(Signed) C. BOKONGA,  
Chairman and Reporter.

**(3) Conclusions on the Subject of Technical Co-operation in Africa, Submitted by the Committee on Technical Co-operation.**

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**(4) Resolution concerning the Outflow of Trained Personnel from Projects Established under ILO Technical Co-operation, Submitted by the Committee on Technical Co-operation.**

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*(These documents were adopted without amendment by the Conference at its ninth sitting.<sup>1</sup> For the texts, see Appendix VII, pp. 212 and 215, Nos. 3 and 4.)*

<sup>1</sup> See Second Part, p. 160.

## APPENDIX VI

### Fourth Item on the Agenda: Employment Policy in Africa

#### (1) Reports Prepared by the International Labour Office.<sup>1</sup>

#### (2) Report of the Committee on Employment Policy.<sup>2</sup>

1. The Committee on Employment Policy, which was set up by the Conference at its third sitting on 9 December 1969, was composed of 58 members: 26 Government members, 14 Employers' members and 18 Workers' members.

2. In order to ensure equality of voting strength between the three groups, each Government member had 63 votes, each Employers' member 117 votes and each Workers' member 91 votes.

3. The Committee elected the following officers:

*Chairman:* Mr. Shehata, Government member, United Arab Republic.

*Vice-Chairmen:* Mr. D. A. J. R. Phiri, Employers' member, Zambia, and Mr. Bo-Boliko, Workers' member, Congo (Kinshasa).

*Reporter:* Mr. Cissé, Government member, Senegal.

4. The Committee was appointed to examine the fourth item on the agenda of the Conference, namely "Employment policy in Africa". It had before it Reports IV (1) and IV (2) prepared by the International Labour Office.

5. The Committee held four sittings.

6. At its third sitting the Committee set up a Working Party composed as follows:

*Government members:* Mr. Shehata (United Arab Republic), Chairman; Mr. Cissé (Senegal), Reporter; Mr. Koffi (Ivory Coast); Mr. O. M. Ahmed (Sudan).

*Employers' members:* Mr. Latimer (Mauritius); Mr. Phiri (Zambia); Mr. Sansal (Algeria).

*Workers' members:* Mr. Bo-Boliko (Congo (Kinshasa)); Mr. Briki (Algeria); Mr. Tetteh (Ghana).

The task of the Working Party was to prepare the conclusions of the Committee, having regard to the comments and suggestions made by members of the Committee during the general discussion.

7. In accordance with article 21, paragraph 3, of the Rules concerning the Powers, Functions and Procedure of Regional Conferences, the Committee further set up a Drafting Subcommittee composed of Mr. Shehata, Mr. Phiri and Mr. Bo-Boliko, representing the Government, Employers' and Workers' members of the Committee respectively, and of the Reporter, the representative of the Secretary-General and the Legal Adviser of the Conference.

#### General Discussion

8. The representative of the Secretary-General introduced the report on employment policy prepared by the International Labour Office and mentioned that the long-standing concern felt in Africa about employment had been reflected in recent years in the agendas and proceedings of the African regional bodies of the International Labour Organisation. He recalled in

<sup>1</sup> ILO: *Employment Policy in Africa: Part 1, Problems and Policies; Part 2, Proposals for a Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa*; Reports IV (1) and IV (2), Third African Regional Conference, Accra, December 1969 (Geneva, 1969). (Offset.)

<sup>2</sup> See Second Part, p. 150.



particular that the African Advisory Committee, at its Third Session in Dakar in October 1967, had unanimously proclaimed that any development plan and any economic policy which did not assign to employment policy a major role in the process of growth would be dangerously incomplete and would run the risk of failure sooner or later. Experience in the various parts of the world had shown that economic growth of itself did not necessarily entail any appreciable increase in employment. The incomes and the living standards of the vast masses of the population could only be raised, and the worker given the dignity to which he was entitled, by increasing opportunities for productive work. It was encouraging to note that more and more developing countries were coming to regard employment policy as an essential factor in any policy designed to further the process of development and distribute the benefits of development equitably. At the international level this awareness had been reflected in the adoption in 1966 of the Regional Employment Programme for Latin America and the Caribbean by the Eighth Conference of American States Members of the International Labour Organisation, and in the adoption of the Asian Manpower Plan in 1968 by the Sixth Asian Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation. It now fell to the Third African Regional Conference, if it so desired, to add a third panel to the triptych of the ILO World Employment Programme by adopting the African regional element of that Programme.

9. The Committee expressed general agreement with the analysis of employment and manpower problems and of the measures and policies that should be taken to solve them, contained in Part 1 of the report on employment policy prepared by the Office.

10. Representatives of all three groups voiced their concern at the disquieting increase in unemployment and underemployment, the undue rapid drift from the land to urban areas and the inadequate level of skill in the labour force in their countries, and stressed the urgent necessity of bringing to bear a whole range of tightly co-ordinated measures adapted to the specific conditions in each country. While fully conscious of the complexity of this task, speakers proclaimed their belief that the forceful and sustained implementation of an employment policy would lead to a substantial rise in the level of productive employment and skills among the labour force, thereby contributing decisively to economic and social development in their countries. The Committee made the point that the adoption of an economic and social development programme or plan was a prerequisite for the development of the young African countries, and that employment policy should be fully geared to such programmes or plans.

