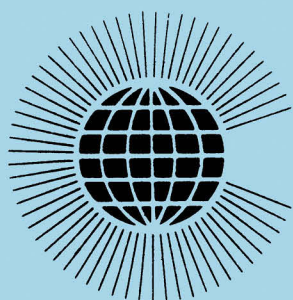


Commonwealth Youth Programme

**Youth Unemployment
and the New International
Economic Order**

**Report of the Second Meeting
of Young Commonwealth Leaders:
Colombo, 3-8 May 1979**



Commonwealth Secretariat

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INTRODUCTION

The Second Meeting of Young Commonwealth Leaders opened in Colombo exactly two years after the first Meeting in Ocho Rios, Jamaica.

The Ocho Rios Meeting had issued the "Declaration of Commonwealth Youth"- an affirmation of youth's desire to participate fully in national development. The meeting was unique, not only as a first in Commonwealth history, but it was the first time an international agency had convened a meeting comprised solely of young leaders to discuss matters of major concern to their lives. To be sure, meetings on "youth participation" had been held, but these had convened not only young leaders but a preponderance of senior government officials and academics with an interest in "youth research".

In order to build on the spirit engendered by the Ocho Rios Meeting, the Commonwealth Youth Programme began to plan a follow-up. A meeting of the Programme's governing council in Ottawa in 1978 agreed that the second meeting of Young Commonwealth Leaders should proceed. The council in itself had been unique: each Commonwealth government had been invited to send two delegates - the second to be under 25. These young delegates put the case forcefully for a second meeting of Young Commonwealth Leaders. They agreed that the meeting should address itself to one of the gravest problems facing the young - youth unemployment.

It was decided that the meeting's theme should encompass both youth unemployment, and those international conditions that rendered national planning impotent and with it, concerted and continuing programmes to overcome youth unemployment. Therefore, the meeting was seen as a key link between the feelings of the young - seeking successful national development - and Commonwealth government leaders who increasingly viewed the Commonwealth as an association which could campaign effectively for a New International Economic Order.

Young Leaders in Sri Lanka

In accepting the Government of Sri Lanka's offer to host the meeting in Colombo, the organisers were particularly mindful of the strides made by Sri Lanka in youth leadership and in programmes to overcome youth unemployment.

In December 1978, the Government of Sri Lanka had renamed its youth ministry the Ministry of Youth Affairs and Employment - thus tying in both themes of youth in development and youth unemployment. The 29-year old barrister and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hon. Ranil Wickremasinghe, became Minister of Youth Affairs and Employment.

The involvement of young leaders was also exemplified in the composition of the National Youth Service Council which acted as an executive agency of the Ministry. The direction and everyday management of the NYSC encompassed not only large-scale public works development projects, but small-scale self-employment programmes - all complete with training components.

In August 1979, three months after the Second Meeting of Young Commonwealth Leaders, the Sri Lankan Prime Minister attended the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Lusaka, with Ranil Wickremasinghe heading the remainder the delegation - which also included Charitha Ratwatte, Chairman of the NYSC, and the local organiser for the Second Meeting of Young Commonwealth Leaders.

Opening Ceremony at the Bandaranaike Hall

The opening ceremony for the Second Meeting of Young Commonwealth Leaders, at which the Sri Lankan Prime Minister and the Assistant Commonwealth Secretary-General spoke, was held on the morning of 3 May, at the Bandaranaike International Conference Centre. A contingent of Sri Lankan drummers, dancers and singers formed the guard of honour for the 51 delegates from 28 countries, and their guests from the Sri Lankan Parliament and the diplomatic community.

The Meeting

In welcoming the delegates to the Colombo meeting, the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, Hon. R. Premadasa, outlined the challenge they faced: "You delegates, have recognised, from bitter experience, that the achievement of economic independence has been retarded, if not thwarted, by external economic factors beyond your control."

He described the threefold task of the meeting: "The first is to evaluate the economic policies of national governments and identify the factors and areas in which they have failed to respond to the needs and aspirations of the people, particularly those of the youth. The second is to analyse as to what extent this failure has been the result of external economic factors beyond the control of national governments; and the third, to see what constructive role the youth in these countries could play to bring about those changes which will lead to the improvement of the physical quality of life of the people and usher in a new order based on equity and social justice."

The Assistant Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, Professor K.S. Murshid, also spoke. He saw the meeting providing fresh thought which could assist and guide Commonwealth Governments. "Fresh and youthful infusions of power," he said, "are necessary to reorder our tragic world".

Over the following two days, the delegates were addressed by the Hon. Lalith Athulathmudali, Sri Lankan Minister of Trade and Shipping, the Hon. Hugh Small, Jamaican Minister of Youth, Sports and Community Development, and the Hon. Ali Mchumo, Tanzanian Minister of State for Home Affairs.

The three speakers had special qualifications. Themselves young Ministers, they were also involved directly in the struggle for successful national development in the face of international economic conditions. The Hon. Lalith Athulathmudali spoke on the eve of his departure to UNCTAD V in Manila, where he was to play a major role representing the Group of 77. The Hon. Hugh Small spoke from Jamaica's recent experience of attempting to pursue an independent national development in the face of conditionality imposed by the IMF. The Hon. Ali Mchumo spoke from the peculiar vantage point of a nation that had pursued its own course as a matter of hard-won principle.

The speeches were followed by two days of discussions in two separate commissions, a cultural excursion to Kandy, and a final plenary at which a Final Statement was agreed.

The Speeches

The Hon. Lalith Athulathmudali spoke about "Youth Unemployment and its place as a compelling issue in the North/South Dialogue". Recalling an example which linked the two, he said:

"I remember a Minister in a developed country with whom I once negotiated a textile agreement saying to me that in his country unemployment will go up from 7% to 8% if there was no restriction imposed on exports of the developing countries. I said to him in reply that, if the export was allowed, unemployment in my country would go down from 22% to 19% and that an 8% unemployment, which he feared so much for his country, was to me more a solution than a problem".

The Hon. Hugh Small argued that only fundamental changes in the international economic order would prevent the continuing deterioration in the employment prospects of young people in developing countries. The young, he said, live in "a different historic stage from that in which their parents were born... This generation will not be deluded by the symbols of sovereignty and political independence. They understand the nature of the new colonialism and life itself has taught them to look behind the symbols of nationhood at the reality of the economic relations in which their countries are trapped." Today's youth, he continued, had great concerns. The objectives of peace, national independence, territorial integrity, equality among nations and the sovereign right of nations to self-determination and to freedom and justice, were all in the minds of young people: "We are suggesting that the New International Economic Order constitutes a concrete and constructive articulation of these widespread concerns among today's youth."

Mr Small outlined six "fundamental changes" which ought to be made to the international economic system. These were in the fields of:

- (a) Commerce: where increases in the price and volume of Third World exports were required.
- (b) Aid and external indebtedness: where cancellation or rescheduling of a great proportion of the Third World's debts were required.
- (c) Technology: where the transfer of technology required an international code of conduct, and national sovereignty over natural resources needed to be fully recognised.
- (d) Foreign exchange: where improved access by the Third World to international liquidity was required.
- (e) Regional cooperation: where joint schemes for collective self reliance were required.
- (f) Discrimination: where discrimination in trade required to be ended involving all countries in the international division of labour.

The theme of "fundamental change" was taken up by the Hon. Ali Mchumo. This change required to be made both within individual societies and among societies. Youth unemployment, he said, was one manifestation of under-development. In order to combat under-development on a national level, he proposed five major requirements:

- (a) National economies required to be changed from export-oriented outposts of the metropolitan countries to self-sustaining units.

(b) Dynamic rural development policies were required, with the development of proper rural infra-structures.

(c) Changes in the educational system were required to meet true national manpower requirements.

(d) Progressive policy in the utilisation and development of technology was required.

(e) The New International Economic Order was required, in order that the four previous steps should not be arrested in mid-flight.

The Commissions

The three speakers were closely questioned on their speeches. The themes they had introduced were then further debated in two commissions. The first of these dealt with national strategies against youth unemployment. The other considered the international backdrop.

The unemployment commission was chaired by the Hon. James McLay, New Zealand Minister of Justice; and the international commission by the Hon. Ms. Datin P. Rafidah Aziz, Malaysian Deputy Minister of Finance. Delegates were further helped in their deliberations by two background papers prepared by the Commonwealth Secretariat.

International Commission

The Chair for the international commission, the Hon. Datin P. Rafidah Aziz, emphasized that much sloganeering had emerged from previous discussions on the North/South dialogue and the search for a New International Economic Order. In order that the Second Meeting of Young Commonwealth Leaders did not fall into the same trap, she proposed discussion along two lines:

(a) Putting forward proposals to those authorities capable and competent of acting upon them; in the case of the Commonwealth these would include the Commonwealth Secretary-General, and the Commonwealth Youth Programme.

(b) Delineating action the delegates could themselves take, back in their own countries.

The Commission approached its subject under nine headings: multi-national corporations; international development education; aid; reform of the IMF; the transfer of technology; access to markets for the products of developing countries; debt relief; the development of small-scale industry; and those political constraints which made the full development of a New International Economic Order impossible, including the institutionalised racism of Southern Africa - whereby whole peoples, within the region and in the surrounding countries, were denied full access to regional development.

Youth Unemployment

The commission on youth unemployment in individual Commonwealth countries discussed numerous strategies which had been implemented to combat youth unemployment. They urged Governments to recognise the full role young people can play - not only in projects and programmes of development, but in planning and policy development. As young people, and some of those present had themselves endured lengthy periods of unemployment.

Discussion focussed on six major groupings: the development of education to meet manpower requirements; population control; the attraction and development of new industries, as well as traditional industries and those using appropriate technology; the positive contribution of trades unions; special youth initiative schemes; rural youth programmes; and, in developed countries, youth opportunities schemes, which were able to provide combinations of work experience, training and job-seeking skills.

Final Statement

The nine groupings of the international commission and the six of the unemployment session were used to develop those items introduced by the speakers and the background papers. Debate was, at all times, lively. Commonwealth Secretariat rapporteurs attended each commission and produced full summaries of discussion to their commissions before they closed. The summaries, duly amended, were then presented to a steering group of young leaders - from Sri Lanka, New Zealand, Jamaica, and Zambia - under the chairmanship of the Conference Chairman.

A draft for plenary debate of the Final Statement was prepared while delegates were away from Colombo on their cultural excursion to Kandy. After the final plenary considered carefully the draft statement, amendments were incorporated into the document that follows.

Impact

It is not possible, at this stage, to judge whether the Second Meeting of Young Commonwealth Leaders was a success. It was, to the extent that the Sri Lankan hosts provided superb facilities backed up by first-class administrative support. Also, it was a success to the extent that views and opinions were freely exchanged in an atmosphere which was frank but without rancour. But a true assessment of the Colombo meeting must measure its success in advancing the cause of the New International Economic Order, and decide whether its deliberations have increased pressure to contain and reduce youth unemployment.

The Colombo meeting must be seen as one event of many designed to create the political will for action among decision-makers, and to provide them with relevant ideas. Therefore, it is hoped that the report will be regarded as a force in the struggle to extricate the world economy from its present predicament.

Those who read this report will know where the Young Leaders stand on the issues it tackles. The Young Leaders will be anxious to know if governments agree and, more important, what action they intend to take.

Final Statement on Commonwealth Strategies

against Youth Unemployment and its

Relevance to a New Economic Order

The second successful Meeting of Young Commonwealth Leaders was held in Colombo, 3-8 May 1979. Young Ministers, parliamentarians, Government officials, trade unionists, and community leaders discussed the extent of youth unemployment and the major impediment this caused on the road to national development. They recognised the overbearing constraints imposed on national development by the present international economic order. They deliberated for six days and produced a Final Statement on desirable Commonwealth measures against youth unemployment, and called for reform in present international economic conditions. Several Commonwealth Governments expressed a desire to use the Final Statement as a basic document for policy formation and reference. Its publication in this form enables its wider study and usefulness.

Commonwealth Secretariat
May 1979

PREAMBLE

1. Young Commonwealth Leaders met for the second time, in Colombo from 3 to 8 May 1979. 28 Commonwealth countries were represented. Delegates were nominated by their respective Governments as recognised young leaders under the age of 35. The Young Leaders were from a variety of backgrounds and organisations including Ministers, Members of Parliament, trade unionists, leaders of youth organisations and young professionals.

2. The major subject matter of the Meeting was youth unemployment, which is increasing in all Commonwealth countries at the present time. A second topic was consideration of the extent to which Young Leaders could provide a new dimension to public discussion of the campaign to establish a New International Economic Order and the likely effect of such an achievement on the creation of job opportunities and therefore on the future expectations of young people and the social conditions in which they might find themselves in years ahead.

3. Within the parameters of the major topics for discussion, three underlying themes were recurrent in the contributions made by the young leaders which, taken together, underpinned the spirit of Commonwealth agreement characterising the Second Meeting. The enthusiasm of Ocho Rios was sustained throughout the Meeting and the constructive tone of the deliberations was preserved and strengthened on this occasion.

4. Firstly, there was an overriding awareness of the responsibility devolving upon Young Leaders, stemming from the exercise of their functions and responsibilities. They accepted a commitment to the difficult task of communicating effectively between the world of idealism based upon principle, and the circumstances of reality which condition the everyday lives of those they represent.

Throughout the deliberations, the Young Leaders maintained the focus of their attention on practical levels whilst at the same time not sacrificing principle for expediency.

5. Secondly, Young Leaders were satisfied that the Meeting provided for informed discussion and an international exchange of ideas. It was acknowledged that among international associations of nations the Commonwealth alone makes it possible for Young Leaders to meet together in an atmosphere of unrestricted debate, with the full support of their Governments; while sharing the responsibilities of leadership and public accountability in the field of youth.

6. Thirdly, Young Leaders were conscious of the factor of generation, which they believed frequently distorts the relationships between youth and other sectors of society. They noted that in some countries experience was still felt to be a function almost exclusively of age. They welcomed the fact, however, that more Governments were displaying greater confidence in the role which young people can undertake in society and noted that the level of

representation at the Meeting reflected this changing emphasis.

FOLLOW-UP TO THE OCHO RIOS DECLARATION

7. The Young Leaders reviewed progress which had been made by Commonwealth Governments since the adoption at the First Meeting of Young Leaders of the "Declaration by Commonwealth Youth". They noted in particular that many Governments had endorsed the sentiments expressed in the Declaration and that the Commonwealth Youth Affairs Council on behalf of all Commonwealth Governments had officially endorsed the Declaration as an important milestone in the evolution of policy on youth affairs at Commonwealth level. They noted, however, that some Governments had not welcomed the Ocho Rios Declaration or indeed Meetings of Young Leaders as such. The Young Leaders acknowledged that unanimous Commonwealth support could only be expected in the light of the continuing inspiration engendered as a result of such Meetings and in the quality and practicality of the ideas which emerged as a result of them. The Young Leaders expressed their thanks to the Commonwealth Secretary General for arranging to place the Ocho Rios Declaration before the Meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government in London in June 1977.

