

YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT : THE ROOT CAUSE

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Mr. Chairman, Commonwealth Secretary-General, Honourable Ministers and fellow Parliamentarians, leaders of delegations, distinguished delegates, ladies and gentlemen.

I feel greatly honoured to address this august Conference of Young Commonwealth Leaders here in Colombo today. Two years ago, I had the honour to lead my country's delegation to that first and historic meeting of Young Commonwealth Leaders held in Ocho Rios, Jamaica. The Ocho Rios meeting bore out the fact that young people in leadership positions in Commonwealth countries have positive ideas on how human life should be managed on this planet Earth, and that it is not the monopoly of elders alone to prescribe what should be done. Indeed such a pan-Commonwealth Meeting was long overdue because if there is truth in the maximum that the future is in the hands of the young, it was imperative that youth should be given a forum on which to prescribe for such a future. The historic Ocho Rios Declaration, which distinguished delegates have had the opportunity to read, clearly spelled out what the youth of the Commonwealth want our elders to know and do, and what we ourselves are dedicated to achieve in making life better for everybody regardless of race, sex, creed or age. At Ocho Rios we demanded full youth representation in all the structures which decide the fates of our localities, our countries and the entire world, knowing that youth everywhere constitute the majority. We denounced all forms of oppression wherever it exists, including in the still-unliberated areas in Southern Africa, and we demanded socio-economic justice everywhere and a New International Economic Order in the world community. In articulating and laying down a blueprint for the world we want, the Ocho Rios Meeting stands out in the history of the Commonwealth as an important landmark.

This second meeting is historic in its own right. Not only is it historic in that it is a follow up of Ocho Rios, but it has committed itself to picking up in more concrete terms from where Ocho Rios left off. The Ocho Rios Declaration could not be more than a declaration of intent on the part of youth. This Conference is now called upon to deal in concrete terms, with concrete problems facing youth and the entire world society. Indeed, there could be no more relevant subject to deal with at this Conference after our boldness at Ocho Rios, than the subject of Youth Unemployment and the New International Economic Order. It cannot be over-emphasized that the future of world peace and prosperity depends on how we respond and react to the demands of these closely interrelated subjects. Additionally, there could be no better forum than this meeting, coming as it does as a follow-up to Ocho Rios. Given the geographical, cultural and political diversity of the Commonwealth, this pan-Commonwealth meeting is a perfect microcosm of the entire world - the level at which such problems have to be tackled and solutions found.

I have been called upon to be one of the lead speakers on the subject "Youth Unemployment". Mr. Chairman, I wish to declare at the very beginning that I am the least qualified to speak on this subject, for I am neither an expert on youth affairs nor an expert on economic matters of which "unemployment" is a major concern. Nevertheless I have accepted the invitation to speak because I wanted to reciprocate the gesture of great respect extended to me and my country by the Commonwealth Secretariat, to whom I am very grateful.

Honourable delegates will pardon me if they expected from me an expert address. Indeed, I have a feeling that even the Commonwealth Secretariat itself did not want an expert treatise of the subject, for if it did, it could have consulted one of the many experts with proven academic reputation on this topic with whom it is in contact, some of whom are with us at this Conference. What I am going to express in this address are the views of a young politician, such as I am, whose aim is merely to put what is widely known about youth unemployment in to a political context, and to underscore the political imperative for its solution. What I shall be concerned with here is not a list of projects and programmes on how to combat youth unemployment, but the underlying causes and the strategies for overcoming the problem. With this approach I cannot but offer you mere generalisations. As such I shall avoid all the professional pretences of quoting data and statistics except where it is absolutely inescapable. Indeed, the onus is squarely on the great minds assembled at this Conference to analyse this major problem and subsequently identify innovative measures for coming to grips with the problem. In this regard the Commonwealth Secretariat has taken a commendable step by preparing and circulating a detailed background paper on youth unemployment. This saves a layman like myself from having to propose detailed and data-loaded projects and programmes on this question of youth unemployment. I have to beg your patience and tolerance in advance because the views I am going to express may be rather unorthodox, and may possibly offend some of the audience. Nevertheless I take consolation in the knowledge that one remarkable characteristic of the Commonwealth is its unique ability to grow stronger and stronger with unity and understanding among its members, despite the cultural, political and even ideological diversity among them. Thus, if in the task ahead of this Conference I have somehow provoked you to contribute your views on the problem, particularly if you disagree with my point of view, I shall feel satisfied that my coming all the way to Colombo was worth while.