11. The Committee agreed that, in the conditions now prevailing in the majority of African countries, the rural sector afforded considerable potential for the creation of productive employment in the immediate future. To that end, governments should give the rural sector the highest priority when allocating financial and other resources under economic and social development plans and policies. One Government member thought it was of the highest importance that governments should take all necessary steps to induce private undertakings in the modern sector to invest their surplus funds in the development of the rural sector. That would not be an easy matter, since firms which had plenty of funds at their disposal were frequently under foreign control and also preferred to invest in the urban sector which generally produced faster returns. Workers' members suggested that village regrouping in the context of rural development programmes was often essential and facilitated the creation of an economic and social infrastructure.

12. The need to raise the level of productive investment was not disputed on any side. The Committee considered that political stability was necessary to give confidence both to foreign investors and to the small saver at home, and to ensure the rapid growth of the national economy.

13. The Workers' members expressed the hope that they would have a hand in framing investment codes, particularly with a view to ensuring that foreign investments were not made to the detriment of the interests of local workers in matters of wages, employment creation or training.

14. The incomes policy claimed the attention of several speakers. One Government member expressed the view that any decision to increase the wages of urban workers, who to some extent were a privileged class, should be taken with full regard to the need to raise the real earnings of workers on the land. A Workers' member suggested that the resolution concern-

ing wage policy adopted by the Second African Regional Conference held in Addis Ababa in 1964 should afford the African countries an adequate basis for policy-making in this field.

15. Members were well aware that in most African countries the education and training system was not well geared to the needs of the situation. Whilst there were acute shortages of nationals to fill many skilled occupations, there were many young people with only a general education who could not find employment in the urban areas to which they gravitated in large numbers and where they remained workless for long periods. At the same time there was a great need in the rural areas for those types of skills which would help the rural population to develop the resources they had available and thus improve their standard of living.

16. Several members alluded to the serious problem of the "brain drain" affecting some African countries and expressed the hope that measures would be taken to alleviate it.

17. The general discussion pointed out the disjointed and incomplete nature of the employment policies hitherto pursued in the various countries and the need for national, regional and international action to redirect them and apply them wholeheartedly and consistently.

#### **Proposals for a Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa**

18. The discussion showed general and strong support for the proposals for a jobs and skills programme for Africa presented by the Office. Each Government member contributing to the discussion indicated that his government supported the idea of a programme. Many Government members congratulated the Office on the very high quality of the proposals, saying that they were practical and very closely suited to the needs of African countries. The Workers' members fully supported the proposals, also regarding them as suited to the needs of African countries, and said that they took account of the conclusions adopted by the African Advisory Committee at its Third Session. The Employers' members also fully supported the proposals and congratulated the Office on their quality.

19. The Committee noted that, during the plenary sessions of the Conference, representatives of international and regional organisations expressed support for a jobs and skills programme for Africa and offered the full co-operation of their organisations.

20. Members made a number of observations about the approach to a jobs and skills programme for Africa. Action ought to be oriented towards helping each individual country concerned. Full account ought to be taken of the considerable differences in the problems and the needs of countries. All countries should adopt a strategy for social and economic development which took due account of employment and manpower development.

21. The Committee indicated the need for harmonisation of regional and sub-regional economic plans and for co-operation at all levels amongst African countries and in particular in training activities. Employment problems were difficult to solve and would require efforts to be made over a considerable period. The Committee pointed out that the proper integration of employment policy with other economic and social policies and the active participation by employers' and workers' representatives in the formulation and implementation of employment policy were prerequisites of success. The Employers' members said that unemployment was a problem for all sections of the community and all should work together to try to find solutions. One member stressed the need for national information campaigns aimed at encouraging attitudes in the population at large which would foster a fuller application of its labour and more attention to the development of skills.

22. The Committee considered certain important measures that might be applied to improve the employment situation:

- (a) In allocating investment careful account should be taken of the need to create employment and develop manpower skills. Some members considered that the limited financial resources available would constitute a bottleneck in this regard. The Workers' members stressed the need for adequate control of the private sector, which was often largely in the hands of foreigners.
- (b) Conditions should be introduced which would help the rural population to make more use of their labour. This was essential, not only to lead to better standards of living for the rural population, but also to check the rural exodus and, in turn, urban unemployment. More rapid rural development warranted the highest priority. The finance that could

be made available for this purpose was limited in relation to the great needs and there was a lack of experience in this regard, but these difficulties could be overcome. They discussed various measures to promote rural development, including the development of agriculture, rural settlements, agrarian reform, the decentralisation of industry, self-help schemes, etc. One member said that the ILO might take the initiative in helping countries to set up multi-sectoral rural projects, in which other agencies would co-operate, and introduce ways in which the rural population could be encouraged and helped to work for their own advancement. The Committee unanimously pointed out that stable prices for primary products were a most important factor in promoting rural employment and development.

- (c) Labour-intensive techniques should be used in industry in cases where they were practicable. The Workers' members said that they had changed their attitude to a considerable extent since the Third Session of the Advisory Committee; they now considered that mechanisation was often necessary in industry subject to foreign competition. They emphasised, however, that modern machinery should be used on a two- or three-shift basis so as to provide as much employment as possible. The Employers' members said that the choice of labour-intensive techniques in industry should be highly selective and result from careful study of each case.
- (d) The Workers' members considered that techniques in construction and public works should be labour-intensive and they saw no need for intensive mechanisation.
- (e) The education and training systems, often on the lines of those in industrialised countries and inherited from colonial times, ought to be changed to meet prevailing conditions. Education and training systems should be based on adequate manpower planning. The systems should provide adequate numbers of educated and trained nationals for the modern sector of the economy, but they should also provide the wide range of skills that adults and young people in the rural areas ought to have if the rural population was to experience more rapid social and economic development. The Workers' members pointed out, however, the need to avoid an inferior education and training network in rural areas that would place persons at a permanent disadvantage with those educated and trained in urban areas.
- (f) The Workers' members said that the discrepancy between wages in rural areas and those in urban areas was a most important cause of the rural exodus and in turn urban unemployment. They added that minimum wage rates in rural areas should be increased to equality with urban rates. Employers' members pointed out that large wage increases could result in fewer funds being available for investment and could thus restrict the growth of production and employment.
- (g) Other measures, including those relating to women's employment and training, indicated in Report IV (2), all had an application in some countries.