YOUNG MINISTERS

8. The Young Leaders welcomed participation at the Meeting by ten young Ministers from Commonwealth Governments whose responsibilities lay in several fields including youth affairs. They considered that the Meeting was considerably assisted and strengthened by the presence of the Ministers who occupy positions of senior responsibility in their Governments. They recognized that the wisdom and experience from which the Meeting as a whole had benefited as a result of the participation by the Young Ministers was an important feature, and had added to the effect which the outcome of the deliberations at Colombo would have in the Commonwealth generally. The Young Leaders believed that the association of those holding ministerial office with other Young Leaders in positions of authority in a variety of organisations had enabled the subject matter of the Meeting to be discussed with an awareness of the practical realities of implementation by Governments.

PART I

YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

The Young Leaders agreed that youth unemployment was an urgent problem the solution to which required immediate and sustained attention by Commonwealth Governments and organisations working with young people.

Traditional programmes and policies aimed at alleviating this problem were recognised as having only a minimal effect in many Commonwealth countries.

Young Leaders also strongly believed that the establishment of a NIEO could result in increased employment opportunities.

They therefore gave attention to practical action that could be taken towards both objectives.

The Young Leaders shared the belief that programmes leading to the creation of jobs by young people themselves in an atmosphere of national understanding and recognition on the part of Government and the private sector alike could make a significant contribution towards alleviating the problem.

The Young Leaders recognised that immediate responses to the problem of youth unemployment must be sought within the present planning by Governments of programmes for national development. They also felt it necessary and desirable for Young Leaders in the Commonwealth countries to mobilise public opinion amongst youth in support of the need for a NIEO. The Young Leaders urged their Governments to recognise that young people can contribute to the creation of fresh initiatives which could emphasise the lasting benefits accruing from investment in their energies and skills.

They accepted that only through shared responsibility between Young Leaders, youth organisations and Governments could effective formulae be developed. It was also recognised that measures to deal effectively with youth unemployment required an integrated approach involving several Government Departments whose responsibilities would span portfolios including commerce, agriculture, industry, labour, finance and social development. The following recommendations were made:

A. AREAS OF OPPORTUNITY FOR YOUTH — AGRICULTURE, FISHERIES, TRADING AND SECONDARY INDUSTRY

The Young Leaders firmly endorsed to their Ministers the role of small scale enterprises in national development as a sector of potential significance in alleviating youth unemployment. They called for increased attention to the initiatives which youth organisations, agencies working with youth and youth themselves could provide in developing enterprises in these areas of opportunity. They believed that Governments could also assist by the provision of

- (a) management advisory services
- (b) special access to finance — for example with respect to lending policies, interest rates, venture capital and loan guarantees — including if necessary a restructuring of the operations of financial institutions within countries
- (c) appropriate taxation reforms
- (d) development of appropriate technology as a basic element of self-reliance for use in local and traditional enterprises
- (e) guaranteed access to markets through avenues such as marketing agencies
- (f) provision for specialised training.

The Young Leaders invited Ministers responsible for youth affairs to discuss the establishment of these support mechanisms with their Ministerial colleagues.

The Young Leaders also encouraged Governments to ensure that products which can be efficiently produced on an employment-generating and labour intensive basis should not suffer from the competition of large scale capital intensive production processes whether by the private or public sectors. They suggested the following guidelines under which the broad scope of the development of small-scale enterprises could be beneficially reviewed.

- (a) The development of enterprises should be consonant with expressed goals of national development
- (b) Smaller countries, attempting to diversify their economies, should screen industries for their lasting benefit on employment opportunities, and attempt to develop industries which used local skills, and renewable resources.
- (c) The application of technology should at all times enhance the prospects of national development without causing extended dependence on foreign experts.

B. AN IMMEDIATE PRIORITY — YOUTH EMPLOYMENT IN RURAL AREAS

The Young Leaders recognised that significant numbers of young people live in rural areas in Commonwealth countries and agreed that programmes for employment of rural youth should be designed within the context of a comprehensive rural development strategy which in itself is a vital component in national development planning. They agreed that an objective of rural development strategy should be youth employment, and that this also would contribute in turn to the attainment of the further objective of attempting to reverse the rural-urban drift of young people.

The Young Leaders agreed the following policy objectives:

- (a) That agricultural land be made more available to them through land leasing and reforms in the difficult area of land ownership.

(b) That the largely unexplored areas of horticulture and inland fisheries should be assigned a greater degree of priority as potentially rewarding and relatively easy to develop.

(c) That in view of the need for advice on business management and marketing channels to youth groups within local rural communities, the older members of the community, many of whom are now in retirement, be invited to provide guidance to young agricultural developers on these important areas.

C. THE AVAILABILITY OF FINANCE

The Young Leaders fully recognised that the difficult economic circumstances in many Commonwealth countries posed major problems for the deployment of financial resources in the direction of youth employment initiatives generally. They noted, however, that the private sector of the banking community did not appear to recognise the scope for investment which they believed could be created by youth groups in both rural and urban areas, operating new ventures exclusively initiated by youth.

It was recommended that in order to move ahead on a pragmatic basis appropriate representatives of the banking, manufacturing, agricultural and commercial segments of the private sector together with youth groups and relevant Government agencies should agree upon a joint national approach to the encouragement of youth in business in which acceptance of 'venture capital' and business and agricultural advisory services as tools in the context of national economic development should be established.

D. PLANNING OF EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

The Young Leaders affirmed that youth employment programmes must be integrated into national development planning processes. They emphasised that this is necessary because a key element in the employment of young people in various sectors of the economy, whether as young entrepreneurs in industry and agriculture or youth cooperatives will be the provision of carefully planned and maintained support mechanisms to ensure the success of youth employment undertakings as well as their integration within the overall development process.

They emphasised the strategic character of measures to alleviate youth unemployment, and recommended the creation of representative and democratic youth organisations which can contribute to and participate in the planning process.

E. TRADE UNIONS, YOUNG FARMERS CLUBS AND PROFESSIONALLY ORIENTED ASSOCIATIONS

The Young Leaders felt that much greater involvement of young people in trade unions, young farmers clubs and professionally oriented associations would enhance their understanding of the problem of youth unemployment in all Commonwealth countries. In particular it was felt that such organisations should also be invited to initiate

education programmes for their members and their families in order to broaden their understanding of the harsh effects of rising unemployment. In doing so, these organisations could enable their members to take a broader view of society as a whole and of the problems of the youth sector of the community in particular.

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION

(i) In Alleviating Youth Unemployment

The Young Leaders recognized the tragic human and psychological effects of prolonged unemployment stemming partly from the present unbalanced education systems in many Commonwealth countries and agreed that Governments should be encouraged to invest in schemes which would improve the employability and productive capacity of youth.

They recommended that the attention of Governments be drawn to the urgent need for reviewing educational systems, in order to establish a firm relationship between education, employment, and the requirements of national development. In this context, they recommended the following guidelines:

- (a) That education should be relevant to the pattern of development identified by each country.
- (b) That, consequently, education should be integrated with national manpower planning processes, careers guidance and forecasting services, and national goal-setting mechanisms, in order to fulfil its responsibility in preparing young people for national development and change.
- (c) That the employment orientation of education should be strengthened by the introduction of early work experience schemes and the continuation of education into adult life.
- (d) That national education systems should incorporate an element of political education to effect the necessary redirection of the aspiration and commitment of young people to national development.

The Young Leaders proposed that a review of educational aims and methods would ensure that, on the one hand, these schemes could encourage fuller and more varied units of training and, on the other hand, provide combinations of work experience, training and job-seeking skills on a graduated level.

(ii) To Mobilise Youth in Support of a New International Economic Order

The Young Leaders recommended that Governments should seek to establish curricula of development education, in order to educate electorates and young people about the economic inter-dependence of nations and the need for cooperation in implementing the mutuality of interest between developed and developing Commonwealth countries.

The Young Leaders recommended that the contents of a development education drive might include the following:

- (a) the need for inter-dependence between countries notwithstanding the difference in their economic and political systems;
- (b) the differences in national economic systems;
- (c) factors affecting trade in commodities;
- (d) the functioning of the international monetary system — foreign exchange and the operations of the IMF;
- (e) shipping and the transportation of products;
- (f) investment for development.

The Young Leaders also recommended that every encouragement should be given to the news media by Governments, Young Leaders, and youth organisations, to provide information and opinion on the need for a New International Economic Order so that sustained popular support might be mobilised for Government Ministers as they negotiate the complicated issues involved.

THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF YOUNG LEADERS

In accepting the shared objectives agreed by the Meeting and the need for a Commonwealth-wide orientation by Governments and youth organisations for increased youth employment initiatives, the Young Leaders committed themselves to concerted follow-up of the recommendations which the Meeting had unanimously endorsed. They established as their first priority the need for more sophisticated organisation of youth councils and other youth bodies and for liaison among these organisations at a national level. They agreed that the establishment or refinement of the structures in Commonwealth countries serving as framework for the implementation of the recommendations made by the Meeting could be enhanced by the process of leadership and management training within youth organisations themselves.

The Young Leaders acknowledged that they were in situations of advantage within which youth initiatives at local level particularly could considerably transform local employment conditions and greatly expand employment opportunities. They felt it essential that young people should exercise initiatives to the fullest extent possible in setting an example of self-help and in exhorting their Governments to support such initiatives and develop them on a broader and self-sufficient basis.

THE COMMONWEALTH YOUTH PROGRAMME

In view of the foregoing, the Young Leaders made the following recommendations to Ministers directly responsible for youth affairs and to the Commonwealth Secretary-General.

1. That Commonwealth Governments be encouraged, with assistance from the Commonwealth Youth Programme, to organise strong, viable and representa-

tive National Youth Organisations as was recommended by the Ocho Rios Declaration.

That the Commonwealth Secretariat should, in collaboration with the proposed Commonwealth Industrial Development Unit, facilitate the availability of venture capital to encourage the creation of small scale projects and cooperatives as a new base from which self-employment schemes could be promoted among young people.

That Commonwealth Governments, in association with the Commonwealth Youth Programme, continue to develop channels through which young people are enabled to participate actively in trade unions, professional associations and rural groupings.

2. That at national level the Commonwealth Youth Programme should assist Governments and other interested bodies by providing information to enable greater understanding among young people of the direct relevance of a New International Economic Order to their employment prospects and to enable young people to mobilise in order to secure such objectives.
3. That the Commonwealth Secretary-General be invited to revise the present concept of the Commonwealth Community Service Project. This should seek to enable exchanges of young people who are interested in small-scale enterprises to take place within the Commonwealth and to encourage an increase in the number of such enterprises.
4. That Ministers directly responsible for youth affairs are invited to recognise the urgent need on the part of their Governments to agree to increase the funds available to the Commonwealth Youth Programme, both in the field of youth unemployment and related areas. The Young Leaders feel strongly that the priority which was now accorded to the Commonwealth Youth Programme within the broad range of Commonwealth Secretariat activities requires revision. Accordingly they pledged themselves to support the Ministers responsible in their Governments in an endeavour to ensure increased priority for funding of the Commonwealth Youth Programme by Heads of Government at their forthcoming Meeting in Lusaka.

5. YOUTH AND SPORTS

The Young Leaders observed the increase in the extent of sporting links within the Commonwealth, noting that the Commonwealth Games are second only to the Olympic Games in the international calendar of sport.

At the 1978 Commonwealth Games in Edmonton, Canada, it was recognised that these games occasion more than sporting competition by the celebration of a Cultural Festival.

The Young Leaders recommended that the Commonwealth Secretariat should express a stronger interest in Youth and Sports and requested the Commonwealth Youth Affairs Council to consider possibilities for a programme of co-operation in the development of physical education and sport. The Young Leaders felt that the

establishment of such a sports programme could further strengthen the Commonwealth Games and the development of sporting links among young people of the Commonwealth.

The Young Leaders indicated their awareness of the fact that the primary strategy of the CYP is the alleviation of the socio-economic and political problems facing young people in Commonwealth countries.

The Young Leaders expressed their total agreement with this strategy and wished to place on record that the recommendation on Youth and Sports was made in the context of an ancillary sports development programme, in no way intended to dilute the historic and primary concern of the CYP.

PART II ADDRESSED TO THE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY-GENERAL AND, UNDER HIS GUIDANCE, TO HEADS OF GOVERNMENT

1. International Economic Issues

The Young Leaders reviewed the wider international economic situation affecting their respective countries. They discussed aspects of existing international economic relationships, especially the call by developing countries for the establishment of a new economic order which would facilitate the growth and development of their countries.

In particular, the Young Leaders agreed to draw the attention of the Commonwealth Heads of Government to several matters of special concern to them, solutions to which could bring an end to the domination of many developing economies by foreign capital which constitutes a major obstacle to national development in many Commonwealth countries. The Young Leaders felt that fundamental economic transformation lies at the heart of strategies to overcome youth unemployment.

The Young Leaders expressed the desire that their views on these matters be referred to Commonwealth Heads of Government and urged that they be requested to take action as follows:

(a) The Young Leaders agreed that the operation of multinational corporations (MNCs) can harm the fullest development of countries in which they invest, especially with regard to investment patterns, the repatriation of profits and, on occasion, their intervention in the political affairs of Commonwealth nations. Governments should ensure that MNCs act in the best interests of the youth of their countries by adopting regulatory measures and co-operating through both individual commodity associations and regional economic organisations, to adopt a common and well regulated approach to MNCs.

(b) The Young Leaders expressed deep concern at the restrictive operations and undemocratic structures of international finance institutions such as the IMF and the IBRD. They emphasised the need for democratisation of these institutions and called on Commonwealth Governments to press for the necessary structural changes to be made.

The Young Leaders agreed that these institutions should not be permitted to obstruct Commonwealth countries in developing their preferred political structures and social systems, and they called for an end to the imposition of conditions for borrowing from these institutions which inhibited such development. In particular, the Young Leaders urged Commonwealth Head of Government to press for changes to the lending policies of the IMF and IBRD so as not to hinder the availability of finance for human development, anti-poverty projects, and projects directed specifically at reducing the high incidence of youth unemployment.

(c) The Young Leaders agreed on the need to make the policies whereby aid is disbursed by international agencies more responsive to the needs of the developing countries. In particular they felt that more aid should be in grant form. They also recommended that developing countries give priority to projects which would benefit the people, especially the youth. They believed that this objective might be facilitated initially if bilateral arrangements were reformed with the basic objective that aid should result in an eventual end to aid, with dependency on aid being eliminated.

(d) The Young Leaders noted that the aspirations of developing countries in particular were being constrained by the heavy burdens of debt and debt servicing requirements. They noted further that projects funded from international aid were often not completed before repayment requirements commenced. The Young Leaders therefore recommended that Commonwealth Heads of Governments give urgent attention to the need for re-scheduling, restructuring or writing-off of existing debts incurred by the developing countries.

(e) The Young Leaders also agreed that progress towards a New International Economic Order was threatened by the erection of new trade barriers, and that continuing high levels of protection could prevent the alleviation of youth unemployment in Commonwealth countries.

They considered that the developed Commonwealth countries should give special access to products from the developing countries although they recognised that such access must be considered in the context of those countries' overall production and trade policies. The Young Leaders agreed, however, that the developed countries should, wherever possible, shift their priorities to the production of goods which do not compete with the products of developing countries; thus increasing the export and marketing potential of those countries. The developing countries should seek to co-operate on a regional basis in the production

processes particularly of manufactured goods. Commonwealth Heads of Government were urged to give attention to these objectives, and to incorporate plans for structural adjustment of industries where necessary when developing national industrial goals, in order to promote the expansion and diversification of industry, agriculture and trade.