Mr Chairman, no evidence or data are needed to prove that there is youth unemployment all over the world as the problem is universally acknowledged. An ILO study has estimated that in the so-called Third World countries alone by 1980 there will be more than 300 million people seeking employment while there will be employment only for 80 million in agriculture and 20 million in industries, leaving a net figure of 200 million unemployed people. Assuming that over 60 per cent of these people will be youths, we may have over 150 million youths unemployed in the underdeveloped countries of the Third World. Taking one country alone, India, it is estimated that in 1978 three million youths were graduating from schools while there were jobs for only 900,000 in the modern sector and 350,000 in agriculture, leaving more than 1.5 million youth unemployed. Further available figures indicate that in Britain, out of a total unemployment of over 1.5 million people, over 739,469 are youths under the age of 30 years, and in Canada out of a total unemployment of about 1 million people, over 431,000 are youths under the age of 25 years. In my own country, Tanzania, an ILO-JASPA Report estimates that between 1875 and 1985, the urban and rural labour force will increase by about 240,000 and two million respectively. This means that during this ten-year period an

average of about 24,000 additional employment opportunities in urban areas and 200,000 in rural areas will have to be created every year to absorb the additional labour force. Alarming as these figures may be, there is every indication that this problem grows bigger and bigger as the number of unemployed increases. Needless to say, such large numbers of people without adequate means of acquiring the necessities of life like food, shelter and clothing, cannot be expected to accept their position as God-given, and the prevalence of "anti-social behaviour" like crime is just one manifestation of their struggle for a decent existence.

It seems to me that we shall miss the point if in our discussions we continue to talk of youth unemployment as if it is itself the primary problem whose effects we should seek to alleviate. We should find out the cause of which the problem of unemployment itself is a mere effect. Once the root cause is firmly established we should not only seek to "alleviate" the effects of youth unemployment but we should be able to deal with the problem at source. It is my conviction that basically the entire phenomenon of unemployment - youth or otherwise - is a manifestation of a faulty socio-economic structure prevailing in the various countries of the Commonwealth and the entire world, and that the only way to overcome the faults lies in a commitment to change such socio-economic systems within the nation states and correct relations between them. In many of the advanced countries of the Commonwealth and the rest of the world the socio-economic system operates from the basic assumption that the prime mover of the economy is capital rather than labour. In such a system there can be no social objective to make use of all available labour power, and of necessity, high unemployment is a concomitant phenomenon. Wherever there is a fall off in production it is labour power which is easily dispensed with, thus creating more unemployment. In such economies there are no social objectives for the proper utilization of labour since the economy operates on the basis of minimum expenditure and maximum profit for the few multinationals which control and manipulate it. Production is not planned to meet social needs and inevitably a point is reached where the market at home and abroad becomes unable to absorb the consequent stockpile of goods, thus creating many problems for the economy, including unemployment. Where this kind of socio-economic setup operates there is economic growth without equitable income distribution. Such economies have big per capita figures but these figures conceal the vast difference between the few very rich who wallow in abundance, conspicuous consumption and waste, and the increasing numbers of people - especially young people - who live in abject poverty, without a future in the labour market.

The Chairman of the British Youth Council, Mr. Peter Mandelson is reported to have described the plight of British Youths thus: "We are educated to expect fulfilling work to do when we leave school but find ourselves in the most menial and poorest paid jobs, or without jobs at all". Unemployment is an integral part of such economies, indeed, some apologists of the system hail unemployment as "a sign of a healthy economy". Whatever measures are taken in this situation to combat unemployment will be mere palliatives. If those measures fall short of fundamentally changing the socio-economic setup itself. In certain countries where the economic setup resembles the description I have outlined, governments do help by undertaking "generous innovations" to combat youth unemployment, as the background paper prepared by the Secretariat indicates. Measures include "job creation projects" for the youths; elsewhere youths organize to create jobs for themselves. It is said that in Canada the youths assisted by the Government have been able to create over 250,000 jobs, and similar "job creation projects" are undertaken in other countries. Indeed the Commonwealth Youth Programme itself has already decided to establish a fund to help in job creation projects. I do

commend such efforts and I congratulate the C.Y.P., these governments, and those youths youths who undertake innovative measures. But this does not alter my conviction that such measures will be no more than "youth rescue operations" to borrow the terminology of Prof. Hall. Such "operations" can be tried in succession while the problem of youth unemployment remains if its root cause is not tackled - the faulty socio-economic structure.