23. Members emphasised the need for better terms of international trade for African countries and saw this as an important prerequisite for employment growth. One member asked the ILO to do what it could to stop further deterioration in the terms of trade.

24. The Committee considered that some countries would need to make certain modifications to national administrations. There was a need to improve statistical services. Manpower planning units needed strengthening, and countries should designate units in the national administration, working in close collaboration with tripartite technical committees, to assist in matters relating to employment creation.

25. The Committee took into account the fact that certain of the measures to create employment and develop human resources fell, at the international level, within the field of competence of a number of international and regional agencies and that bilateral agencies also had a great interest in them. There should be the closest co-operation between the various agencies in implementing a jobs and skills programme. The Committee called on the other agencies to give their full support to the programme.

26. The Committee called for the greatest possible assistance from the ILO to African countries. The ILO should stimulate action in various ways. It should facilitate national action by advice, training courses and in other ways, and should gear its technical co-operation programme as closely as possible to a jobs and skills programme for Africa. It should also co-

ordinate action in relation to the programme by individual countries and the specialised agencies.

27. The Committee endorsed the idea of an African employment team comprising experts in the various disciplines involved. This team should be clearly charged with the responsibility of helping countries which required such assistance to appraise and modify their policies, to identify the projects that could be implemented and other steps that could be taken to improve the employment situation, and to get those measures into operation and to evaluate results. The team should be decentralised, and its members should be deployed to ILO Area Offices in Africa in such a way as to enable them to render their services to countries requesting such services.

28. The Committee also endorsed the idea of pilot projects, in selected countries, in order to assist the take-off of the Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa. One member asked that counterparts from several countries be associated with a pilot project in a selected country so that they could gain experience of value to their own countries.

29. The Committee decided unanimously to recommend the adoption by the Conference of the resolution annexed to this report.

Accra, 16 December 1969.

*(Signed)* Aly Mohamed SHEHATA,  
Chairman.  
Mamadou CISSÉ,  
Reporter.

**(3) Resolution concerning the Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa, Submitted by the Committee on Employment Policy.**

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*(This resolution was adopted without amendment by the Conference at its ninth sitting.<sup>1</sup> For the text, see Appendix, p. 215, No. 5.)*

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<sup>1</sup> See Second Part, p. 154.

## APPENDIX VII

### Resolutions and Conclusions Adopted by the Conference

#### (1) Resolution concerning Labour Administration, Including Labour Inspection, in Africa.<sup>1</sup>

(Adopted 17 December 1969)

The Third African Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation, meeting in Accra from 8 to 18 December 1969,

Conscious that ministries of labour have a vital responsibility for the promotion of social progress, which is the cornerstone of political stability and should be the purpose of economic development,

Aware that their ability to fulfil this responsibility depends upon the financial and material resources made available to them and upon their status and authority in relation to those of other government departments,

Concerned at the variety and gravity of the social and economic problems stemming from the difficulties encountered by ministries of labour in discharging their responsibility with regard to manpower, labour relations, the application of labour standards and the evolution of labour policies,

Bearing in mind the conclusions adopted by the African Advisory Committee of the International Labour Organisation at its Third Session in Dakar in October 1967;

Adopts the following resolution and recommends the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to transmit it to the African States Members of the International Labour Organisation in order that they may take account of these considerations and apply the principles and measures set forth therein.

#### I. Responsibilities of Labour Administration

1. The development of social policy should constitute one of the major concerns of the policies of each African country, and should be fostered by effective, strong and dynamic ministries of labour participating fully in the process of development planning at the highest level.

2. Social policy should be given the same importance and priority as policy in the fields of finance, economic planning, justice, internal security and foreign affairs, and all appropriate institutional measures should be taken for this purpose.

3. The basic concept of labour administration should reflect the responsibilities falling to the State in respect of equality of opportunity, economic security and social justice for all citizens and should be aimed at increasing the contribution made by labour administration to the political stability, economic prosperity and social progress of the African countries.

4. The labour administration service should be the main body responsible for the formulation of social policy and for its effective implementation. It should not confine its functions to the enforcement of regulations, but should also make its own contribution to raising the national income. For this purpose it should have appropriate structures, methods and resources.

5. Social policy, together with the legislative and administrative action giving effect to it, should be prepared by means of specific studies and permanent research undertaken to deal with the problems which arise, by ascertaining their causes, evaluating their extent, establishing their order of priority and foreseeing their immediate and long-term repercussions.

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<sup>1</sup> See Second Part, p. 157, and Appendix IV, p. 195.

6. The action of labour administration should be based on continuous study and research so that such action corresponds effectively to the social and economic realities of the countries concerned and to their needs.

7. Labour administration should assume a role comprising information, standard-setting and executive services.

8. In no case should it be forgotten that the adoption of a new legal standard, whether as a result of a governmental or parliamentary initiative, is accompanied by measures which go beyond the adoption procedure as such and is preceded by preparatory work for which the labour administration is explicitly or implicitly responsible. Where the prior intervention of tripartite advisory bodies is desirable, the labour administration should play an important part in their functioning. The adoption of legislative texts should be followed, where appropriate, by the adoption of regulations designed to lay down standards for applying the principles set forth in the law and should be supplemented by means of collective bargaining.