- (f) The Young Leaders referred also to the need to promote an effective international code to govern world trade in technology, particularly with respect to problems of ownership, control, use, taxation, financial flows, accounting procedure, utilisation of research and development funds, and transfer pricing. They agreed that, in so far as competence lay with Governments, technology transfers should take place between countries to their mutual advantage, complementing the development of indigenous technology.

In conclusion, the Young Leaders expressed the hope that Commonwealth Heads of Government, when considering the matters described above, would agree that their Governments should take appropriate action in the international negotiations in which they are involved on these issues, and the Young Leaders pledged the support of their organisations accordingly.

POLITICAL CONSTRAINTS WITHIN THE COMMONWEALTH AFFECTING THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

The Young Leaders acknowledged that a major political factor in the Commonwealth affecting advances towards a New International Economic Order is the situation in Southern Africa. They therefore believed that they should address themselves to Heads of Government through the Commonwealth Secretary-General on this issue. Young Leaders believed that the continued existence of forms of colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and oppression — in particular the institutionalised racism practised in Southern Africa — constituted a major obstacle to the final achievement of a New International Economic Order, and the enhanced employment prospects for youth, particularly in Southern Africa, which a new order could provide. The Young Leaders considered the following statement which was issued by the Commonwealth Southern Africa Committee at the conclusion of its Meeting on 19 March 1979 in London.

“This Commonwealth Committee on Southern Africa, meeting in Marlborough House, London today (19 March) discussed the situation in Rhodesia. The Committee condemned the proposal to hold illegal elections on 20 April. It believed that these elections could not produce majority rule, and that they are not intended to do so. The Committee was appalled by the continuing bloodshed in Rhodesia and neighbouring countries and concluded that the proposal for these fraudulent elections could lead to a further widening of the conflict brought about by the illegal regime. It felt that a cease-fire agreed upon by all the warring parties was a necessary first step to any enduring settlement.

The Committee called on all governments to refrain from sending observers or from any other action that might give any semblance of legitimacy to the elections which are an exercise in mass deception.

The Committee asked the Secretary-General to bring to the notice of the international community the true nature of the arrangements embodied in the new illegal constitution which is calculated to entrench the political and military power of the white minority in Rhodesia.

The Young Leaders fully endorsed this Statement. They further noted that since the Meeting of the Southern Africa Committee, a fraudulent election had in fact taken place. They requested the Commonwealth Secretary-General to take note of their views that the new illegal regime should be denied Commonwealth recognition in any form and they pledged their support to Heads of Government to continue to do all in their power to assist in the creation as soon as possible of a free and independent Zimbabwe.

THE THIRD MEETING OF YOUNG COMMONWEALTH LEADERS

The Zambian Minister of Youth and Sports, on behalf of the Government of Zambia, invited the Third Meeting of Young Commonwealth Leaders to Lusaka in May 1981.

OPENING REMARKS

Mr. T. G. Martin

Assistant Director

Commonwealth Youth Programme

The Meeting was opened by Mr. T.G. Martin, Commonwealth Secretariat, who welcomed the young Government Ministers, other young leaders and visitors.

In his remarks, Mr. Martin drew attention to the importance of providing opportunities for young leaders to meet together in order to discuss issues of direct relevance to youth. He noted that the Commonwealth Meetings of Young Leaders were unique occasions and that the outcome of the meeting would be studied closely by those who had confidence in the ability of young leaders to meet the challenges facing their generation within the framework of practicality and relevance to prevailing circumstances in their respective countries.

Mr Martin particularly welcomed the lead speakers, Hon. Lalith Athulathmudali Minister for Trade and Shipping, Government of Sri Lanka; Hon. Ali Mchumo, Minister of State for Home Affairs, Government of Tanzania; and Hon. Hugh Small, Minister of Youth, Sports and Community Development, Government of Jamaica. In doing so he said that the spirit of the Ocho Rios Meeting of Young Leaders in 1977 remained alive in the presence of the Chairman of that meeting, Minister Small. Mr. Martin concluded by thanking the Minister for Employment and Youth Affairs in the Government of Sri Lanka, Hon. Ranil Wickremasinghe, for agreeing to host and chair the Meeting and, most particularly, the compliment which had been paid to the delegates by the kind agreement of the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, Hon. Ranasinghe Premadasa, to open the proceedings formally.

SPEECH BY THE HON. R. PREMADASA, M.P.
PRIME MINISTER OF SRI LANKA

Mr Assistant Secretary-General, Honourable Ministers, Your Excellencies, Distinguished Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have looked forward to this opportunity of being with you here this morning to share with you some thoughts on one of the most critical issues facing mankind today - that of establishing a New International Economic Order based on peace and social justice, and the contribution you, as Young Leaders of the Commonwealth could make towards achieving this objective.

But before doing so, it is my pleasure and privilege, on behalf of the people of Sri Lanka, to extend to all of you a warm welcome. I hope that you will find the time to see something of our country and get an insight into the life-styles and aspirations of our people, particularly those of our own young people who represent about 60% of the population.

We are indeed happy that our country has been selected to host, what I understand is, the Second Meeting of the Young Commonwealth Leaders. I should like also to commend the Secretary-General and the Commonwealth Secretariat for again taking the initiative to arrange this Meeting of Commonwealth Youth Leaders under the aegis of the Commonwealth Youth Programme to focus attention on a problem which is engaging the minds of peoples, both in the developed and developing countries, today.

Young people in leadership positions is a phenomenon which should be encouraged. In Sri Lanka we have a large number of young people in leadership positions as ministers, deputy ministers, parliamentarians, professionals and also in womens' organisations. Sri Lanka, therefore, is perhaps a suitable venue for a meeting of Young Leaders.

It is my firm conviction that the youth of any country, given the opportunity, will not shirk the responsibilities. They will be able to fulfil the obligations that society places on them. I sometimes wonder whether the youth unrest throughout the world, so much spoken of a decade ago, was not partly the result of the fact that the energies of youth were not properly channelised. For almost thirty years since the end of the Second World War, we have had no major international conflict. Could it have been that the energies of youth, so often wasted in fruitless warfare, found its release in the unrest of that period? Youth has energy, youth has vision, youth has a spirit of high adventure. It is our duty to find the tasks of great endeavour to grapple with and to accomplish.

Many of you delegates present here represent countries which share a common historical background and also common aspirations. Your peoples have recently achieved political independence and you have set yourselves the goal of making this a reality by achieving economic independence. You have

recognised, from bitter experience, that the achievement of these objectives has been retarded, if not thwarted, by external economic factors beyond our control.

Even among those of you representing the developed countries, there has been increasing recognition that to revive the process of growth in the global economy, measures have to be taken to generate economic growth in the developing countries. A perception is emerging of the interdependence of nations and inter-relationship of issues in the fields of trade, money, finance and development.

Recent developments in the world economy have clearly demonstrated that the existing international economic order is not only inequitable, but that it is also incapable of coping with the changing circumstances. The framework and structure established in the post-war period to govern international economic relations is under threat of disintegration and it is becoming increasingly difficult for Governments of even developed countries to solve their problems within the existing system. There is also deep disappointment and grave concern that the negotiations in the North-South dialogue in different international fora have not yielded the expected results so far, and that no significant progress has been achieved in the implementation of the Programme of Action on the establishment of the New International Economic Order.

In the face of the inequities of the present international economic order, what should our expectations be of the Commonwealth? I am mindful, in asking this question, of the impending Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting to be held in Lusaka, Zambia in August this year. In looking towards Lusaka I feel sure that many of you will agree with me that a special interest should be taken in the problems and needs of the smaller and particularly the poorest countries in the Commonwealth.

Your task at this meeting, if I may say so, can be described as threefold. The first is to evaluate the economic policies of national governments and identify the factors and areas in which they have failed to respond to the needs and aspirations of the people, particularly those of the youth. The second is to analyse as to what extent this failure has been the result of external economic factors beyond the control of national governments; and the third, to see what constructive role the youth in these countries could play to bring about those changes which will lead to the improvement of the physical quality of life of the people and usher in a new order based on equity and social justice.

At the same time, I should like to suggest that you ask yourselves these questions; In a world which has witnessed in recent times a greater awareness for each others problems, massive technological advances and which has committed itself, in principle, to the pursuit of human rights, how is it that we allow thousands of men, women and children in poor countries to die of starvation every day? How is it that almost half the labour force of the developing countries is condemned to remain permanently unemployed or under-employed? What has caused the accelerated urbanisation, poverty in rural areas, slums in cities and deprivations of basic social amenities for the masses?

As I mentioned earlier, developing countries when they achieved political independence worked out economic development programmes. These programmes would undoubtedly make their political independence meaningful by eradicating hunger, disease, poverty and illiteracy. Despite their efforts to expand production and increase exports, they found themselves being called

upon to bear the burden of inflation in the developed countries by paying more for their imports. This was owing to adverse terms of trade, receiving less earnings although they produced more.

Even where they had a competitive advantage in certain exports, they found themselves against a wall of protectionism which deprived them of access to developed-country markets. The aid which they have received with appreciation from developed countries has, unfortunately, been inadequate and irregular. They have continued to get into serious debt situations, and many countries spend about 20 to 30% of their external earnings on debt servicing. In short, what we have witnessed is a worsening situation whereby the rich have become richer and the poor have become poorer.

The developing countries have waited with patience hoping that ad hoc piecemeal measures taken by the developed countries to readjust this imbalance would be productive. It was this recognition that led to the call for the establishment of the New International Economic Order at the VIth and VIIth Special Sessions of the General Assembly.

I believe this meeting also offers you an opportunity to have an exchange of views on your own national experiences on this problem. In fact, this exchange is in itself a form of co-operation among countries which is an important element in the strategy for development and employment generation.

It is appropriate, therefore, that I should share with you our own experiences in approaching this problem. The country paper prepared by Sri Lanka will, no doubt, provide detailed formation, but I shall try to put, in broad perspective, our own approach to these problems.

The Government of Sri Lanka, under the leadership of President J.R. Jayawardene, is committed to the establishment and maintenance of a just and fair economic, social and cultural order in which the dignity and freedom of every individual is fully realised and where he enjoys equal basic human rights and opportunities under a Parliamentary form of democracy. To achieve this objective, the Government oriented its economic strategies and created the necessary institutional framework.

One of the major problems which the Government was faced with was that of unemployment, particularly among the educated youth, which has arisen under the system of free education that obtains in Sri Lanka. Whilst evolving a strategy for the future generations, the Government has had to work out a programme to absorb the 1.2 million who were unemployed or under-employed and the 200,000 or so joining these ranks annually. The Government established a separate Ministry of Youth Affairs and Employment entrusted with the important task of integrating the youth in national development and preparation of youth for employment. The Government recognized that the youth in this country was an important national resource which should be harnessed to its full potential for the development of the country.

At the same time, the Government gave priority to certain development schemes which were employment-oriented. The most important of them is the Multi-Purpose Accelerated Mahaweli Development Scheme. This will not only develop 900,000 acres of land, but provide for the opening of new settlements involving 225,000 families constituting a population of 1.2 million, the opportunities in agriculture and agro-based industries.

Although we have been encouraged by the initial success in that we were able to register a growth rate of 8.2% as a result of these new economic policies, we are fully aware of the fact that much more remains to be done for the poorer sections of the community. We can take pride in the fact that we have provided everybody an equality of opportunity to better his economic situation just as at the international level we have been seeking equality of opportunity to develop. We have not sought to socialize poverty but, within the framework of an equitable income distribution system, we have provided incentives and opportunities to the poorer sections of the community to better their economic prospects. It is encouraging to find that already many of them have made use of these opportunities not only to help themselves but also in the country's economic development.

As I said earlier, it is not my intention to give you a detailed account of our development programmes which the Sri Lanka delegation to your meeting will provide you. However, I have tried to give you an insight into our economic thinking and strategies.

During the next few days, you will be addressing yourselves to the problems of economic development and employment. I need hardly say how momentous will be the final results if success crowns your deliberations. We shall all look forward with great keenness to the conclusions you arrive at, the programmes you work out and suggestions you make. It has been my fortunate experience never to be disappointed when I have watched young people entrusted with tasks. It is therefore with confidence that I wish you every success in your endeavours.

SPEECH BY HONOURABLE RANIL WICKREMASINGHE

Minister of Youth Affairs & Employment - Sri Lanka

Honourable Prime Minister, Honourable Assistant Secretary-General of the Commonwealth Secretariat, Honourable Ministers, Your Excellencies, Members of Parliament and Friends.

When the Young Leaders of the Commonwealth met in Ocho Rios, Jamaica, they recommended that the meeting of Young Leaders be held every two years preceeding the meeting of the Heads of Governments. So we are assembled here, for the second time to continue the dialogue among the Young Leaders of the Commonwealth, young politicians, young trade union leaders and young professionals. It is an occasion when representatives from countries which have shared a common experience meet together to discuss common problems. We represent the developing nations and the developed nations. We represent Asia, Africa, Europe, America and Australasia. We represent all races and religions. It is indeed a unique occasion for what we have in common amongst us is not only a historical experience but also our age.

I am proud that Sri Lanka was chosen as the venue for the Second Meeting. In a sense it is an appropriate venue, for the Government of Sri Lanka is committed to the participation of the youth in the decision making process of this country and we are transforming this commitment into reality. At every level of the decision making process of government, we see young people. If I take the Parliament of Sri Lanka as an example there are 27 members of Parliament in the Government Parliamentary Group who fall into the category of Young Leaders, and 10 of them hold office as Cabinet Ministers, Ministers not of Cabinet rank and Deputy Ministers.

We remember a time in Sri Lanka when youth were alienated from society and had no confidence in the process of administration. To overcome this crisis His Excellency the President, J.R. Jayawardene proposed the policy of youth representation. We seek to guarantee to the youth, partnership in the development of the country, by direct representation in policy making and in its implementation. It is only this process which will restore the confidence of the youth in the government, for then they will be partners in shaping the future society that they would live in.

Our aim is to build a society which will fulfil the aspirations of the youth. A modern society, a technologically advanced society, an open society, free from inequality, and who can understand this aspirations better than the youth themselves?

On the one hand development both economic and social cannot be achieved overnight, on the other, youth are impatient for the results. How do we face this problem? It is only by making youth partners in development that we can expect them to understand the problems, to appreciate the progress, and to defend and safeguard the new society that is being created. We see no alternative to this path. To exclude youth from the process of nation building is to invite instability and chaos. Further, there are no valid reasons, no valid arguments for shutting out the views of the younger people. We must remember that most of us here today, are adherents of religious doctrines that were preached by young people.

I must thank the Commonwealth Youth Programme for taking the initiative in arranging these meetings of young leaders and I hope there will be more such meetings in the future, for this Programme seeks to enhance the role that is played by young leaders in the Commonwealth countries.

And finally on behalf of the government of Sri Lanka, on behalf of the young people of Sri Lanka and I may say the people of Sri Lanka, since all of us are young at heart, I welcome all the delegates to our country.

ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR K.S. MURSHID
COMMONWEALTH ASSISTANT SECRETARY-GENERAL

Mr. Prime Minister, honourable Ministers, Chairman of the National Youth Service Council of Sri Lanka, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, it gives me great pleasure to be with you today at the opening of the Second Meeting of Young Commonwealth Leaders here in Colombo, Sri Lanka.

Much is often said about the potential, the role, the responsibilities and the special attributes of the young. Their qualities, like a litany, attract no end of flattering descriptions. When it comes, however, to the provision of vehicles for the expression of what young people feel, when it comes to the struggle against conditions that choke the aspirations of youth, words are not enough.

I need hardly remind you, ladies and gentlemen, that the grave international economic conditions of the day affect most severely the young among us. As this Second Meeting of Young Commonwealth Leaders sits on the eve of UNCTAD V in Manila, we do well to consider the range and the complexity of the problems before us.

The industrialised sections of the international community have, of late, moved towards a recognition that the often desperate plight of poor nations must be faced squarely. The move towards good will reflected in decisions now being taken at international negotiations is half-hearted and hesitant and has so far achieved only watered-down compromises.

The Second Meeting of Young Commonwealth Leaders has not been convened to give lip service to the qualities of youth and point to the forum that the Commonwealth is able, occasionally, to give to young leaders. This meeting is intended to exercise the qualities of young leaders; it is hoped that young leaders can contribute fresh insights and strategies whereby the Commonwealth-wide scourge of youth unemployment linked clearly to an unjust international economic order, can be better met, combated, and the way paved for its uninterrupted reduction. When I said that it gave me great pleasure to be with you here in Sri Lanka, I meant that in a very real sense. The Government and the young leaders of Sri Lanka have both launched important programmes to combat youth unemployment. The Sri Lankan experience is one where consistent efforts have been made to realize the qualities of youth.

The Government of Sri Lanka recently led the Commonwealth by establishing a Ministry for Youth Affairs and Employment in 1978. The recognition of the crucial nature of youth unemployment which this represented is a very important reason for choosing Colombo as the venue of the Second Meeting of Young Commonwealth Leaders. Other Commonwealth countries have begun to tender such recognition. At the end of 1978, the Government of Australia established its own Department of Employment and Youth Affairs.

The energy, organisational skill, and imagination of the National Youth Service Council of Sri Lanka has been a source of constant comment by my colleagues in the Commonwealth Secretariat's Youth Division. The development by the Council of a new 'Youth in Business' scheme, to assist unemployed youth to become self-employed, is one example of Commonwealth co-operation involving the National Youth Service Council, the Commonwealth

Secretariat, and the Government of Malaysia. The organisation, by the Commonwealth Youth Programme, of a 'Youth in Business' seminar in Kuala Lumpur in early 1978, helped to stimulate awareness of new techniques to encourage self-employment and to exploit the informal sector. And, of course, the energy and attention to detail by the Government of Sri Lanka and the National Youth Service Council in hosting and servicing this Second Meeting of Young Commonwealth Leaders, gathered to discuss youth unemployment, is evident in the arrangements from which we are all now benefiting at this inaugural session.

What sort of international effort can be engendered by this meeting of Young Leaders to meet the needs of all Commonwealth countries? We meet here bearing in mind the alarming nature of the problem: even in industrialised Commonwealth countries, young people from 15-25 form 40-50% of the total unemployed - almost as much as the entire adult population from 26-65. In developing Commonwealth countries, young people comprise 70% of the total unemployed and, in a few countries, the figure is as high as 80%. What do these figures mean, ladies and gentlemen? Percentages roll easily from the tongue. What they mean involves the future of all our countries. The ILO estimates, for instance, that for the continent of Africa to reach anything near full economic capacity and, thereby, take her place fully and self-reliantly on the world stage, 150 million new jobs must be created by the year 2,000. For whom is this job creation particularly pertinent if not the rising generation? But, Mr Prime Minister, it gives me cause for concern as a servant of the Commonwealth, contemplating what remains to be done, to reflect on how little has sometimes been done in years past. For, since the Commonwealth Secretariat was established in 1965 up to 150 million young Commonwealth citizens have tasted extended periods of unemployment.

There are some things about a New International Economic Order which bear especial consideration by young leaders. The first of these concerns the thorny question of aid. Of late, there have been some very encouraging decisions by a small number of industrialised nations. The transformation of long-term loans into outright grants have helped many of the poorest countries. Similarly, the further development of the soft-loan 'windows' of international lending agencies will assist poorer countries. But the sort of aid which I think will have the most significance is that which will help the poorer nations to stand on their own feet and become truly self-reliant. The provision of greater technical assistance of the kind that they require and ask for, should therefore be an important concern of international deliberations.

Secondly, a New International Economic Order, with the best will in the world, cannot come overnight. Young leaders will wish to discuss the issue of priority. Should special consideration be given to the very poorest, the least developed nations? Remember that only recently many international economists were prepared to write off altogether the least developed - under the pernicious justification that these countries were 'too far gone' to be assisted. Thankfully this sort of thinking has diminished - or perhaps it is still there, only it is no longer respectable to voice such thoughts openly. To counter its resurgence, the strategy of effective, special assistance to the poorest nations is something which young Commonwealth leaders can perhaps assist in developing.

Let me tie together the two points I am making. The progress being made towards fairer conditions of international trade will be of no assistance

to those very poor countries that have yet to develop export industries, or who have to rely on a very small range of export industries. Technical assistance, for these countries is an urgent requirement. We must beware of talking too rhetorically of a North and South. The South should not allow its own division into one group of trading nations which stand to grow from strength to strength or, at the least, from a position of weakness to relative strength; and a second group which can take nothing from the results of the current round of negotiations, a group that will become further deprived as they see their fellows developing enhanced economies. If this happens, it can only mean a group of countries, of Commonwealth countries to a large extent, where youth unemployment cannot be contained - where youth unemployment will grow and ensure the misery and deprivation of an entire generation. There is no guarantee, only a hope that this will not happen. Great responsibility, therefore, devolves upon the young leaders of Commonwealth countries.

Not that Commonwealth Governments have, individually, been unconcerned and inactive in the struggle against youth unemployment. In many parts of the Commonwealth unemployment has generated a large social problem. Young people have figured in numerous instances of violent behaviour as they have turned their energies from constructive thought to impatient defiance. Commonwealth Governments have tried, however, to provide opportunities for young people. These include the reform of education systems, and the establishment of national youth service schemes.

A number of Governments have been active in establishing schemes that depend to a large extent on the initiative and judgement of young people themselves. The young people serve as a spark by which greater economic activity is generated throughout the community and, through them, greater employment is provided to all age groups. Examples include the Young Pioneers of Malawi and their involvement in rural land development; the Village Polytechnics of Kenya and their enhancement of village economic life; the Youth in Business and Youth in Agriculture schemes of Malaysia, whereby an entrepreneurial culture has been developed, centred around young people who have been trained and financially assisted to become self-reliant and to act as catalysts in developing the informal sector. Such schemes demonstrate the faith of Commonwealth Governments in young people. Because of this faith, they look to this meeting of young Commonwealth leaders with great interest.

They perceive the educative role which young leaders can perform. Here, let me address myself separately to young leaders from the industrialised and the developing countries. Firstly, it is young leaders who will most readily perceive the necessity to proceed beyond good-will, as I mentioned earlier. Young leaders from industrialised countries will be aware, for instance, that despite lofty resolutions from the leaders of rich nations, trade protectionism actually increased in 1977. Yet the World Bank believes that if the lowest tariff barriers, those against raw materials, were removed, this alone would quickly result in the poor countries getting half of the extra foreign exchange they require to raise their growth rates to the U.N. target of 6% a year. Real development requires also the bringing down of trade barriers against manufactured goods. But, from where in the industrialised countries will the lead come for such firm and necessary action? Young leaders from these countries will see their role clearly in educating the electorate, and in advising Government leaders, that the long-term results of lowering or removing altogether such trade barriers need not result in their own industries being swamped by foreign competition.

The International Labour Organisation, a representative body consisting of the trade unions, managements and governments of the world, asserts that at the worst only one million people in all the rich countries put together would need to find new employment. Besides, it is pointed out, such an effect would be spread over two decades, involving no more than one hundred thousand jobs a year, a much smaller dislocation indeed than the effects of trade cycles and modernisation. And studies reveal that the increased world trade brought about the enhanced development and higher consumption in poor countries would create many more jobs in the rich countries than were lost.

Ladies and gentlemen, let us not be one-sided. The goodwill upon which we hope to build in the richer countries must be matched by good faith in the poorer ones. The call for distributive justice on an international level must be met also in the national context. This is a very challenging role for young leaders in the developing world. Development 'with a human face' must wear the very noblest of human qualities. The call from the developing world for distributive justice must, therefore, be a credible one. In this light, the educative role of young leaders must start from a basis of vigilance and be pursued without rest.

There is one further question which Commonwealth Governments would ask, quite apart from what kind of leadership young leaders can give to young people. This is, what can young leaders do to assist and guide Commonwealth governments? The Second Meeting of Young Commonwealth Leaders can provide the fresh thinking Commonwealth governments so earnestly seek in the field of youth unemployment; it can also provide encouragement and support for governments setting about the daunting task of realigning the international economic order and, by so doing, it can strengthen the confidence of Heads of Government that young leaders can indeed deliberate constructively and effectively.

In addition, the meeting will be able to stress the correlations between seemingly disparate things. It will be able to combine consideration of the international economic order with consideration of domestic problems; it will be able to consider economic questions alongside social ones; most importantly, it will be able to link young leaders with Commonwealth governments in a joint, constructive and continuing process - in much the same way as constructive and complementary action is generated by the Government of Sri Lanka and Sri Lankan young leaders.

Ladies and gentlemen, at this point a question may have shaped in your minds. Are we perhaps asking a little too much in calling for the young to lead us where we ourselves have not yet stepped? Obviously, we are asking them to inaugurate and be active agents of a vast process of regeneration in our affairs. Admittedly, young people show at times a hostile indifference to processes that they feel abandoned them or at least misunderstood them or did little or nothing for them. And yet, I strongly believe they are society's most precious resources - the means of its own regeneration. I cannot believe otherwise without disrespect to what I know of youth from the young men and women I have worked with, from my perception of myth and history and from the intuition of poets. I recall Dionysius the young god who dies every year to achieve the renewal of life, a myth re-enacted in many cultures and literatures through the ages in many forms, not to draw attention to his sacrifice but to his regenerative potency. And we note the theme of regeneration (brought about through the agency of youth) at the heart of Shakespeare's writing. Young people, ladies and gentlemen, have the power and the will to try.

Youth is indeed a value, an embodiment of qualities which poets and philosophers, no less than ordinary men and women, make many a plea to retain alongside the antinomy of age. Power with wisdom has been man's eternal search, and I see power here in the category of imagination, passion and vital encounter with reality, in order to give reality the shape of man's desire. Fresh and youthful infusions of power are necessary to reorder our tragic world. In parts of the Commonwealth this power is dramatically active: a throne of blood has just crumbled in Uganda, the course of renewal through dethronement of the past is vigorously asserting itself in Zimbabwe and Namibia as the struggle against racialist sham and shame-faced defiance intensifies in those two countries. To the question which I perceive as lingering, namely, whether the infusion of youthful principle and initiative is truly possible in international economic and national social problems, I would say, yes. I take heart from the spirit of idealism, endeavour, and commitment, displayed at the Meeting of Young Leaders held in Ocho Rios, Jamaica. The message of Ocho Rios was that young people are not defeated or defeatist, that they wish to contribute, to participate, to overcome obstacles, and to help their nations to overcome obstacles.

Ladies and gentlemen, what a bleak world it would be without the contribution of the young. Do you remember how in the Shakespeare parable the world of the craggy old egotistical King Lear fell to pieces, how his mind fell into chaos, when he banished Cordelia, so young and so true, from his court? The young have perception, they have vision. They are quick to perceive iniquity and are capable of seeking the relationship between national and international realities. It is natural for those who see first the need for change to be the agent of that change.

But too often it is not easy. Let me say quite frankly - sometimes Governments fear the young - sometimes Governments do not fully grasp the wisdom contained in the words of Frederick Douglas who said - "Those who profess to favour freedom and yet deprecate agitation, are men who want crops without ploughing up the ground." It is not that I favour agitation for its own sake, or even agitation at all if it can be avoided. What all Governments should seek is a way whereby the energy and concern of young people is not channelled into mindless agitation, but positive co-operation and commitment to national goals and international reform. The young will not be led meekly, however. It is in their nature to declare impatience, to agitate for speed, for courage and a commitment which they feel is equal to their own. I find this sort of agitation truly positive. There is nothing to say that young leaders cannot occasionally lead us. If the opportunity to participate in the great struggles of the day is afforded, alienation cannot be justified: I believe it cannot exist. Romain Gary, in his Prix Goncourt winning novel, 'The Roots of Heaven', wrote of the multiplicity of mankind - a multiplicity, incidentally, well represented in the Commonwealth. He referred to what Islam calls "the roots of heaven," but which is a feeling known by different names to all men and women. He wrote: "The thing that makes them fall on their knees and raise their eyes and beat their tormented breasts... Our need for justice, for freedom and dignity are roots of heaven that are deeply embedded in our hearts, but of heaven itself men know nothing but the gripping roots..." It is surely in the hearts of the young where such roots are best nourished.

Mr Prime Minister, I have a faith in young people. The social and economic regeneration of all Commonwealth countries depends on their courage. Much remains to be done. I, for one, am quite confident that it will be done.

VOTE OF THANKS

Hon. K. Musokotwane

Minister of Youth & Sports, Zambia

We are here in Sri Lanka, a young developing country with all the potential for further development in all spheres and more particularly in the direction of enhancing the role of young men in changing the destiny of their own country. Testament to this is the presence today among us of the convenor of the conference of young people under the Chairmanship of the youngest of the young ministers here. Perhaps Cmrd. Chairman, on the subject matter of my vote of thanks I should like to thank on behalf of all my colleagues and delegates from the Commonwealth the Government and the people of Sri Lanka for the wonderful hospitality accorded to us since we arrived in their country. I am sure I speak on behalf of all the delegates when I say that in Sri Lanka all of us are feeling at home, away from home. Members of the Commonwealth Secretariat deserve a pat on the shoulder for all their efforts put into the organisation of this meeting. We are grateful to them. I am participating for the first time in a meeting organised by CYP as are some delegates in this conference. What we have read, what we know about the CYP has brought us here and we are confident and desire that the CYP must continue to give stimulus, it must continue to give impetus to Governments as well as to young men and women in shaping the destinies of their own future and the future of their own countries.