I cannot but think that if the youths in the advanced countries, whose economic setup is as outlined, are serious in their battle against unemployment, they will continue in the short term with their job creation projects and other government supported innovative measures. But in the long term they will have to launch an assault on the economic and political establishments of their countries and demand a socio-economic system which is responsive to the needs of the entire population including the youths. This should not be interpreted as a call for violent revolution. Certainly the means by which change is affected will differ from country to country and it is obvious that those demanding change will have to use the best means possible in their own circumstances. Whatever means are used to effect a fundamental changes in the socio-economic structure, a necessary prerequisite is a massive political education campaign to arouse the political awareness of the youths to help them claim their rights and exercise their power to create a better society for themselves. According to available literature, British youths, under the British Youth Council's "new look" programme, are undergoing this politicisation but whether the exercise will lead the British Youths to demand a fundamental change in the way their society operates remains to be seen. What is indisputable is that politicised youths who are properly organized with a clear commitment to change can be a power which no political system can ignore.

In the so-called developing countries, no less than in the advanced countries, the cause of unemployment is also to be found in the socio-economic system. In these countries unemployment is a result and a symptom of underdevelopment, which is itself an effect of a faulty socio-economic structure in which the major levers of the world economy are controlled by the multi-nationals of the metropolitan countries. This situation has its explanation in the history of the colonial domination which these countries have undergone. It is unnecessary to narrate here the colonial history of the so-called developing countries of Africa, Asia and South America (the Caribbean included), a history very familiar to all of us. Suffice it to say that during this period the basis of the present system was structured: the dominated countries are the sources of cheap raw materials for the metropolitan industries and the ready markets of the industrial goods manufactured in those industries. Indeed one can say that the seeds of the present underdevelopment of these so-called developing countries were sown during this period. It is true the colonial domination of the 19th Century is a thing of the past, but true only in the political sense, since the economic relationship between the former colonies and the metropolitan countries has remained basically the same as in the heyday of colonial history. Generally speaking the economies of the so-called developing countries are no more than appendages to the economies of the metropolitan countries. Without going to great details which are more familiar to the economists, the major characteristic of the economies of underdeveloped countries is a dualism whereby there is a small "modern sector" consisting of commercial and industrial establishments, and a larger "traditional sector" of agriculture. The so-called "modern sector" is foreign oriented, comprising mere offshoots of the multinationals headquartered in the metropolises. The industrial and commercial activities undertaken realize lucrative dividends to the metropolitan multinationals. Marketing manufactured

goods or assembling machinery manufactured in the metropoloes have nothing to do with the "development" of the countries in which these offshoots are situated. The size and nature of this "modern sector" and its activities, including conspicuous consumption by its operators, only excite the local population to dream of a better life in the employment of these multinationals, which in actual fact absorb only an insignificant proportion of the available labour. At the same time the "traditional sector" is characterized by subsistence farming due to lack of technology and other modern methods of agriculture. Although this sector contains the majority of the population, due to the seasonal character of farming there is actually underemployment during a greater part of the year. Furthermore, this "traditional sector" is characterised by emphasis on "cash crops" which are demanded by the metropolitan countries, thus fulfilling the role of the underdeveloped countries as suppliers of raw materials to the metropolitan economies. Because of the many negative features of this agricultural sector, including its monocultural setup, it is unable to ensure full employment for all the people. The fact that the prices of agricultural commodities are determined by the so called "world market" (which is controlled and manipulated by the multinationals, with the golden rule that the prices of agricultural commodities always decline in relation to the rising prices of manufactured goods) means that the peasants become poorer as they sweat more, forcing some of them to seek a better life in the towns. That is why rural-urban migration is a common feature of underdeveloped countries. And because the modern sector, due to its limitations, is unable to absorb this influx, rural-urban migration aggravates unemployment in the urban centres, and indeed in the whole economy.