9. The labour administration should be enabled to fulfil effectively its traditional responsibilities with regard to labour inspection, industrial relations, employment and vocational training services, social security, wage fixing machinery and occupational safety and health. For this purpose, appropriate measures for the organisation of services should be taken to ensure that these services have a structure corresponding to their respective functions and that their responsibilities are properly defined.

## II. *Structure of Labour Administration Services*

10. Appropriate models should be devised by the competent authority for the organisation of labour administration, taking into account the special needs of the country concerned.

11. Every measure should be taken to bring within the competence of ministries of labour all questions respecting labour and manpower as well as the related services.

12. It would be especially desirable for measures to be taken—

- (a) to grant to the labour administration chief responsibility for manpower and vocational training in collaboration with any of the other administrative departments concerned; and
- (b) to combine under one general labour inspectorate all services for the supervision of the application of laws and regulations relating to labour and to occupational safety and health.

13. Measures should also be taken—

- (a) to ensure, through appropriate hierarchical structures, over-all co-ordination of the activities of ministries of labour at top level;
- (b) to establish research and planning units within labour ministries;
- (c) to establish clear responsibilities for over-all policy and for executive action respectively;
- (d) to organise separately, as soon as possible, labour inspection services, on the one hand, and industrial relations services, on the other;
- (e) to establish within labour ministries appropriate services responsible for employment, placement and vocational training questions, with clear identification of their respective functions; and
- (f) to adopt any further measures required by national circumstances.

14. Statutory representation of ministries of labour on planning bodies should be ensured.

15. Finally, account should be taken of—

- (a) the desirability of providing permanent institutional links with other administrative departments at the national and regional levels, especially regarding economic planning and human resources development; and
- (b) the desirability of co-operation at the local level with other administrative departments with a view to setting up administrative infrastructures in the rural areas and of co-ordination of their activities by appropriate methods, such as exchanges of information and mutual aid between local services.

### III. *Future Perspectives of Labour Administration*

16. The labour administration should be encouraged to extend the scope of its competence progressively to cover the whole of the national work force in such a way that this competence is determined not simply by the nature of the legal relationship between the worker and his employer.

17. Information for employers and workers, as well as for the public in general, should be intensified by recourse to modern techniques for dissemination of information best suited to the sectors for which the information is intended.

### IV. *Labour Inspection*

18. (1) The vital role of labour inspection as an essential area of labour administration should be recognised.

(2) Member States should take all measures to give full effect, through the practical modalities suited to national circumstances, to the provisions of the Labour Inspection Convention, 1947, and the Labour Inspection (Agriculture) Convention, 1969.

19. Labour inspectorates should be assured of all the necessary means, including transport, suitable offices and facilities, for the effective performance of their functions. They should have qualified, responsible, independent, impartial and efficient staff in sufficient numbers.

20. Specialised training programmes for labour inspectors should be regularly organised under an over-all programme for all labour administration services. These programmes should include training in preventive techniques.

21. Particular care should be taken not to overburden labour inspectors with tasks extraneous to their primary duties, which are concerned with the application of labour laws and regulations.

22. Collaboration of the labour inspectorates with employers' and workers' organisations and with representative bodies established at the level of the undertaking should be encouraged.

### V. *Labour Administration and Labour Relations*

23. The labour administration should make efforts to promote the idea and the practice of negotiation, consultation and collaboration.

24. The creation of permanent machinery to establish regular relations between employers' and workers' organisations and to give them the character of fruitful co-operation consistent with their respective contributions to national development should be encouraged. In particular, an effective system of co-operation and consultation should be established between the State and the employers' and workers' organisations with regard to all questions of social policy and labour legislation.

25. Employers' and workers' organisations should lend their support, co-operation and assistance to the labour administration without, however, in any way hampering or restricting freedom of association.

26. Special measures should be taken to assist small undertakings, for example by simplifying the formalities to be observed, by specific efforts to inform heads of undertakings of their obligations and by programmes for training in personnel management and productivity.

### VI. *Labour Administration and Development*

27. It would be desirable to promote all practical measures adapted to the special conditions in Africa to improve the conditions of life and work of rural workers. For this purpose the labour administration should be closely associated with rural development programmes.

28. Studies should be carried out concerning the various obstacles to satisfactory enforcement of standards for the protection of workers.

29. The labour administration, being particularly well qualified to examine in depth questions relating to the utilisation of human resources and to the creation or maintenance of a social climate favourable to development, should participate actively and at the highest level in the functioning of economic and social planning bodies.

30. Regarding employment questions, the labour administration should be made responsible for the establishment of—

- (a) a system for the collection, analysis and dissemination of information on the national and regional employment markets; and
- (b) appropriate machinery for the co-ordination of its activities with those of other departments in the formulation, orientation and elaboration of human resources development programmes, as well as in their implementation.

#### VII. *Budgetary Resources and Personnel Requirements*

31. The labour administration should receive adequate financial resources and material facilities for discharging all its responsibilities effectively.

32. It should have at its disposal competent, responsible and well-paid staff in sufficient numbers.

33. (1) The staff of labour ministries and of all labour administration services in general should be composed of public officials whose status and conditions of service are such that they are assured of stability of employment and are independent of changes of government and of improper external influences.