The Ocho Rios Declaration is significant, it is significant in that it is a pointer to the determination of young people to how they play their role in national development. The Ocho Rios Declaration is a document that is the sum total of the feelings of young people and more fundamentally and especially of the feelings of young people in different Commonwealth countries. For example the youth of Zambia and its first General Youth Council recommended to our Government that a Ministry of Youth be created. In Ocho Rios this feeling was presented on an international front. I stand here before you as the first Zambian Youth Minister. This clearly shows that some of the declarations that youth make both at national and international levels get some hearing. This is a most encouraging development, Mr. Prime Minister the country which I represent at this meeting is hosting the next HGM in August this year. Some of the themes the Colombo Meeting will consider will undoubtedly be considered further in Lusaka. Hence it should be the desire of the young people meeting here today that their views, no matter how diverse, should be brought to the attention of the Lusaka Meeting. To this end the presence at this meeting, of Prof. Murshid is of particular significance. This meeting is significant not only in terms of the subject matter discussed but also because it has attracted many professionals, and politicians. It is important that people who are diverse must come together and look at issues that generally affect us. This and future such meetings of Young Leaders is a sure way of assuring the growth of the Commonwealth. We gathered here Cmrd Chairman, are the future of the Commonwealth.

My government's commitment to the Commonwealth Youth Programme is total. My Government has participated fully in this Programme before, apart from hosting the Africa Regional Centre, a new building which is to be completed in August or September this year. Finally Chairman, Mr. Prime Minister, my fellow delegates and I are indebted to you for the stimulating address which will certainly go a long way in contributing to the success of this conference. We feel encouraged and with your support the youth of the Commonwealth is bound to contribute in a very fundamental way to the welfare of mankind.

YOUTH EMPLOYMENT AND THE NORTH/SOUTH DIALOGUE

Hon. Lalith Athulathmudali

Minister of Trade and Shipping, Sri Lanka

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I consider myself honoured to be invited to address this second meeting of Young Commonwealth Leaders. It is also a matter of national pride that you have selected Sri Lanka as the venue for this important meeting.

I have noted with satisfaction the rapid increase in all aspects of Commonwealth activity including this programme. No doubt, the Governments of the Commonwealth have been largely responsible for giving the political direction necessary for these advances. Simultaneously, the Commonwealth Secretariat has effectively co-ordinated and multiplied this political will. In recent times this success has been largely due to the incumbent Secretary General, His Excellency Mr. Ramphal, a respected leader of the Commonwealth, who has won recognition beyond it as an acclaimed international figure.

I have been asked to speak about 'Youth Unemployment and its place as a compelling issue in the North/South Dialogue'. Before I venture forth, I think it is necessary that we should look at the youth of today and compare them to the young generation of a previous era - let us say 50 years ago. Today, youth constitute a greater proportion of the total population than they did before. If I were to take youth as those under 35 years of age, today Sri Lanka society would have 9.3 million youth out of a population of 14 million, while 50 years ago, the proportion was much less.

The youth of today are better educated than their fathers. Sri Lanka's present literacy rate is about 90% while not even 40% could read and write many years ago. The new generation have a better knowledge of science than their forefathers. In our country there are today a significant number of children in the Science stream while many more learn General Science. Fifty years ago, however, very few had the privilege of even going into a Science school. Similarly, health standards have improved. Life expectancy today is around 70 years - gone up by over 30 years in half a century. Infant mortality in our country has dropped dramatically and is one of the lowest ever in the developing world.

These young people are healthier, more knowledgeable, better educated and are greater in number, but they are subject to more pressures. The pace of life, the exhortations of advertising, the propaganda of radio and, if I may say, the mesmerisation of TV, have changed life quite substantially, quite irrevocably. All these have contributed to impatience. They have presented a wider challenge, they have, opened up bigger and better horizons for the young, awakened in our youth a desire to reach up and conquer these horizons, created in this generation an awareness to find themselves on their own terms.

In this bold new context, it is necessary to identify the attitude of elders to the youth of today. It would be a generalisation, but a fairly accurate one, to say that no longer is the father a 'pater-familias.' No longer are young people considered to serve by merely standing and waiting. No longer in our society is there a dictatorship of the elders. Young and old are today partners in progress. In a country such as ours, where parental love is a strong and sustained element of our culture, parents often work and sacrifice for a better future, not for themselves but for their children. The partnership is, therefore, a natural development as far as this country is concerned.

May I commend to you therefore my interpretation of the ideal exercise, the perfect compromise for youth and its elders today-

A partnership between youth and its elders:

Where aspirations are tempered by experience

Where radicalism is channeled by practicality

Where desirability is modulated by possibility

Where justice and love go hand in hand.

While the attitude of elders to youth has changed, so has the attitude of youth to elders. It is increasingly one of independence and one of challenge. Challenge is often characterised by impatience and in many instances leads to confrontation. In a culture such as ours, the question that is often asked is 'should confrontation lead to disrespect and the neglect of elders?' Confrontation, however, is the very essence of youth. It is the sine qua non of change. The need for change is inevitable, but the criterion is to be able at any moment to sacrifice what we are for what we could become; therein lies the justification of change.

If one were to summarise the three stages of man, one would find that:-

- a) the young believe in total change in one blow;
- b) the middle aged believe in some change but in many stages;
- c) the old believe in a little or no change in any way.

In this confrontation, therefore, society faces the age old problem - the need for change as opposed to the yearning for stability. This generation clamours universally, more vigorously, more demandingly and, sometimes, more ferociously for change. One may look for many causes for this and give many explanations, but no analyst can escape a reference to or overlook the burning problem of unemployment among youth.

Youth Unemployment

That unemployment affects youth is an unfortunate truism. Part of this is a problem of rapid growth of population unaccompanied in many countries by a commensurate expansion of employment opportunities. This has often been compounded by the way in which education has been handled. There has been misdirection in education and the result is that today one is constantly faced and bewildered by the presence of the right man without the right job and, in reverse, the right job without the right man. We have produced in many countries a surplus of Arts graduates and suffer from a paucity of Science ones. We have many many competent people to be clerks but few competent to be mechanics.

There are many to teach the arts, but oh so few to teach the sciences. We have also throughout the world created what may be called an education of specialists, that is to say we have produced many people who are specialists in their own fields and know nothing about other fields. They live in the vacuum of separate 'specialist compartments' unable to communicate with or move to take the position of another specialist who in turn is in another similar predicament. All this has not only reduced the mobility of labour but also aggravated the problem of employment.

It was Lord Charles Snow who warned us in his book 'Two Cultures' of what we were facing, but his warnings have gone unheeded. In an analysis of this problem Lord Snow wrote: 'In fact, the separation between the scientists and non-scientists is much less bridgeable among the young than it was even thirty years ago. Thirty years ago the cultures had long ceased to speak to each other: but at least they managed a kind of frozen smile across the gulf. Now the politeness has gone, and they just make faces. It is not only that the young scientists now feel that they are part of a culture on the rise while the other is in retreat. It is also, to be brutal, that the young scientists know that with an indifferent degree they'll get a comfortable job, while their contemporaries and counterparts in English or History will be lucky to earn 60 per cent as much.'

The problem of youth unemployment has been complicated by the nature of social aspirations. Everybody, from politician to preacher, magnifies the dignity of labour but none uphold it by example. Often employment is a matter of status. All extol the efforts of our blue-collar comrades but secretly aspire to white-collar positions. Yet in most labour practices, employment is horizontal and affords very few opportunities to climb up the ladder to higher status. The fact is that in most systems of employment, dignity of status is confused with dignity of labour, so that in many instances administrators are paid more than better qualified technicians.

These are some of the complications that arise in attempting to focus on the problem of youth unemployment, but there is a more cardinal error which we must guard against - that is the belief that employment is the answer to youth. It is a mistake, and a mistake far too often made, to equate employment as a fulfilment of youthful aspirations, or, to believe that unemployment and youth unrest are coterminous. Many prescribe employment as a remedy for youth unrest but they hardly know that they are providing only a momentary solution to a perpetual problem. True enough there is a connection between employment and youthful aspirations but they are no more than two circles with a common core.

What then are youthful aspirations? They range from the mundane to the sublime. From the day to day worries and anxieties to the ultimate fulfilment of hopes and ideals. Youth dreams pure dreams, untroubled by vested interests, unqualified by practical considerations, unruffled by tensions of power. They see a mirror of society with its injustices heightened. Injustices caused by society by mal-distribution of income, by superstition and prejudice. Their innocence does not always perceive that the fight against individual and social injustices is a perpetual or an ever recurring one; instead the simplicity of their perception heightens their clamour for action.

All this demands that society should set its course and travel constantly and unswervingly towards not only a morally just but also a morally righteous society. It is a path that one has to tread even though one may never arrive at the end; it is a path from which governments and nations have too often strayed; it is the only path along which society can liquidate its debt to youth. Everywhere people ask: "What can we actually do"? In the simple wisdom of "Small is Beautiful" Schumacher provides the answer: "The answer is as simple as it is disconcerting: we can, each of us, work to put our own inner house in order. The guidance we need for this work cannot be found in science or technology, the value of which utterly depends on the ends they serve; but it can still be found in the traditional wisdom of mankind."

Most of what I have spoken of so far relates to the internal situation in countries. Naturally, that is where most of the elements of a solution lie, but it will be superficial to believe that countries by themselves by their own efforts will provide all the answers for the problem of youth and unemployment.

The world economy has become so interdependent and science has brought the ideas and ideals of nations into such a juxtaposition that escape for anyone from the outside world is as impossible as from his own society. Most crises, economic and otherwise, in a given society have their source in or impinge upon the rest of the world. So, any solution to the problem of youth and, particularly of unemployment, has to be resolved at international level.

The North/South Dialogue

When one begins to do so, that is the point where the North/South Dialogue - the third aspect of my talk comes into focus. The North/South Dialogue is a focussing by nations on the principal economic injustices of this world. The developing countries, who are the poor primary producers, are in world economic terms - the hewers of wood and the drawers of water - for the rich industrialised nations. The developing countries consist of more than two-thirds of the world and each of their citizens on average is nearly one hundred times poorer than a citizen of an advanced country. What is more, they still continue to grow poorer. The stark reality of the existing Economic Order is seen from its by-products:

- a) 900 million below the required calorie requirement for nutrition (i.e. 2350 Calories);
- b) 1200 million do not have access to safe drinking water;
- c) 800 million do not have basic health services;
- d) Approx. 800 million do not have basic housing;
- e) 1100 million do not have basic education;
- f) 700 million live in absolute poverty (per capita less than \$200) i.e. 40% of the Third World.

The North/South Dialogue has produced various issues for discussion - the reasonable prices of commodities, transfer of technology, protectionism in trade, the power of multinationals etc. At a glance, it will be obvious to many that all of them in one way or another affect both youth and the problem of unemployment.

Perhaps, it is necessary for me to illustrate one of these problems - that of protectionism. The most advantageous position for the world has been the strategic location of industries from the point of view of comparative cost advantage. This has resulted in some distribution of more elementary industries in the developing world such as garments, electronics and footwear. Consequently, there has been a very slight movement of some types of jobs from North to South. But, unfortunately, the North which hitherto espoused the cause of free trade is now the harbinger of evil tidings in the form of protectionism. Everywhere governments of advanced countries are taking steps to cut off and limit the industrial manufactures of the poor countries of this world. All this action is taken despite the fact that the consumer in the advanced country has to pay more for his goods. Action is, however, taken on the grounds of high unemployment.

I remember a minister in a developed country with whom I once negotiated a textile agreement saying to me that, in his country unemployment would go up from 7% to 8% if there was no restriction imposed on exports of the developing countries. I said to him in reply that, if the export was allowed, unemployment in my country would go down from 22% to 19% and that an 8% unemployment, which he feared so much for his country, was to me more a solution than a problem! I pointed out to him that only 6% of Europe's textiles came from Asia and for one job lost by "cheap imports" 54 are lost by advances in technology.

One can discuss the evils of protectionism at length. One can point out for instance that for every so called job lost to exports from developing countries many more jobs are gained by the advanced countries by satisfying the increased demand in the developing world for the industrialised goods of the developed nations. One can point out that restrictive practices in world trading conditions adversely affect total world employment and help to keep total world unemployment at a higher level than it ought to be. However, to put it briefly, protectionism is and has always been collective suicide. Protectionism although it may temporarily alleviate national unemployment always fuels universal unemployment which in turn must necessarily lead to youth unrest, particularly in the developing world.

As an enemy of the New International Economic Order, Protectionism cannot but widen the gulf that exists between the developing and developed countries. We have in this country under the leadership of President Jayawardene, turned away from Protectionism. Despite the fact that we have had to face severe economic difficulties as a result of the terms of trade being constantly against us, we have two years ago embarked on a bold outward looking policy of liberalisation in import/export control and exchange control procedures. Already the benefits of these policies are being felt by the vast majority of our people and I wish to commend for your consideration the spirit behind these policies. A return to more liberal policies of trade, aid and investment cannot but herald a recovery in world economy.

Today, what is politely termed North/South Dialogue did not occur sua sponte, but was born of the insistent demand of developing nations for a New International Economic Order. The New International Economic Order, called NIEO, in international jargon, is often thought to be only a governmental matrix, but it is a polarised circuit of vitalism - one which all of us, particularly those of us who have undertaken greater national responsibilities have to accept - NIEO is the only instrument by which the problems that engulf the quivering circuit of master and man, rich and poor, developed and developing, can be circumvented - it is another way of life. It is the indication of Time's arrow!

The North/South Dialogue is often a forum of confrontation where far too often the developing countries seek some share of the primal things and the developed countries often reluctantly concede and gradually give relief. More often than not, negotiations are long drawn out and negotiators on behalf of the developed world lack insight and understanding of the true but frightening dimensions of the Third World's problems. The International Economic Order is not a banner for confrontation, but by its claim for justice a true herald of world economic cooperation. The New International Economic Order is founded on the bedrock of interdependence.

Many of us talk of interdependence, but far fewer understand its true proportions and potentialities. As the world advances it has to specialise, and one has to depend on other people and other nations to satisfy ones ever increasing and ever more sophisticated demands and wants. No country can be self-sufficient any more. Any country which seeks to proceed on the path of self-sufficiency will travel but never really arrive. Interdependence, even for those who understand it, is not sufficiently important in their minds to seek to convince others. The theme of interdependence, as I said earlier, is the essence of the NIEO and needs to be more widely perceived so that we will not obscure the truth, that we must not despise the elemental needs, when some have been granted them and other have not. It is therefore the responsibility of every one of you Young Leaders, especially as you are of the most geographically diverse but spiritually compact group in the world, to evaluate and inculcate the theme of interdependence among the people you lead and whose lives you claim to influence. The commitment comes more

sharply into focus in many key countries of the North/South Dialogue which are democratic ones and their governments are formed by the votes of the people. Interdependence is sharing and sharing brings work for each and everyone of us - a task to be fulfilled within the framework of any democratic society.

The birth of a New International Economic Order is essential, for then and then only, will youth be satisfied not merely with employment but with the opportunity of raising their eyes to the world outside of themselves, to other lives to which we are bound by loyalty and obligation - to others whose lives have the same irremediable components as our own, components that one can help, or that can give help. It is in this tiny extension of the personality, it is in this seizing on the possibilities of hope, that we become more fully human; it is a way to improve the quality of our lives - it is, for them and for us, the beginning of a morally righteous and socially just society, which after all is the totality of social condition.

YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT

Hon. Hugh Small
Minister of Youth, Sports & Community Development
Jamaica

The first meeting of young Commonwealth Leaders held in 1977 in Ocho Rios demonstrated that this gathering has the potential to strengthen the ideals of the Commonwealth by providing a forum for discussion among young people which can result in practical proposals for the solution of common problems and so make the Commonwealth more relevant to the lives of the ordinary citizens whose nations comprise this voluntary association of independent states.