In the underdeveloped countries no less than the advanced countries, a high level of political awareness is required of the youths and the entire population to realize this basic cause of their unemployment problem. Without this awareness it is very easy to be deceived into thinking that the basic cause of unemployment, or indeed underdevelopment itself, is the so-called "population explosion". Even if it were true, as some pundits of economics argue, that a very high rate of population growth somehow negatively effects "economic growth", this cannot be accepted as the basic reason for unemployment or underdevelopment. Indeed, some researchers in the economic history of Europe tell us that the industrial revolution - a very significant phenomenon in economic development - took place in Europe amid increasing rates of population growth. Despite all the noise about "population explosion" in the so-called Third World countries, very few of these countries come near the high population densities in the advanced countries. There are some countries in the world, though few, which have very high population figures but do not experience "unemployment", whereas there are many countries with lower populations which do experience unemployment. While this is not an attempt to belittle the efforts of national and international organizations which advocate and help in population control, it is my conviction that while it is useful to exercise some control and planning in population growth, the best way to combat unemployment and underdevelopment itself is to restructure the economy so that all the forces of production are fully exploited in the interest of the people in the countries concerned.

Thus, in order to arrest underdevelopment and its manifestation of youth unemployment, the underdeveloped countries should focus their attention on the five basic strategies, which in the interest of brevity I shall mention without details. Towards the end of my address I shall quickly refer to the approach which my country Tanzania has taken in relation to these issues. First and most basic, the underdeveloped countries should seek to change the economic

structure that has been imposed on them by colonial history with the characteristics I have previously described. The economic structure should change from being export-oriented, foreign-controlled and behaving like a mere appendage and backyard to the economies of the metropolitan countries, with the agricultural and industrial sectors not related to each other in the interest of local development, to a national economic structure in which the industrial and agricultural sectors are integrated into a self-sustaining economic whole which is geared to making full use of all the available forces of production to meet the material interests of the people. In other words the developing countries should pay primary attention to the requirement of "the indigenisation of the economy" in the form best suited to their local circumstances. Contrary to what the multinationals feel, such action is not "blind nationalism" and "irresponsible conduct in international cooperation" but it is the proper behaviour which is acknowledged in international law since it is in keeping with the UN-declared "Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States" enacted in 1974.

Two, the underdeveloped countries must formulate and implement a very dynamic rural development policy if they are to activate and mobilise the majority of the people for development. As it is known, the majority of the people in the underdeveloped countries live in the rural areas but life in those areas has not changed much from when the early "explorers" and "discoverers" made their claims. The type of agriculture undertaken has already been briefly described above; generally the areas are notable for their lack of basic social facilities like schools, hospitals, clean water, and decent housing, not to mention the lack of basic infrastructure like reliable roads and railways necessary for development. Indeed, life in these rural areas is characterised by poverty misery and despair with unavoidable rural-urban migration and its attendant unemployment for the youths. A dynamic rural development policy should have at its core the objective of mobilising the rural people for their development. For such objective to be possible the rural development policy should, among other things, have as its basic concepts, a progressive land policy which enables all the people to have direct access to land without having to be at the mercy of big feudal land owners; it must aim at establishing communities in the rural areas which are accessible from the administrative centres, and that such communities are provided with the necessary social services like schools, hospitals and water; and generally, efforts should be made to make life in the rural areas attractive enough by reducing the vast imbalance between urban and rural areas so that it does not easily tempt the youths to flock to towns where life is more charming. Such a rural development policy should not only make life more meaningful to the majority of the people in social and economic terms, but it should also be a positive strategy in checking youth unemployment.

Three, the underdeveloped countries must change the educational system inherited from the colonial administration which, to say the least, was intended to produce faithful lower cadres for the colonial administration. The educational system in many underdeveloped countries today lacks relevance to socio-economic circumstances and does not enable its products to acquire the skills and ability to earn a living other than in white collar sector which cannot take many. The result of this is that the schools in many underdeveloped countries are the source of a regular annual outflow of unemployed youths. This problem of educated youths who are not employable is not confined to the underdeveloped countries, it is also prevalent in the advanced countries. The problem does not arise simply because of "lack of projected manpower requirements in the community", but because the education offered does not give its recipients the necessary skills and knowledge with

which they can be gainfully occupied in the given circumstances. What is needed in its place is a system of education whose products will be both unable and useful to society, for lest it be forgotten, the purpose of education is, as our President Mwalimu Nyerere once said, "to transmit from one generation to the next the accumulated wisdom and knowledge of the society, and to prepare the youth for their future membership in its maintenance or development".