(2) Subject to any conditions for recruitment to the public service which may be prescribed by national laws or regulations, such staff should be recruited with sole regard to their qualifications for the performance of their duties. The means of ascertaining such qualifications should be determined by the competent authority.

(3) Such staff should be adequately trained for the performance of their duties and measures should be taken to give them appropriate further training in the course of their employment.

34. Senior officials in labour administrations should be able to cope with wider responsibilities and should receive periodical refresher training.

#### **(2) Resolution concerning Action by the International Labour Organisation to Advance Labour Administration in African Countries.<sup>1</sup>**

*(Adopted 17 December 1969)*

The Third African Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation, meeting in Accra from 8 to 18 December 1969,

Convinced of the vital nature of labour administration services in the African countries, including effective services in the fields of labour inspection, industrial relations and employment, and competent research and administrative services,

Conscious of the greatest importance of the policy-making role of strong and dynamic ministries of labour participating fully in the process of development planning at the highest level,

Recalling that ministries of labour have a vital role to play in establishing the structures necessary to make employment programmes effective,

Bearing in mind the conclusions on labour administration, including labour inspection, in Africa, adopted by the African Advisory Committee of the International Labour Organisation at its Third Session in Dakar in October 1967,

Aware of the importance of the role of the International Labour Organisation in pursuing these aims and in helping the African countries in their common efforts to attain high standards of labour administration;

Invites the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to give special attention to programmes of action in the field of labour administration;

#### I

Recommends accordingly that the International Labour Organisation should undertake specific action along the following lines:

<sup>1</sup> See Second Part, p. 157, and Appendix IV, p. 195.



1. As it is necessary to consider international technical co-operation in public administration, and especially in labour administration, as a long-term activity, planned and executed within a regional programme capable of progressively developing towards increasing mutual aid between the African countries, the International Labour Organisation should help, advise and assist these countries towards this end. The Organisation should also, on appropriate occasions, bring this point to the attention of multilateral and bilateral sources of financing technical co-operation programmes.

2. As it is evident that the objective set out in the preceding paragraph and spelled out in those which follow could not be achieved without the financial and administrative support of the governments concerned, the particular attention of recipient governments should be drawn to the fact that their active participation is a necessary condition of the success of these technical co-operation programmes.

3. The International Labour Organisation should seek ways and means to increase the aid granted by the ILO to States requesting it in order to strengthen their labour administration services in general, and their ministries of labour in particular, within the framework of the above-mentioned co-operation:

- (a) by helping to define the role of ministries of labour and to make them key institutions responsible for manpower and labour policy in the process of national development;
- (b) by helping to solve the institutional problems of the labour administration services and those raised by their organisation and operation, either by sending experts to governments or by using regional advisers;
- (c) by arranging, wherever possible, for all assistance to a ministry of labour in various fields to be co-ordinated, in particular by planning integrated projects assured of adequate international financing, negotiated with the government concerned, lasting a number of years and relating to a group of technical fields, such as labour administration, employment, labour relations, labour inspection, wages, safety and health and statistics;
- (d) by assisting the governments concerned in establishing national systems for the training and advanced training of labour administration officials;
- (e) by making available study fellowships to carefully selected national officials;
- (f) by promoting, with the backing of the States concerned and the various international financing bodies, the creation of permanent regional or sub-regional labour administration centres responsible for training, research and possibly mutual aid and supporting their operation.

4. (1) For this purpose the International Labour Organisation should continue, expand and establish on a permanent basis the English- and French-language programmes which it has already undertaken.

(2) In this connection—noting that the activities of the French-speaking African Regional Labour Administration Centre at Yaoundé may soon receive increased financing from the United Nations Development Programme—the Conference regards this as a very positive development and hopes that it will receive the active support and participation of the recipient governments. On this basis, the International Labour Organisation should continue and increase the activities of this Centre.

(3) The regional courses and seminars for English-speaking labour administrators—which the ILO has already organised under its regular programme of technical co-operation, in implementation of the recommendation on this point made by the African Advisory Committee at its Third Session—having established a sound technical basis for a more long-term and expanded programme, it would be desirable to establish such a programme on a fuller scale, with the support of the governments concerned. The objectives of the programme should be to give initial and advanced training to ministry of labour officials, to render assistance from a regional centre to the governments concerned with a view to the strengthening of labour administration institutions, to undertake studies and research in the same field, and when appropriate to extend training to employers' and workers' representatives. On the basis of appropriate government support ways and means should be sought of obtaining increased international assistance, for example through the United Nations Development Programme.

The aim should be the establishment of an English-speaking African Labour Administration Centre.

(4) Workers' education programmes should also receive priority attention in the regional technical co-operation programmes of the International Labour Organisation.

5. The International Labour Organisation might usefully pursue its plans to arrange in the near future, in co-operation with the United Nations Development Programme and other international organisations concerned, a round table for African representatives of planning authorities or ministries of economic affairs and ministries of labour and, if appropriate, the occupational organisations. Other programmes, including meetings and technical co-operation, might follow this project with the aim of integrating ministries of labour in the process of development planning, preferably through statutory representation of such ministries on the bodies responsible for planning. Such programmes should be evolved in the context of the principles spelled out in paragraph 4 above. In addition, a special effort should be made to co-ordinate them with the Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa.

6. The programme of study and research already undertaken by the International Labour Organisation with a view to defining the role of labour administration in economic and social progress and revealing the institutional factors of interaction between wealth and welfare should be continued and broadened. A further objective should be to facilitate the solution of practical problems encountered by the administrative services concerned.

7. The International Labour Organisation should study the manner in which national labour administration services might assist in the application of social labour standards in small undertakings and in economically weak sectors.