In Ocho Rios we recognised that it is in youth that man aspires to prove his worth more than at any other time in his life and that the enthusiasm and noble aspirations of youth, apart from their self-awareness have made young people a significant social and political force in all political systems. We expressed ourselves in simple and clear terms when in paragraph two of the Declaration of Ocho Rios we stated our belief that: "increased participation by youth leaders, officials and young politicians in a united effort, within local, national and international institutions, is imperative for hastening the pace of development and for combating the intolerable evil of unemployment which so extensively pervades the ranks of youth and most directly affects their right to equality of opportunity. We therefore as youth leaders, officials and young politicians dedicate our energies and efforts to the full involvement of the young in decision-making at all levels in our countries so that social and economic development can more rapidly be achieved." It is therefore appropriate that today we meet again and this time discuss youth unemployment.

Youth unemployment is not merely the absence of the opportunity for youth to participate in the production process, because unemployment means much more than the inability to earn a living. It is also the absence of opportunity to participate in the development of one's family, one's community and one's own country. A young person who is unemployed has to endure countless hours of idleness. Unemployment stultifies the growth and development of his personality. He or she is likely to be under-fed and therefore fails to develop his or her full physical potential at the time of life that his or her body is capable of its greatest strength.

Idleness is not just the absence of physical activity, it is a double curse which also affects the mind by cultivating habits of laziness, dependency and mental inactivity. It robs the individual of the success of achievement and the sense of purpose which comes from the social practice of regular work.

The unemployed youth is therefore not just the symbol of lost opportunity. He is a living reminder that despite his great scientific advances man continues to waste himself and threatens his best achievements by facilitating the development of social alienation and delinquency which are the by-products of any system which does not concretise the human right of every individual to gainful employment.

Mr. Chairman, I propose to structure my contribution to this discussion by concentrating my attention on youth unemployment in the Third World in general and in the Commonwealth in particular. By concentrating on the Third World I do not for a moment deny that the problem of unemployment among young people is a serious one for the developed and industrialised countries. The background paper on youth unemployment which was prepared by the Youth Division of the Commonwealth Secretariat stated one aspect of the dimension of this problem: "Unemployment among young people is a major problem in industrialised as well as developing countries. In the OECD group, unemployment is growing and young people between school leaving age and 25 now constitute 40% of those who are unemployed. To take three Commonwealth examples from this group: in Australia, young people under 21 form 12% of the labour force but 40% of those unemployed; in Canada, young people from 15-24 form 30% of the labour force but 50% of the unemployed; in New Zealand, young men from 15-24 form 43% of all the male unemployed."

Severe as these problems are for the developed world, they are much more significant for the developing world and so I concentrate on the Third World because it constitutes the vast majority of the youth of the world and because now that the process of political liberation is nearing completion, it brings to the forefront the question of the economic transformation of people whose exploitation has been the foundation on which much of the development of the world has been based.

The extent of the youth unemployment in the Third World dramatises the failure of post independent development policies to effect economic transformation and that these failures are ultimately conditioned by the system of international economic relations in which they are inserted. I will contend that genuine economic transformation and hence the solution to the problem of youth unemployment can only begin in the context of a new international economic order.

Employment and inflation are endemic features of society where production is for private profit and they lead to under-utilisation of resources and especially human resources. The problem is more severe in the Third World which is part of the capitalist system, and the misallocation and under-utilisation of resources arises not only because of the internal contradictions within individual economies but they are also doubly entrenched because of the nature of economic relations to which the Third World is subordinated. In fact high and mounting levels of unemployment is one of the distinguishing characteristics of the very concept in the Third World.

Whereas considerable alarm is caused in the capitalist countries when unemployment rates rise towards double digit figures, it is not uncommon for Third World countries to have persistent rates of unemployment which range between 20 and 30%. In these countries it is particularly oppressive to youth and women.

I wish to pause to point out that the reason why I have singled out women for special mention in a discussion which deals with youth unemployment is that we must remember that the term 'youth' embraces both man and woman and that where ever there is high unemployment among young people, young women constitute the majority of that category. World opinion needs to be constantly reminded that unemployment among women is often disguised because women are confined to the role of mother at a young age and because they are forced to endure the countless hours of labour in the drudgery of repetitious and uncreative (though necessary) house-work. Because of this we often fail to recognise that they are unemployed and underemployed.

One of the characteristics of Third World countries is that their populations are relatively young. Approximately 60% of the people are below the age of 29 years. Uniform statistics are not easily available. In 1970, 60.9% of the population of Barbados and in the same year 71.5% of the population of Ghana was under 29. In 1971, 65.98% of the population of Sri Lanka was below 29 years. In 1972 68.3% of the population of Mauritius fell into this category and in 1977, 68% of the population of Jamaica. The average of these 5 countries is 66%.

Another characteristic of the Third World countries is the growth in the share of urban population although agriculture remains the main sector of employment. In the post independence period the predominant position of export crops as compared to crops for home consumption has also remained a characteristic feature. These factors have led to the growing aggravation of the food problem and the expenditure of large sums of foreign exchange to buy basic food from the developed world. This has increased the dependence of the developing world on the capitalist system and has also reduced the available foreign exchange which is required to build up national industries to industrialise the Third World.

The growing urbanisation of economies of Third World countries has therefore aggravated their food problem and led to the speedy increase in unemployment, and the phenomenon of urban unemployment most cruelly inhibits the development of the youth.

Statistics are not readily available, but ILO sources indicate that in the 1960s urban unemployment rates ranged between 20 and 40% in Third World countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The situation worsened in the 1970s. The problem of urban unemployment has been related to the general lack of development or rural life and in particular the failure of most Third World countries to undertake thorough land reform programmes. The consequences are that the phenomenon of urbanisation in the Third World is one that relates almost exclusively to young people because they are without a stake in the land and they leave the country for the attraction of city life and the promise of opportunity which does not materialise.

Urbanisation has brought with it the development of a large sector of young people who are neither a part of the peasantry nor are they a part of the industrialised working class. They exist on the periphery of economic activity in the towns and do not completely adjust to urban life. Nothing to which they have been exposed in their educational background has prepared them for this experience.

Education is not sufficiently oriented towards the acquisition of vocational skills which will prepare them to be productive workers and so in many instances even if employment opportunities exist, young people are unable to secure work. Consequently urban unemployment among youth of the Third World relates not only to uneducated and literate persons but also to thousands of school leavers who have graduated from the educational system.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to place the situation of the youth of the Third World within the context of the general poverty which is characteristic of its under development. The ILO report to which I referred had this to say on the subject: "Today in spite of the immense efforts that have been made, both at the national and at the international levels, a significant proportion of mankind continues to eke out an existence in the most abject conditions of material deprivation. More than 700 million people live in acute poverty and are destitute. At least 460 million persons were estimated to suffer from a severe degree of protein-energy malnutrition even before the recent food crisis. Scores of millions live constantly under a threat of starvation. Countless millions suffer from debilitating diseases of various sorts and lack access to the most basic medical services. The squalor of urban slums is too well known to need further emphasis. The number of illiterate adults has been estimated to have grown from 700 million in 1960 to 760 million towards 1970. The tragic waste of human resources in the Third World is symbolised by nearly 350 million persons unemployed or underemployed in the mid 1970s." And it goes on to say "In most developing countries the richest 10 per cent of households typically receive about 40 per cent of personal income, whereas the poorest 40 per cent of households receive 15 per cent or less."

Inequalities exist also at the international level. The postwar period has been marked by growing gaps in income and wealth between a small number of industrialised countries and the bulk of the other countries. In 1972 the industrial market economies, with less than one-fifth of world population, accounted for two-thirds of world output. . At the other extreme, a quarter of the world's population lived in countries with average per head incomes of less than US\$200 and whose total output was under 3 per cent of global output. If China were included in these figures, nearly half of the world's population received less than 7 per cent of the world's income."

The problem of youth unemployment is therefore the core of the larger problem of high unemployment levels in the labour force of the Third World as a whole.

The question that arises for discussion is, will the youth who are increasingly becoming a significant political force be prepared to accept that things must remain this way. Today's youth are in a very real sense the first generation who have grown up in the post colonial era. Their social situation demonstrates that political independence and the economic measures which most newly independent states have pursued have not been an adequate solution to the first responsibility of new nations, that is to provide employment and material welfare for the first generation for whom they have been responsible. Current trends in the world indicate that unless there are fundamental adjustments there will be continuing deterioration

in the unemployment among young people and in the well-being of the mass of people in the Third World. The effects of the staggering rise in the cost of energy, in the increasing burden of debt-payment and the general crisis which international capital has experienced since the mid 1970s creates a situation in which the solution to the problem of youth unemployment requires fundamental changes in the world economic system and in the economies of Third World countries.

The current generation of youth will have to live in a world which is in a different historic stage from that in which their parents were born. Because many of them did not personally experience the former colonial system and have been exposed to the most advanced stage of the international struggle for national liberation they are an important part of mankind which is becoming impatient with all forms of oppression. This generation will not be deluded by the symbols of sovereignty and political independence. They understand the nature of new colonialism and life itself has taught them to look behind the symbols of nationhood at the reality of the economic relations in which their countries are trapped. This generation of youth is in the vanguard of the world movement of socio-economic liberation which is expanding at an ever increasing rate.

A recent publication by UNESCO entitled "Thinking Ahead: UNESCO and the Challenges of Today and Tomorrow" has recognised the critical situation of contemporary youth in these words: "The difficulties of a social, psychological nature (marginality, delinquency, feeling of uselessness) due to prolonged insecurity combined to heighten the tensions which usually exist between youth, eager for change, and the rest of society more anxious for stability. The unease felt by young people about the economic machinery over which they have no control pushes them into the form of activities that are attributable to their social status (young workers, students etc.) much more than to the fact that they are young".

And so UNESCO, embodying as it does a wide cross section of international opinion recognises, as indeed must the leaders of the world, that unless there is an outlet through which youth can contribute, their energies will be transformed into a destructive force which will increase social instability, subvert any form of development, and threaten peace itself.

We have argued that the extent of youth unemployment and alienation reflects the failures of national re-construction in the post-independent period. The principal basis for these failures has been the continuing monopoly of Third World resources by foreign capitalists and local ruling classes hostile to change. This monopoly has been exercised primarily through direct ownership. However, it has been supplemented traditionally by the exploitation of Third World countries through unequal trade and increasingly the growth of national indebtedness. Everyone recognises that growth and development can only come about through reorganisation of the economic system within the Third World countries as well as the restructuring of international relations between the advanced capitalist countries and the countries of the periphery. However, precisely because of the common colonial experience, it is the domination of the economy by foreign capital that constitutes the principal obstacle to social change.

The proposals advanced by Third World countries under the title of a New International Economic Order must be seen as a means of overcoming some of these constraints. In a recent paper prepared for a Seminar on UNCTAD V at the University of the West Indies, Professor C.Y. Thomas of the University of Guyana has summarised the N.I.E.O. demands as follows:

- (i) Commerce: In the field of commerce a rise in the price and increase in the volume of exports of the Third World's basic products to the industrialised countries. This is to be achieved by some combination of internationally operated buffer schemes (and the associated demands for a "common fund" and "indexing of prices") enlargement of quotas and lower duties; multilateral long term contracts; producer cartels a la OPEC; and the deliberate creation of access in the industrialised countries for manufactures and semi-manufactures produced in these countries.
- (ii) Aid and External Indebtedness: In the field of aid and external indebtedness there is the call for the liquidation and/or rescheduling of most of the Third World's periphery's foreign indebtedness, presently estimated at between \$180-\$200 billion US; maintaining an "equitable", guaranteed and automatic transfer of resources from the industrialised countries (often expressed as a percentage of GNP - usually 1%); the direction of most aid to the poorest countries and poorest sections of any given country in order to raise the level of "basic needs" satisfaction; that all aid should be "utilised" and preferably directed through multilateral institutions.
- (iii) Resource and Technology: To recognise the full sovereignty of each country over its natural resources, including those of the adjoining sea and air-space (with special considerations for land-locked states); to promote an effective international code to govern world trade in technology, particularly with respect to problems of ownership, control, use, taxation, financial flows, accounting procedures, utilisation of Research and Development funds and transfer pricing.
- (iv) Foreign Exchange: To phase out the use of national currencies as international reserves; to ensure for the Third World's (periphery) improved access to international liquidity; to democratize the decision making structures of all international financial institutions.
- (v) Regional Cooperation: To foster joint efforts and schemes of collective self-reliance and to promote regional integration and/or cooperation among countries of the periphery.
- (vi) Discrimination: To end discrimination in trade by involving all countries in the international division of labour.

Two things stand out as obvious. First, while these demands speak to a fundamental restructuring of the world economy they do not go so far as to call for the complete abolition of the imperialist system. As such, they represent a starting point but nevertheless an important contribution to the struggle for national liberation. Second, the level of support for these demands varies from country to country according to the level of commitment of the ruling regime to the anti-imperialist struggle. Nevertheless they represent a rallying point or a focus for concerted action on behalf of Third World countries in seeking a more equitable partnership with the advanced countries in the world economy.

It is clear that it is in the interest of youth to support the demands for a New International Economic Order in so far as these reduce the constraints now holding back national development and that by raising the demand for the New International Economic Order the youth movement will be making a concrete contribution to the struggle for national liberation and social progress. The role of the youth in this struggle was recognised in the UNESCO publication to which I have referred in the following terms: "A large proportion of young people appear to be aware that no true peace can be attained so long as there continues to exist vestiges of colonialism, racism, apartheid, neo-colonialism and more generally, the various forms of oppression and domination which are still at work in the world. Many young people include amongst actions for the attaining of lasting peace campaigns for national independence, territorial integrity, equality among nations and the sovereign rights of nations to control their national resources and to adopt forms of social organisation conducive to the cause of freedom and justice." We are suggesting that the NIEO constitute a concrete and constructive articulation of these widespread concerns among today's youth.

Consistent with support for NIEO at the level of the international economy, today's youth must begin to concern themselves with constructive programmes for national construction in order to participate directly in solving problems of unemployment and lack of opportunities which bear down so heavily on them. Youth organisations should take the initiative to develop new forms of economic activity and new ways of bringing idle natural resources into productive use. They must recognise the political and economic limitations which circumscribe the capacity of the national governments. While they must be encouraged to challenge the old social order, they must at the same time put forward concrete programmes for economic development and transformation.

In this endeavour they could receive valuable assistance from the publication of popular brochures and pamphlets summarising the experiences of youth in developing social and economic programmes to alleviate unemployment. This seems to be one area in which the activities of the Commonwealth Youth Programme could be immediately extended.

Finally, however, these efforts will require the leadership or at least the sanction of national governments. Youth organisations should take the initiative in sensitizing national economic policy to the importance of youth unemployment. They should seek to ensure that the problem is treated in an integral fashion and occupies a central position in governments' overall strategies.