Four, the underdeveloped countries must have as part of their economic development strategies a progressive policy for utilization and development of technology. On this delicate matter two things come to my mind. One is the talk now in vogue about "appropriate technology", and the other is the choice or balance between "capital-intensive" and/or "labour intensive" methods of application of technology. It should be borne in mind that what is "appropriate" technology will differ from one country to another and even in the same country at different times, therefore it is an aspect which different countries concerned have constantly to determine. The underdeveloped countries apart from making youths employable in agriculture can train a significant proportion for employment in small-scale industries which produce such things as shoes, furniture and garments or even those which engage in intermediate processing of primary products. Given thorough study of the requirements of communities, and given proper emphasis by governments and youth organisations themselves, it is possible, with minimum capital outlay, to train youths in various skills and provide the necessary infrastructure for many youths to be usefully employed, while at the same time making available to the local people consumer goods which need not be imported from outside. On the question of choice between labour - or capital-intensive technology, while it is obvious that labour-intensive technology will reduce youth unemployment it is not always in the interest of sound economic policy to use labour intensive technology for all sorts of undertakings. Some types of industrial undertakings cannot be efficiently operated by labour-intensive technologies, for example the chemical, metallurgical and paper industries, by their nature have to be capital intensive. However, other types of industries such as textiles, clothing, footwear, and metal working can be developed even with labour-intensive technology. In such industries the labour-intensive option can greatly reduce youth unemployment as can road, railway and other civil construction projects which do not necessitate the exclusive application of capital-intensive methods. However, it must be said that in industries such as textile and shoe manufacture, where labour-intensive methods are possible, capital-intensive technology can be justified for the mass production of consumer goods which will be cheaper to the consumers. What is required in appreciating this question, is a judicious balance in the application of capital and/or labour-intensive technology so that greater employment opportunities are available while efficiency in the economy is achieved.

Five, the underdeveloped countries have to realise that unless there is a new international economic order they will not arrest underdevelopment nor combat youth unemployment, even if efforts are made in the four other requirements outlined here. Thus, the fight for a New International Economic Order by the underdeveloped countries is an important commitment in the fight against youth unemployment itself, for reasons which the lead speakers on this subject will no doubt explain.

These five basic requirements in the fight against unemployment and underdevelopment are by no means new to the underdeveloped countries themselves as one sees when one scans the development plans and other official policy statements of most of these countries. Indeed many of them go

further, stating that "economic growth" is meaningless unless it is accompanied by "economic and social justice" among the people. Perhaps what is lacking is commensurate dedication and seriousness to ensure that these declarations of good intent do not remain simply on paper but practical steps are taken toward their fulfilment. I want therefore to finish my small contribution by explaining briefly the experience of my country, Tanzania, in the struggle against youth unemployment, which is as I have already emphasized, a manifestation of the greater problem of underdevelopment I shall follow the order of the five requirements I have just outlined, and I shall concern myself with general strategies rather than mention specific projects and programmes.

Regarding the first prerequisite - restructuring the economy from its colonial nature to a national organic unit - it is probably known to you that in Tanzania we have opted for a socialist approach as we made clear in Arusha Declaration, our blueprint for socialism and self reliance officially adopted in 1967. Under this policy we believe fundamentally that all men are equal and have equal economic and social rights. Thus, the major means of production, distribution and exchange are for the benefit of all and should never be controlled by one or a few people for their sole advantage, at the expense of the majority of the people. Instead, we believe that the major means of production, distribution and exchange should be owned and controlled by the people themselves, either through their government or cooperative structures, they should not be in the hands of a few people, local or foreign. Guided by this belief we have nationalized those "commanding heights of the economy" which were in the hands of a few people or the multinationals, but we made sure that full and fair compensation was paid to the previous owners.