8. The International Labour Organisation should initiate a programme of study of actual experiments made by developing countries, including the African countries, in extending the scope of labour administration services to cover workers other than wage earners. The possibility of arranging a round table on the problems of labour administration in rural areas, which would provide an opportunity for a dialogue between ministries of labour and other ministries concerned with agriculture or rural development, should be envisaged.

9. The information function of ministries of labour should be studied and publicised. Particular attention should be given in the programmes of the International Labour Organisation to experiments in this field.

10. At all stages of development of the World Employment Programme, and of its African component in particular, the International Labour Organisation should pay special attention to bringing about, through its labour administration programmes, the institutional and administrative improvements necessary to the success of national employment programmes, especially where ministries of labour are concerned.

## II

The Conference urges all African States Members of the International Labour Organisation to co-operate fully in the implementation of the programme set out above.

### (3) Conclusions on the Subject of Technical Co-operation in Africa.<sup>1</sup>

*(Adopted 17 December 1969)*

The Third African Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation, meeting in Accra from 8 to 18 December 1969,

Draws the attention of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to the following conclusions on the subject of technical co-operation in Africa.

#### *(a) Conclusions concerning Technical Co-operation in General*

1. The Conference welcomes the substantial increase in the volume of technical co-operation activities, particularly those of the ILO, and in the proportion of such activities devoted to economic and social development in Africa during recent years; but nevertheless

<sup>1</sup> See Second Part, p. 160, and Appendix V, p. 201.

considers that the volume of such activities still falls far short of the actual needs of the developing countries and urges that the volume of development aid from all sources be substantially increased.

2. The Conference recommends that, in fixing the volume of technical co-operation to be provided to a country, due regard be given to the scale and urgency of needs as well as to the country's ability to provide counterpart resources for technical co-operation projects.

3. The Conference urges governments, in the planning of technical co-operation activities, to take fully into account the whole range of fields in which the ILO can offer assistance in the promotion of economic and social development.

4. The Conference urges governments to spare no effort to secure the services of suitable counterparts before technical co-operation projects begin and to retain them once international assistance terminates in order to establish a sound basis for the subsequent operation of those projects. It also expresses the wish that all experts, from whatever country, should conserve all rights previously acquired in their countries, for instance in regard to social security and stability of employment.

5. Lastly, the Conference considers that the endeavours made by governments to integrate technical co-operation activities into their economic and social development programmes can only be successful if the aid-giving agencies are successful in their own efforts to co-ordinate their activities and simplify their procedures for the provision of technical co-operation.

*(b) Conclusions concerning National Institutional Arrangements for Technical Co-operation*

6. The effective integration of multilateral and bilateral technical co-operation activities into national programmes for economic and social development can only be achieved where appropriate institutional arrangements for co-ordination and consultation exist at the national level.

7. While it is recognised that such co-ordination can best be achieved by a single body within the central government, with sole responsibility for integrating all external technical co-operation and ensuring that all interested bodies within the country concerned—and in particular employers' and workers' organisations—are consulted as appropriate, it is imperative to ensure that this central body is fully responsive to the social purposes of economic development.

8. The nature and form of the co-ordination and consultation machinery will naturally depend upon prevailing political, economic and administrative circumstances in the country concerned, but in all cases it should be so planned as to increase the efficiency of co-ordination at all stages of economic and social policy to permit the mobilisation of all available resources, starting with those of the country itself. It should also seek to reduce duplication of effort and wastage to a minimum and provide for centralised co-ordination and review of all offers of technical co-operation. On the other hand, it should refrain from duplicating normal functions of technical ministries.

9. The co-ordination and consultation body should be placed at a level in the machinery of government sufficiently high to protect it from undue influence by a particular ministry or political authority in the determination of priorities or when arbitrating in the event of conflicts of interest and to guarantee for it sufficient authority to ensure compliance with its decisions by the governmental and other units concerned.

10. The co-ordination and consultation machinery should be closely linked with the machinery for economic development planning, and may even form part of the latter, in order to secure the better integration of technical co-operation activities into economic and social development programmes.

11. The process of consultation and co-ordination should not be confined to the planning of technical co-operation activities but be extended to the implementation of these projects and include a regular review and evaluation of progress.

12. To ensure realism in planning the mobilisation of resources as well as clear and concerted thinking on the policy-making side and continuous and fruitful action on the

technical and administrative side, exchanges of information and consultations should be organised on a systematic basis between the co-ordination machinery and the other governmental institutions and administrative departments concerned, including the finance ministry.

13. The ministries and departments concerned with labour and social affairs should be associated with all consultations in view of their role in the harmonisation of the efforts being made simultaneously to promote economic expansion, increase national output and raise the standard of living of the population. The nature of such consultations will depend upon practice in the country concerned and other circumstances but should be conceived with a maximum of flexibility, and the procedures should not be allowed to become so cumbersome as to delay action.

14. Co-operation machinery should provide for the participation, in addition to that of the governmental institutions and administrative departments mentioned earlier, of employers' and workers' organisations at all stages, as without their participation the machinery can neither work effectively nor be properly integrated. Such participation might be effected, *inter alia*, through the establishment of national committees of tripartite composition for the planning, implementation and evaluation of technical co-operation activities.

15. The machinery of consultation and co-ordination should be so designed as to offer scope for exploring and extending the possibilities for co-operation with other countries on a bilateral, multilateral, sub-regional or regional basis.