Mr. Chairman, I have treated the subject from the perspective of the Third World, but before I end this contribution to your discussion, I wish to stress that within the creation of the New International Economic Order lies the possibility for the solution of many of the problems of unemployment among the youth of the developed industrialised countries. We must remember that underdevelopment not only restricts the purchasing capacity of the Third World, but it is quite a limiting variable in the expansion of world trade. The change in the world economy which is proposed by the New International Economic Order involves both justice for the poor and an increase in world trade.

In addition to the development of the New International Economic Order, I submit that the developed countries can provide opportunities for their youth by taking swift and effective steps to direct the vast resources which they currently waste on arms and weapons of human destruction to the provision of meaningful programmes of employment and human need.

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, the cause of peace is everybody's business but it concerns the youth more than any other sector in society because it is they who will have the responsibility to guide the future of mankind. Mankind's future cannot be assured and peace will evade us if a significant section of the youth is systematically deprived of the right to work.

This generation like all those before it are the custodians of all of mankind's achievements. This generation unlike any before it is faced with a threat which challenges the very roots of civilised living on earth. We owe it to our forefathers before us, we owe it to the unborn generations of mankind to ensure that today's youth will be fit to fulfil their historic responsibilities.

YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT : THE ROOT CAUSE

Hon. Ali Mchumo, M.P.

Junior Minister for Home Affairs, Tanzania

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 effected 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 change 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 multinationals 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.

MOBILISATION FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Background paper by Dr. B. Persaud, Acting Director
Economic Affairs Division, Commonwealth Secretariat

The Problem

In terms of numbers and the sheer size of the problem of world poverty, let alone considerations of morality and humanity, world poverty must rank as the most important problem facing the international community. From the preoccupations of the developed countries - market-economy and centrally planned - this would not seem to be the case. Recession and other internal problems and international security are issues of major concern and since the perceptions and interests of the developed countries are dominant in the international transmission of knowledge and information, the recognition of the primacy of the poverty problem must await a higher development of internationalism.

But the figures speak for themselves. Thirty developed countries with less than 30% of the world's current population account for 90% of the world's income. Recent World Bank estimates show that over 1100m people or more than one-quarter of the world's population receive less than the minimum daily requirement of calories. Other estimates - from the UN - show that more than 1200m people are not served with clean drinking water - a most despairing situation from the standpoint of health improvement and physical development. And that about 1100m are without basic education reveals the distance still to be traversed before the provision of equality of opportunity internationally can begin to be realised.

Although there is wide recognition of the extent of the problem, development takes time but it was hoped that with the continued growth and economic expansion of the developed countries, the developing countries would become increasingly caught up in the process of development through a 'trickle down' effect. In fact some e.g. South Korea, Taiwan etc. were already caught up in this process. The fact that developing countries on the whole grew faster than the developed countries in the post-war period - 5% per year against 4.7% - was and remains one of the main reasons for this complacent attitude.

However the reality of the situation is much worse than that indicated by the over-all average growth rate and is increasingly being appreciated. First of all when account is taken of the higher rate of population increase of developing countries - 2.5% per annum compared with just over 1% - the per capita income increase of the developed countries

is much higher - 3.5% compared with 2.5%. Since the developing countries started from a much lower base, the gap in per capita income widened tremendously in absolute terms. Between 1952 and 1972 while per capita real income in the developing countries increased from \$175 to \$300, in the developed countries the increase was from \$2000 to \$4000.

Secondly, and more important, is the fact that the average figures conceal for the developing countries a variable performance, with the poorer countries tending to do worse. A recent World Bank estimate has shown that the Low Income Developing Countries (those with per capita income of \$250 or less in 1976) grew at only 3.1% between 1960 and 1975 - a rate just above population increase, so that only very marginal gains were made on the whole in living standards. In fact for many of these countries and for a significant proportion of their populations - the poorer 40% - there would have been no gains and in some cases there were even declines. The seriousness of the situation for the present and foreseeable future and the endemic nature of hard-core poverty is revealed in recent projections by the World Bank. On fairly optimistic assumptions about growth rates, it is shown that there would be little reduction in the number of people in the world classified as the absolute poor by the end of the century - from about 770m in 1975 to 600m.

Perceptions

For developing countries the reality cannot be confined to overall growth rates. For many countries and their peoples, economic stagnation, widespread underemployment, malnutrition, disease, intolerable infant mortality rates and stunted physical and mental development are of immediate concern. These factors set up a vicious circle and a poverty trap from which it is difficult for countries to extricate themselves. The slow progress made in eliminating hard-core poverty and unemployment have led to increasing disenchantment with the promise of a 'trickle down' process. The emergence of the world economic crisis in 1974 aggravated the already fragile situation facing many developing countries. It is no surprise therefore that this period saw the heightened demand on the part of the developing countries for a New International Economic Order. The successful cooperative action on the part of oil-producing developing countries who were members of OPEC to secure higher prices for their oil, gave encouragement to the developing countries by indicating the possibilities of organised bargaining power in respect of international negotiations, and more directly also, in connection with securing more remunerative prices for their raw material exports.

However, five years after the Sixth Special Session of the UN adopted the Declaration and Programme of Action for a New International Economic Order almost no progress has been made in reforming economic relations between developed and developing countries. A Seventh Special Session 1975 on International Economic Development raised hopes of the beginning of a new era of dialogue and purposeful negotiations. Since that time there has been the almost total failure of two major forums for negotiating international development issues - the 18-month Conference on International Economic Cooperation in Paris which ended in June 1977 and UNCTAD IV in Nairobi in May 1976. Developing countries have reached a point of great disillusionment. This is the situation as another UNCTAD is about to take place - in Manila in May 1979.

An important reason for the present impasse is the prolonged economic recession. In this situation developed market economy countries are preoccupied with domestic economic problems and internationally they continue to give emphasis to coordinated action among themselves to accelerate the continuing slow and uncertain recovery. In the meantime, there has been increasing recognition of the substantial economic interdependence which exists between developed and developing countries. But as far as international action is concerned, only lip service has so far been paid to interdependence and the substantial mutuality of interest between the developed and developing countries. This remains the case in spite of established evidence that the maintenance of growth and expansion in developing countries has been a significant factor in preventing a slide into depression and in the recovery which has been taking place, unsatisfactory though its progress has been. So far the perceptions of interdependency have had little influence on international policies and in spite of rhetoric, developed countries in practice have appeared to support the conventional view that progress in the developing countries must follow from the growth and expansion of the developed countries and that developing countries must therefore wait before greater priority can be given to their problems.

Another factor which has held up progress has been the gap in perceptions between the developed and developing countries. Many officials in the developed countries still question whether a NIEO is needed. This should not be such a complex issue. The world has the resources, skills and technology to end poverty. The persistence of poverty and the inadequate attention and resources devoted to ending it must therefore represent an intolerable situation. Many policy changes are possible which could make a strong impact on the problem. The package of measures required involves in its

totality a drastic enough change in international economic relations to be deemed as constituting a NIEO.

Many people in the developed countries appear to feel however that the present economic order served the world well in the post-war period. It was a period of unprecedented prosperity in these countries. However, more recently these countries have become preoccupied with international economic problems which are serious and persistent. In this more inward looking mood, the developing countries are being asked to be patient and to await the revival of the world economy.

This of course, seems a reasonable request. Governments must give priority attention to problems at home. Political realities require almost a total preoccupation with domestic problems, and with foreign policy issues only to the extent that they impinge on local interests. The compatibility of this kind of preoccupation with the application to the wider world community of accepted notions of social justice is an important subject for consideration. However at this time it might be more useful to concentrate on ways in which the interests of both developed and developing countries could be served by the economic development of the poor countries. One of the great impediments to the establishment of a NIEO is the prevalent feeling that this will require great sacrifices on the part of the developed countries. This is why at a time when the developed countries are facing serious economic problems, interest in a NIEO has waned. If satisfactory progress is to be made in developing countries, sacrifice might well be required on the part of the developed countries, but in terms of present political realities and the extent to which moral considerations have intruded on the development issue, it would be unrealistic to expect much from sacrifice or altruism. In considering the various elements of a NIEO therefore, emphasis must be given now to the mutuality of interests between developed and developing countries.

One of the criticisms made against the NIEO is that it is concerned wholly with the international aspects of the development problem. It is argued that development can be promoted more by reform of the internal policies of developing countries than by changes in international policy.

This criticism had some validity in the early stages of the advocacy of a NIEO. More recently, however great attention has been devoted in international discussions to new strategies of development involving greater self reliance.

While internal policies are important, international policies have a substantial role to play not only because of their direct effects but also because they could make a major impact in selective crucial areas such as infrastructural development, trade, research and development, and balance of payments support. It must be remembered that underdevelopment increases not only the economic difficulties of obtaining economic progress but also the political difficulties. Economists speak of the vicious circle of poverty but it is interesting to consider also the interrelationship between under development and political instability, and the vicious circle involved in these two circumstances. Selective assistance and fair conditions provided through international policy could go a long way towards helping to break these vicious circles.

The consequences of these factors have been that aid as a percentage of GNP instead of moving up to the target of 0.7% set by the UN to be achieved in the 1970s has in fact been declining and in 1977 was 0.31%. In trade policy in appearance there has been progress. Most developed countries have now adopted Generalised Schemes of Preference (GSP) whereby a wide range of goods from developing countries have been given duty-free or preferential access in their markets. At the current round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations - the Tokyo Round - which are now in their concluding stage, developing countries have been able to secure freer access for some of their products and this is especially the case with their tropical products. However, in reality, in sectors of great concern to developing countries - textiles, clothing, footwear etc.- access has been increasingly constrained by quota restraints which have been forced on the developing countries by arrangements such as the Multi Fibre Arrangement, or in some cases by voluntary action through the threat by the developed countries of the adoption of more restrictive safeguard action.

Some progress has been made in granting debt relief to developing countries. Such action has been confined however to the official debt of the poorer developing countries. In the meantime, increasing balance of payments deficits, brought about to some extent by smaller aid transfers, have forced many developing countries into increased commercial borrowing. Such borrowing has been largely undertaken by the Middle-Income Developing Countries and while lending is made to relate to capacity to repay, it has been the case that most of the borrowing has been on medium-term maturities - on periods too short for the economic benefits from the loans to improve repayment capacity commensurately. This puts many of the borrowing.

countries into a precarious situation and one which is made worse by the adverse effects on export earnings and the future uncertainties facing such earnings arising from increasing restrictions on the access of manufactured exports from developing countries.

Some progress has been made in arrangements to regulate commodity trade, after protracted agreement was reached on the establishment of a Common Fund to finance buffer stocks and other commodity price stabilisation arrangements. However the Fund has been given a much more restricted role than was originally requested by the developing countries and since little progress has been made in the establishment of the International Commodity Agreements which the Fund is to finance, uncertainties still remain concerning the impact the Fund will have in remedying current defects in international commodity trade.

In the case of international monetary reform the basic problem of inadequate management control of international financial institutions by developing countries remains. Votes in the major international financial institutions are still largely determined by capital subscriptions and developed countries still remain substantially in control. This inevitably means that reform will be slow and will be related more to the perceptions and interests of the developed countries than to the real development needs of the developing countries. However, some policy changes have been made in recent times (e.g. increases in the capital of the World Bank and more liberal access to the resources of the IMF for balance of payments support) but all these changes have been marginal in relation to the real needs of developing countries.

The Challenge

The problem of world poverty has special significance for youth. The substantial economic and technological progress made in the world in the post-war period may be a factor in present complacency. In historical terms the performance of the world economy and even the developing countries has not been bad. However while the older generation may be viewing the present situation from the favourable perspective of history the younger generations must inevitably concern themselves more with the future. The world of the future is their world and its problems must inevitably be of greater interest to them. The problems do not belong only to the developing countries. In the developed world, affluence and materialism have brought their own difficulties of alienation and dehumanisation. Science and technology have given men great control over nature and have greatly contributed to the economic development of the industrialised countries. However nuclear technology has opened up possibilities both good and evil. And the destructive force within man's

capability brought about so quickly may be incompatible with the more slowly evolving moral values and political structures. The world faces the strange paradox of great economic progress but also the possibility of a sudden collapse of all that has been built up.

The threat posed by the possibility of nuclear catastrophe and the poverty of the Third World are two situations that provide the world with the urgent need for a revival of spiritual values, for a greater humanity and for more heightened internationalism. Poverty wherever it exists as well as dehumanising materialism and alienation provide also the means for the revival of spiritual values and for a wider morality that transcends artificial national boundaries. Simply put, a redirection of the energies of youth from many of their present wasteful and purposeless ends to a wider consciousness and to world solidarity cannot but rebound to the benefit of the youth themselves and indeed to the whole international community.

But the case for greater solidarity and cooperation for economic development rests not only in the consciousness of this interdependence but also substantially and increasingly on economic interdependence and mutuality of interests. The present recession has been unduly prolonged. It has brought in its wake a substantial increase in unemployment and always falls more severely on new entrants to the labour force. Full recovery from the recession remains uncertain and although recovery is far from complete the threat again of rising inflation raises the possibility of a faltering, short-lived and uncertain recovery.

In the present situation serious consideration is called for of a more broadly based international recovery programme - one that would entail greater involvement of both the developing and the developed countries. The abortive effect of inflation on international recovery points to the need for a greater export led recovery and for greater stimulation of the international economy through larger resource transfers to the developing countries. This route besides providing new hope for the ending of the recession offers the exciting possibility that recession and underdevelopment could be tackled by the same set of policies. The increasing integration of the international economy could also help to promote greater internationalism and deeper international cooperation.

Achievement of a NIEO depends crucially on the will and cooperation of all countries. The crucial requirement is the political will to agree upon a set of relevant and effective policies and, equally important, the political will to implement these policies.

While the impatience of developing countries at the failure of developed countries to approach the problem with a proper sense of constructive urgency is understandable, equally understandable is the concern of the industrialised countries at the consequences of disturbing existing patterns of production and resource allocations. This disturbance will affect vital national interests, it may affect the prosperity of whole cities and regions and unless special provisions are made it will affect the welfare of individuals. No government, let alone one which lives by the ballot box, will lightly disturb existing economic relationships. But provided the changes involved are pre-determined and controlled their effects may also be anticipated and appropriate compensatory policies provided. Because the economic and social adjustments that have to be made are the result of deliberate policies, the consequences for individuals may be cushioned or offset to a degree that can never be provided for from actions which arise from market forces.

Where Governments, intellectuals and youth with a strong interest in change recognise the need for more liberal policies and the constraint is at the level of the electorate, then it is for governments, the intellectual community and youth to provide education and leadership and a greater international consciousness and solidarity. In the short-run, action must be taken to lead and expand to the maximum the will of the electorate, and in the long-run to enhance that will. For instance, joint action among countries tends to encounter less resistance from the electorate than action taken separately by individual countries. Joint action could therefore be an important means of achieving increases in aid and trade liberalisation. There is also great scope for the exercise of leadership in areas where political resistance has not yet been built up, i.e. in new areas of international policy where vested interests have not yet become strong, e.g. the exploitation of deep sea resources. To enhance the education process and public awareness assistance could effectively be provided by youth and other interested organisations, such as the World Development Movement which is engaged in promoting international cooperation. Perhaps the Third World cause could also be helped by giving greater recognition to contributions to it in the award of national and international prizes and honours.