With this policy we believe we have laid the basis upon which to fight youth unemployment - this belief is reflected in two aspects of the policy. One is a very basic aspect of the socialist ideology itself, for socialism believes in the full deployment of all the factors of production of which labour is one. Under socialism we believe that it is labour which is the prime mover of production and not capital, so labour must be fully used in the production of goods and services not only to achieve maximum economic mobilisation of productive forces, but also in order to enable the owners of labour power, the working people, to earn an income, which is a wider category than "wages". Indeed, when we talk of "employment" or "unemployment" we do not think merely of "wage employment" or lack of it, we mean any activity which enables the worker to earn an income through the production of socially desirable goods or services. The other aspect of socialist ideology which ensures employment and militates against unemployment is the basic belief in a planned economy. Under socialism, unlike a free enterprise system, the interaction of the factors of production at the national level is not left to chance and the mercy of the multinationals which control the economy. Just as production and consumption are both planned so as not to have wastage or under-production, the usage of labour power is planned in such a way that all available labour is utilised, thus providing employment to every able-bodied person. I have deliberately said that in Tanzania we have established a basis for the struggle against unemployment, the clear implication being that we do not claim that youth unemployment is non-existent. We do have our share of this problem. The available data suggest that due to the rural-urban migration which is still taking place, urban youth unemployment affects 15 per cent of the urban working population of about 600,000. By 1973 figures the average annual rate of growth in urban areas was 6.5 per cent which was two-and-a-half times the average annual rate of population growth. In the rural areas, it is not very easy to talk of "unemployment" as it is understood in urban

areas, because for all intents and purposes the problem in the rural areas is not a lack of the means of earning a livelihood, given that we have land available to everybody who wants to work on it. Rather, the problem in rural areas could be described as "under-employment" in the sense that not every able-bodied youth in rural areas is usefully occupied earning a livelihood throughout the year. It also could be a problem of how to reorientate the youth so that they appreciate work on the land rather than drifting to the urban centres in search of white-collar jobs. In our overall economic development strategy, we see this problem as a remnant of the colonial economic structure which we are changing, and given time and the maturity of our socialist planning we should be able to deal permanently with urban and rural unemployment and underemployment.

With regard to rural development, in Tanzania we have always believed in the need to improve the life of the majority of our people living in the rural areas, estimated at more than 95 per cent of the total population of 17 million. After many years of trial and error searching for the best method to achieve the declared objective, we came to the realisation that no meaningful development of the rural people could be achieved unless they were first reorganised into identifiable communities. Therefore in 1974 a national campaign was launched to mobilise all the people in the rural areas into villages. In these villages it would not only be easier to provide the necessary social facilities like schools, hospitals and clean water, but it would also be easier to ensure that every able-bodied person was usefully employed. Scattered as they previously were, it was not possible to ensure either of these. We had no problem in achieving this gigantic objective partly because we had no shortage of land, and from the very beginning, at independence, land was publicly owned. By now this process of establishing village communities is complete and the focus of rural development is on these villages which get priority in the allocation of resource utilization for the provision of infrastructure and the basic social services like schools, hospitals and clean water. These established villages are complete legal and economic units empowered to organize their economic activities as they see fit within overall national policy and national targets. In establishing these villages, one basic prerequisite was to ensure that each village had the maximum potential for economic development so that every able bodied person should be gainfully employed either in agriculture, fishing or production of consumer goods by small scale industries. Thus, the basis of full youth employment in rural areas is established. Proper political orientation must be continually ensured so that every person is gainfully employed and proper plans are formulated and implemented in those villages.

Regarding the educational system, soon after the Arusha Declaration in 1967, Mwalimu Nyerere launched a new education policy called "Education for Self Reliance". According to this policy, we have rejected the old assumptions of the education we had during colonial rule which did not enable its recipients to be directly useful and employable in the community from which they came. As a result of this new policy, emphasis is placed on a functional type of education which imparts agricultural and technical skills, alongside academic education, at the earliest possible opportunity. Furthermore, the policy ensures that education at every level, is self-sufficient so that its graduates can effectively meet the obligation of earning a living. Such an education system restructured to be relevant to the needs of society will in time reduce, if not totally curb, the emergence of unemployment among schooled youth, particularly if it is tied up with good manpower plans in the villages and at the national level.

On the questions of application and development of technology and the use of "appropriate technology" we in Tanzania believe that small scale technology is important, but it should not be used to the exclusion of large scale technology. That is to say, we do not subscribe to the view that large scale technology should be a monopoly of the advanced countries and that we should be confined to "intermediate technology". Thus we are a party to the current demand for the transfer of technology which is part and parcel of the New International Economic Order package. At the same time we are convinced that small scale industries will not only provide expanded opportunities of employment for youth but also contribute to a reduction in the import bill for consumer goods that can be locally and cheaply produced. We believe also that small scale technology is relevant not only in urban areas but also in villages where such technology can tie in with agricultural activities.