(c) *Conclusions concerning Action by the ILO in the Field of Technical Co-operation*

16. The Conference recommends that the ILO's technical co-operation activities should be conceived, planned and implemented with the furtherance of ILO principles and standards in mind.

17. The ILO is making a substantial contribution to economic development through its programme of human resources development but in so doing it should not allow an imbalance to develop between that programme and those relating to general conditions of work and life and social institutions development. The Conference urges the ILO to see that due emphasis is laid on these two programmes in the planning of its over-all technical co-operation programmes.

18. Within the programme of human resources development the Conference recommends that the ILO give particular attention to the promotion of African small and medium enterprises.

19. The Conference also notes with satisfaction the ILO's efforts in the training field, and in particular the work being done by the Turin International Centre for Advanced Technical and Vocational Training in the training of trainers and managerial personnel for African countries. It expresses the wish that the Centre be endowed with greater financial resources provided on a regular basis to enable it to give more attention to the organisation of courses corresponding more closely to the immediate needs of African countries and the qualifications of the candidates available.

20. The Conference welcomes the efforts made by the ILO, through its workers' education programme, to facilitate training of workers for responsible participation in the planning, implementation and evaluation of technical co-operation activities, and expresses the wish that this programme should be strengthened and expanded, especially in order to enable trade union leaders to discharge their responsibilities for economic development in an effective manner.

21. To permit a speedy and flexible response to government requests for assistance the ILO should consider the establishment of a pool of experts available at all times to be sent to assist requesting governments as needed.

22. Within the framework of the evaluation of technical co-operation programmes it would be desirable to examine all measures which would enable the Governing Body to associate its members, on a tripartite basis, in the evaluation of projects implemented by the ILO.

**(4) Resolution concerning the Outflow of Trained Personnel from Projects Established under ILO Technical Co-operation.<sup>1</sup>**

*(Adopted 17 December 1969)*

The Third African Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation, having met in Accra from 8 to 18 December 1969,

Noting with satisfaction the results achieved by the technical co-operation activities of the ILO in developing countries, as reflected in particular in the establishment of various training and analogous centres which constitute an essential factor in economic and social development,

Stressing the need to ensure the smooth running and proper development of such centres by appropriately trained nationals, once a project is completed,

Recognising the need for retaining in the centres the services of national counterparts duly trained by international experts in the course of project implementation in order that the centres be run successfully and independently on completion of the project,

Considering that the departure which has often occurred of trained national counterparts from the centres to take up assignments offering them better prospects within the country, independently of the problems of the brain drain, is detrimental to the continuity of the work of technical co-operation, thereby seriously compromising the commendable results achieved in setting up the centres,

Stressing the urgent need to solve this problem by offering adequate security of tenure and remuneration to trained national counterparts, under conditions which compare favourably with the terms and prospects offered by industrial undertakings in the country,

Recalling the resolution concerning the promotion of adequate national institutional arrangements, particularly the association of workers' and employers' organisations, in relation to technical co-operation activities of the International Labour Organisation at national, regional and international levels, adopted by the International Labour Conference at its 52nd Session (1968);

Invites the Governing Body of the ILO to request the Director-General—

- (a) to investigate the problem of the departure of counterparts and to report to it on—
  - (i) the extent and causes of such outflow;
  - (ii) the resulting prejudicial effects on the continuity of projects completed under the operational programmes of the ILO; and
- (b) to suggest measures aimed at preventing this outflow.

Invites member States to take appropriate measures in order to guarantee the stability and the necessary continuity and autonomy of the bodies managing the centres which have been completed under the ILO technical co-operation programmes in close consultation with the employers' and workers' organisations of their country.

**(5) Resolution concerning the Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa.<sup>2</sup>**

*(Adopted 17 December 1969)*

The Third African Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation, meeting in Accra from 8 to 18 December 1969,

Considering the employment situation in African countries,

Noting with great concern the lack of productive jobs in both urban and rural areas in the countries of the region and the current trends of unemployment and underemployment,

Being aware that even relatively high rates of economic growth do not necessarily lead to reduced unemployment nor to conditions which would enable the great masses of the people to apply their labour to their own social and economic advancement,

Noting the lack of the manpower skills necessary to enable the urban and rural populations to work more effectively and to make the best use of the natural and other resources at hand,

<sup>1</sup> See Second Part, p. 160, Appendix I, p. 181, Appendix III, p. 190, and Appendix V, p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> See Second Part, p. 154, and Appendix VI, p. 206.

Noting further the limited success of national and international efforts hitherto made towards social and economic development as regards the creation of productive employment for large sections of the population,

Considering that the World Employment Programme should be an essential component of the Second United Nations Development Decade and that the International Labour Organisation should seek the co-operation in its execution of all agencies in the United Nations family concerned,

Considering that under its constitutional mandate the International Labour Organisation should stimulate and seek co-ordinated action in the furtherance of the goals of the World Employment Programme,

Strongly believing that effective policies for the more rapid development and fuller utilisation of manpower are urgently needed to increase production in urban and rural areas,

Considering that employment policy should be linked to a wages and incomes policy, since wages fulfil both an economic and a social function; and that it would be desirable for countries to be better informed about the level at which wages should be situated in order that both of these functions may be fulfilled, and that in any case wages should enable workers and their families to have a decent standard of living,

Considering further that both the Employment Policy Convention, 1964, and the Employment Policy Recommendation, 1964, call upon each Member of the Organisation to declare and pursue, as a major goal, an active policy designed to promote full, productive and freely chosen employment, by methods that are appropriate to national conditions and practices, and in consultation with representatives of employers and workers and other persons affected,