But in order to give this technology its proper emphasis, we believe first there must be organized training in the use of the technology, and secondly, there must be organized application and development of small-scale technology. For organized training, the government has established a number of vocational and technical schools where youths are trained in various skills relevant to their communities. In this effort other non-government organisations like the Parents Organisation, the Party Youth Organisation and some voluntary organisations are also involved. The National Service provides for such training for rural youths. Organized application of small scale technology implies that small scale industries are not just left to mushroom and operate chaotically without a national system of technical and market monitoring. In Tanzania we are attempting to avoid a situation where a big percentage of the self-employed operate in the so-called "informal sector" totally outside the national purview. This is not to say that we do not encourage the self-employed, but they must be organized in such a way that their contribution to the national economy is known, and so that proper technical and market advice may be given to them. Thus, apart from small-scale industries established by the government, the self-employed are encouraged to form into cooperative ventures instead of each individual operating on his own. Furthermore a government institution called the Small Scale Industries Development Organisation (SIDO) has been charged with the duty of providing technical and market advice to the small scale industries. With such a cooperative framework and a technical and market support organisation, we feel that the small scale industries in Tanzania can play a significant role in providing employment opportunities to the youths. On the question of the application of capital - or labour-intensive technology, in Tanzania we prefer labour-intensive technology where it is possible and not negative to economic efficiency, but at the same time we do not hesitate to use capital-intensive technology where it is necessary according to the nature of the industry concerned, and where mass production of consumer goods requires it.

Tanzania also believes that in all these efforts in our struggle against underdevelopment and unemployment, may not produce positive results if we remain hemmed in the existing international economic structure where others determine the price of our agricultural commodities (usually at prices disadvantageous to us), and determine the prices of manufactured goods to be increasingly detrimental to us. But our experience so far has shown that the multinationals which control the world economy cannot voluntarily acquiesce to our demands, no matter how strong our resolutions are. Now we of the underdeveloped countries are beginning to think of more effective ways of putting our demands through what we now call "collective self-reliance" or

"economic cooperation among developing countries"; by establishing political and economic solidarity, to foster joint negotiating positions and joint regional economic ventures for the welfare of our peoples. But I am tempted to think of another alternative by which this quest for New International Economic Order can be realized. I am convinced that people of the same world outlook - like the entire Commonwealth youth as evidenced by the Ocho Rios Conference - regardless of whether we come from the rich or poor countries, can unite, not only in demanding a New International Economic Order in grandiose resolutions, but in follow-up actions for a New International Economic Order by mobilising public opinion in our countries and at international fora such as this.

If I have digressed a great deal to talk on the New International Economic Order, a subject on which the lead speakers are well prepared, I have done so deliberately, for I cannot see how we in our poor countries can solve the problem of youth unemployment in the economic system operating within as well as between our nations.

Mr Chairman and Honourable Delegates, because I have wandered about in my address, let me alleviate the confusion and boredom I might have caused by summarising what I have been attempting to say for the last hour. All I have been saying is the following:-

- (a) That unemployment - including youth unemployment - is fundamentally a structural problem resulting from the bad socio-economic system within nation-states and between nation-states.
- (b) That essentially we have to tackle the problem at its roots that is to concentrate on changing socio-economic systems within and between nations. To do this youths need, among other things, political awareness to realise their power not only to call for change but to affect it.
- (c) That in advanced countries the potential for full employment is abundant but cannot be realized if the economy is in the hands of monopolies and market forces that are at the heart of the system.
- (d) In the underdeveloped countries, unemployment will be under control if the economies of those countries are disengaged from the control of the multinationals.
- (e) That other measures in the underdeveloped countries include changes in the educational systems to make them more functional and more relevant; a dynamic rural development policy; and commitment to the use and development of "appropriate technology" including a judicious balance in the use of capital and labour-intensive technologies.
- (f) That other measures taken such as job creation projects and other innovative reforms are commendable but should be understood for what they are - palliative measures to solve a problem which is structural, demanding a structural solution.

- (g) Finally, all this depends on the advent of a New International Economic Order. In order to achieve it, not only is it imperative for the underdeveloped countries to come together under collective self-reliance, a sort of a trade union of the poor, but we also need pan-Commonwealth if not world - solidarity among youth regardless of the level of development of our countries so that we can create a future which we shall be proud of in our adult lives and which we shall be proud to bequeath to our children and our grandchildren.

Mr Chairman and honourable delegates, I sincerely thank you for your attention.