Bearing in mind the conclusions adopted by the African Advisory Committee of the International Labour Organisation at its Third Session in Dakar in October 1967, concerning employment policy in Africa and envisaging the concept of a Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa,

Convinced that the need for countries of the region to take further action, as appropriate to the circumstances of the individual country, to attain the highest possible level of productive employment is of the greatest urgency and a matter that warrants the highest priority, and

Fully realising that concerted and vigorous efforts need to be made over a long period of time;

## I

Hereby endorses and adopts the Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa as a framework for national, regional and international action concerning employment and manpower policies and programmes in order to accelerate the creation of productive jobs and the development of manpower skills;

## II

Urges each country of the region—

- (a) to accept the attainment of the highest level of productive employment as a major political aim and as a firm and lasting commitment to be made known through a clear and widely publicised declaration for the guidance of the national administration, employers and workers, economic and social research institutes and all concerned;
- (b) to ratify, at the earliest possible date, the Employment Policy Convention, 1964, where it has not already done so;
- (c) to take appropriate steps to ensure that the importance of maximised productive employment is taken fully into account in all decisions concerning general economic policy;
- (d) to reappraise and modify as appropriate in the light of their effects on employment and on manpower development existing policies covering such matters as investment policy, education and training, rural development, industrial technology, construction and public works, mobility of labour, wages and other incomes, hours of work, employment of women, special youth employment and training schemes and action affecting the size of the labour force;
- (e) to take measures—including land reform, where appropriate—properly integrated and co-ordinated with the rest of economic and social policy, which will foster the conditions necessary for the rural population to work for the development not only of farming and other activities in which they are customarily engaged but also of better nutrition,

housing, transport facilities, industry and handicrafts, rural welfare services, etc., which will improve living conditions in rural areas and tend to check the rural exodus;

- (f) to ensure that its manpower planning machinery advises on adapting the education and training system so that it provides adequate manpower skills not only in urban areas, but also for accelerated development in rural areas;
- (g) to ensure that, through proper training and other means, the staff of each ministry concerned are able to take due account of the imperatives of employment creation and of the development of manpower skills in fields within its competence;
- (h) to strengthen the national statistical services and to undertake analytical studies so that they can provide adequate information for the formulation and evaluation of employment and manpower policies;
- (i) to designate at a high level in the national administration a unit, assisted by a tripartite technical committee, which will—
  - (i) help to develop, stimulate and co-ordinate measures to create productive jobs;
  - (ii) evaluate such measures;
  - (iii) evaluate on a continuing basis the progress being made; and
  - (iv) serve as a focal point for matters relating to the Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa; and
- (j) to encourage co-operation among the countries of the region so as to foster the growth of employment and the development of manpower skills;

### III

Urges the developed countries of the world—

- (a) to lend full support to the African countries in accelerating their economic and social development and the creation of productive employment;
- (b) to this end, through trade agreements and similar arrangements, to promote a greater sharing by the African countries in the growth of world trade and to secure remunerative prices for their primary products;
- (c) to make available to them their experience and expertise in dealing with employment and manpower problems;
- (d) to reorientate their programmes of financial and technical assistance, in agreement with the countries concerned, towards the goal of increasing productive employment (for instance in appropriate cases by assigning a high priority to rural development projects, by the use of labour-intensive techniques of production and by the provision of loans at reasonable rates of interest) and of developing manpower skills; and
- (e) to take all the necessary steps with a view to imparting an appropriate training to African nationals working in developed countries;

### IV

Calls on other international organisations and regional organisations—

- (a) to give full support and assistance to the Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa in their respective fields of competence in a co-ordinated effort to deal with employment and manpower problems;
- (b) to review their own programmes of financial and technical assistance with the aim, where practicable, of making a greater impact on the creation of productive employment and on the development of human resources in urban and rural areas;

### V

Invites the Governing Body of the International Labour Office—

- (a) to provide adequate resources enabling the Organisation to discharge effectively its responsibilities in the implementation of the Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa within the framework of the World Employment Programme;

- (b) to request the Director-General—on the basis of the conclusions adopted by the African Advisory Committee of the International Labour Organisation at its Third Session in Dakar in 1967 concerning employment policy in Africa, and of Report IV (2) concerning employment policy in Africa submitted to the Third African Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation—to provide assistance for the development in individual countries, as requested by them—and particularly by countries which have indicated their desire to give priority to the objectives of the World Employment Programme of the International Labour Organisation—of employment and manpower policies, plans and programmes, taking into account international principles, standards and experience and adapted to the needs and conditions of the countries concerned, by—
- (1) providing teams of high-level consultants or individual consultants in order—
    - (i) to bring the best international expertise available to bear on problems of carrying out a reappraisal and reorientation of policies towards the employment goal;
    - (ii) to assist in the drawing-up of a programme of short- or long-term national action enabling a higher level of productive employment to be attained in the reasonably near future; and
    - (iii) to suggest ways and means by which industrialised countries and international agencies could help in the achievement of this goal;
  - (2) establishing an African employment team to assist, among other things, in responding to requests and in implementing plans of action, including pilot projects;
  - (3) conducting research and organising the exchange of information on research projects;
  - (4) organising seminars, symposia and training programmes to enable national officials and representatives of employers' and workers' organisations to acquire and exchange experience;
  - (5) seeking the closest co-operation of the other international and regional organisations concerned, in particular the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the African Development Bank and the United Nations Development Programme and of bilateral and other programmes of aid to African countries;
  - (6) reporting at least once a year to the Governing Body and informing members of the African Advisory Committee on the activities undertaken or contemplated and the progress achieved.



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