Policies which could help to ease electoral constraints in the long-run could be adopted at two levels:

(a) education: and (b) adjustment assistance measures to facilitate the transfer of uncompetitive and economically redundant industries from developed to developing countries.

The problem of political resistance could also be eased in a positive way by placing emphasis on support and search for policies which could be mutually beneficial and on propagating a mutuality of benefits where they are not sufficiently appreciated. In view of the importance of constraints on political will, the search for policies of mutual benefit must be an important part of the process of advancing progress in the establishment of a NIEO.

Youth and these Issues

The issue of employment is of great direct interest to youth. As mentioned before the incidence of unemployment and underemployment tends to be higher among youth. The immobilisation for development of the more resourceful and energetic and enterprising sections of the population must have a permanent deleterious effect on economic development. This refers not only to the demoralising consequences and the effects of attitudes to work and emigration but also to consequences of political stability. But unemployment and underemployment is a subject of another paper and these considerations will no doubt be elaborated there.

The issue of trade policy is also of substantial importance to youth. Tariff and non-tariff barriers to the exports of textiles, clothing, footwear and other early stage manufacturing must have the serious consequence of nipping emergent manufacturing in the bud. Export manufacturing offers greater appeal and scope to the more enterprising entrepreneurs and this usually means the younger entrepreneurs.

Small industry development whether for import substitution or exportation is of special interest to young entrepreneurs. It usually requires simple equipment and therefore little capital. Moreover it offers scope for simple and adapted indigenous technologies. A small industry programme could therefore offer special encouragement to young people to become entrepreneurs and it could also help to provide training for an entrepreneurial class. It is the kind of domestic industrial policy which should be of special interest to younger people.

The encouragement of young entrepreneurs gives international resource transfer policies a special significance for youth. Local savings are inadequate to provide for the capital requirements of a developing country. Moreover, reliance on savings might act to some extent as a constraint to young people joining the entrepreneurial class since the availability of funds to support young entrepreneurs who have not yet built up savings or collateral might be impaired. The larger the resource transfer the greater would be the capacity to provide higher risk capital to promising prospective entrepreneurs without collateral or savings.

The expansion of food production is of special interest to youth. Policies in developed countries which encourage surpluses in these countries, while useful in the short-run to re-establish adequate reserves and meet the food deficits of developing countries, could have a deleterious effect on the encouragement of food production in developing countries in the long-run. Care is required in structuring international grains arrangements and food policies to prevent such an outcome. This is a matter for urgent attention in the NIEO programme since food production is not only of substantial importance in the economic development of many developed countries but it also has great implications for the security and economic independence of developing countries. Land reform and small farm programmes are of special interest to youth since it provides the means for them to enter into farming and to stay in the countryside rather than drift to the towns and increase the already serious problems of overcrowding and unemployment.

The encouragement of science and technology and adequate facilities for vocational, technical and managerial training are all areas of interest to youth. Developed countries have benefited substantially from the training being provided by developing countries through the brain drain. This is a difficult problem to solve. But in view of the benefits which are accruing to the developed countries from the training facilities of the developing countries, consideration should be given to increasing the support by developed countries for training in developing countries.

Development and Political Stability

The development task is a large one and it may be tempting for developed countries to feel that they could withdraw from the problems and consequences. The world is becoming smaller and more densely populated and in such a situation withdrawal becomes difficult. The population problem will worsen, posing serious security and resource supply problems for the world. Poverty is an important cause of political instability in developing countries. How can consensual politics which is a feature of most Western developed countries and which helps to give stability to democracy, co-exist with the large scale poverty and wide gap between rich and poor in developing countries? Local instability encourages regional instability and this transfers the problem to the global arena. Localised conflicts are still fairly prevalent in the world and these will assume great significance for global security with nuclear proliferation which now seems inevitable. Even if the mutuality of economic interests is discounted, there can be no doubt of the mutuality of interest in global peace and security which would be impossible as long as poverty remains widespread.

While insecurity continues the world spends larger and larger amounts on arms, thus reducing ability to spend for development purposes. The latest estimate shows an expenditure of \$400 billion a year on armaments. There are almost as many soldiers in the world as there are teachers. There are about 22m people in the armed forces and another 60m in military-related employment. About one-quarter of the world's scientific manpower is engaged in military and related pursuits. These figures speak for themselves. They indicate a tragic waste of resources in the midst of great need and misery. The sad fact is that continuing widespread poverty could increase the need for military spending especially on the part of countries which could least afford such spending.

In effect all these situations could seem to indicate the great need for the mobilisation of young people in the world to the purpose and ends involved in the great task of development.

BACKGROUND PAPER

Youth Division, Commonwealth Secretariat

INTRODUCTION

Young leaders are aware of the possibilities of social disharmony arising as a result of the rapid increase in unemployment. Such apprehension exists in all Commonwealth countries, irrespective of the nature of the economic or political systems which prevail. No obvious solutions have so far been found. Unemployment is largely the product of adverse economic conditions and it results in grave social tensions and human suffering. Unfortunately, to recognise these evils is not to remove them. The world economic crisis which is the positive force for unemployment is also the negative force which prevents adequate measures being taken to deal with the social consequences. What appears to be essential is concerted international action to revitalise the world economy and in particular the economies of the developing countries.

Those who have monitored the attempts to introduce a New International Economic Order will be depressed by the lack of progress. Even given a newfound resolve to make progress in this major restructuring of the world economy there is every likelihood that they will lose their youth before they lose the odium of being unemployed.

In the developed countries job opportunities seem to be decreasing rather than increasing as each year man's creative genius succeeds in replacing more jobs by more computers. In the developing world the rapid increase in population will mean many more who will be destined to live unproductive and unfulfilled lives.

This depressing situation has particular relevance for the young who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population in developing countries. Young leaders, already emerging in the parliaments, trade unions, youth and community organisations in all Commonwealth countries are becoming more aware of the responsibilities devolving upon them to seek solutions to unemployment in their lifetimes. Over the next few decades many of these same leaders will occupy positions of increasing authority in their respective countries. By virtue of their youth, they have already a special insight into the current mood of the generation of which they are a part. Confronted at school-leaving age with immediate unemployment, poverty, and frustration, and without the prospect of its removal through job opportunities, inevitable social pressures are building up which Governments have no effective means of defusing. The inevitable result of this condition in any society is disenchantment of the young with the established order of things. Until relatively recently, governments have not been sufficiently alerted to the need for action on their part to contain the public unease which increasing unemployment is forcing upon them. The general scarcity of financial resources in the social sectors of most economies is unlikely to change, especially if national planning agencies and international lending institutions continue to establish priorities in other spending areas.

These realities have led policy makers to seek short-term measures to reduce unemployment. National service, in a para-military framework, has appeared attractive, especially as the 'discipline' motive and service to the community by cadres of young workers has popular appeal.

Only in a few countries have governments been able to introduce fresh ideas. Some of these are in the fields of youth in business or Youth in agriculture where, for example, in order to exploit the availability of land for agricultural production, youth organisations have been encouraged to establish new production and marketing structures. One country where such experiments have proved successful is Malaysia. Inevitably, the availability of finance from the public purse is a prerequisite for any lasting solution. Indeed, it would appear that whatever initiative is taken on the part of governments to encourage unemployed youth into productive endeavours, an ongoing commitment of funds will remain a major requirement.

This paper provides a background for consideration of youth unemployment in a Commonwealth context. It refers both to established strategies and certain theoretical models in order to give a degree of understanding to the extent of the problem and the complexity of the effort which will be required in order to secure sufficient job opportunities in the next two decades, during which the youth of today will gradually enter middle age.

The question is posed, whether greater social expenditure is now required than has so far been possible; and how governments can encourage leadership training among youth. Pragmatic plans and recommendations need to be defined to attract the interest of governments to these necessities. Governments may wish to orient some policies towards adjusting the balance of public expenditure in order to maintain social equilibrium, alongside existing schemes for economic expansion and increased growth. If young people and their organisations can be assisted in this manner, governments may be better served by the contribution of youth to economic and social development. Such a process will require increased political will in the cause of national development which, in turn, could enhance the commitment of the younger generations to national development in the years ahead.

YOUTH IN THE COMMONWEALTH

Throughout the world, living conditions present a spectacle of stark contrasts. The Commonwealth, encompassing as it does a representative cross-section of global conditions, depicts these contrasts graphically. In the area of youth unemployment, however, Commonwealth countries share a common concern.

Unemployment among young people is a major problem in industrialised as well as developing countries. In the OECD group, unemployment is growing and young people between school leaving age and 25 now constitute 40% of those who are unemployed.

To take three Commonwealth examples from this group: in Australia, young people under 21 form 12% of the labour force but 40% of those unemployed; in Canada, young people from 15-24 form 30% of the labour force but 50% of the unemployed; in New Zealand, young men from 15-24 form 53% of all the male unemployed and young women form 73% of all female unemployed.

The problem is significantly worse in developing countries. In Sri Lanka, young people from 15-29 form 76% of the total unemployed.* Youth unemployment constitutes the core of a larger problem. The larger problem is such that the ILO estimates that the continent of Africa, for instance, will have to create 150 million new jobs by the year 2000 to reach anything near full economic capacity.

To a young person who wishes to work, the absence of opportunity to do so can be destructive to the personality and socially degrading. The social factors inherent in continuing youth unemployment have been well recognised by both governments and international agencies, though few effective solutions have so far been found. The ILO has long included mention of youth unemployment in its descriptive literature and reported five years ago that, "by a tragic paradox it is precisely in countries where economic expansion is of vital importance that the largest number of jobless and untrained young persons is to be found."**

In addition to the immediate social and economic costs of youth unemployment, there are the long-term consequences. What is to be considered is the possibility of a "lost generation" without skills, productive work experience or even the will to work itself. This would seriously interrupt the process of the renewal of the labour force; encourage the transmission of negative attitudes towards work to a succeeding generation of children; and discourage, through disillusionment, any commitment by these generations to the efforts of national development. Increasingly, unemployed young people figure in incidents of social unrest in many parts of the world.

* Statistics for a large range of countries may be found in the ILO World Employment Programme's paper 2-18/WP 9

** The ILO and the World of Work, Geneva 1974

GOVERNMENT MEASURES

Government measures to combat youth unemployment differ from country to country. Different ideological, political, cultural or social factors operate. Countries have differing industrial or rural emphases. Inroads against youth unemployment, however, depend on the efficiency and effectiveness of government measures - whatever their orientation.

In this regard, industrialised countries necessarily begin with an advantage. Government machinery is generally well-developed, and government resources are such that they can be spread, however thinly, over a wide range of programmes. Developed economies are also more capable of flexibility, of being adjusted for combinations of short-term and long-term goals. In the case of growing unemployment, government measures can also be implemented either to combat unemployment as a broad phenomenon - as part of the wider picture of industrial health and work distribution - or as a specific problem which affects young people most of all.*

In dealing with the specific problem of youth unemployment, industrialised countries have a variety of measures at their disposal, which can be coordinated or adapted according to the severity of the situation. These measures, as described by Reubens, include:

- a. subsidies, tax credits, or tax exemptions to employers who retain or hire young workers;
- b. the institution of a quota system requiring that a fixed proportion of employees in stipulated enterprises should be below a given age;
- c. changing the redundancy or dismissal payments system to make it more favourable to the retention of young workers;
- d. special efforts to fill existing youth vacancies through information, guidance, placement activities or the payment of mobility allowances;
- e. subsidies, tax credits or tax exemptions to employers who agree to train young people;
- f. improved subsidised work-study arrangements for those still in educational institutions;
- g. occupational training in public training centres, schools, etc;
- h. basic education to qualify youth for occupational training;

* See Beatrice G. Reubens, 'Current Responses to Youth Unemployment', in OECD, Entry of Young People into Working Life, Paris 1977

- i. extension of compulsory education;
- j. encouragement of young people to extend education voluntarily;
- k. job creation for youth by the public authorities in activities that could lead to regular employment;
- l. humanitarian, leisure, recreational or diversionary activities at home or abroad, unpaid or low-paid;
- m. remedial education in basic cognitive skills;
- n. remedial programmes to improve attitudes, behaviour and performance when employment or training are sought or obtained;
- o. financial support to unemployed youth, including those who have never worked.

While measures such as these are available to countries with developed economies, the question must be asked, how relevant are they to developing countries where resources are scarce; avenues to raise finance are limited and governments as a consequence have few funds to distribute.

It is suggested that the problems posed by youth unemployment require to be examined at the basic levels of government policy formulation. At the stage where overnments draw up their lists of priorities, according to which their scarce funds will be distributed, the problem of youth unemployment - with its attendant considerations about manpower planning, national morale, educational relevance, income distribution and economic regeneration - should figure prominently.

Four years ago, William Demas (President of the Caribbean Development Bank) and Alister McIntyre (Secretary-General of CARICOM), urged greater integration of youth unemployment concerns with other national economic measures. They were addressing a symposium held in Barbados in 1975, where delegates eventually identified a number of economic planning factors which could provide the foundation for a more successful struggle against youth unemployment in Caribbean countries.* These included measures concerned with systems of economic incentive, abolition of tax preferences for foreign firms which encouraged capital intensive methods of production, the encouragement of more employment-oriented trade policies, altering patterns of consumption demand through taxes and trade controls to locally produced goods and services, and investment in local, labour-intensive industries.

* Commonwealth Secretariat, The Young Unemployed: A Caribbean Development Problem, London 1975.

The general principle was that developing countries have little choice but to combat unemployment, not as a specific problem in isolation, but as part of their overall economic strategy and a necessary part of the national development effort.

A test of government measures against youth unemployment might be, therefore, how prominently they feature in national development plans, and how integrated they are with the mainstream of provision for the future.

An examination of efforts of developing Commonwealth countries to combat youth unemployment finds that their programmes include some or all of the following:

- a. population control
manpower planning
- b. educational reform
vocational guidance and education
- c. incentive schemes for employers
entrepreneurial encouragement
- d. national apprenticeship schemes
national youth service schemes
- e. agricultural settlements and cooperatives
urban cooperative schemes
modern sector labour intensiveness
- f. increasing manpower in the services sector
- g. job creation projects that remove young people,
at least temporarily, from the unemployed labour
'market'.

Despite variations and different emphases in the list, above, developing Commonwealth countries have formulated three broad strategies:

i. Mobilisation

Large scale programmes which combine training courses with immediate production, either in large-scale apprenticeship schemes in which goods are manufactured in the course of training; or national youth service schemes which centre around productive community service; or in labour-intensive labour-investment schemes which concentrate on infra-structure development projects.

ii. Youth as Catalysts

Programmes in which young people are trained to become not only productive in their own right, but to stimulate production in the surrounding community. There are three major examples of this (a) the promotion of immediate land settlement by young people in areas requiring new agricultural development, thus forming a core for more

comprehensive community development; (b) the promotion of improved land settlement through specially-trained young people who return to their villages with the aim of sharing their knowledge; and (c) programmes chiefly of an urban nature that promote the creation of young entrepreneurs, both as a means of self-employment and as a stimulant to existing business enterprises.

iii Education

Strictly remedial or preparatory training courses which do not directly involve production, but which aim at heightened production capabilities.

These strategies, and the various channels through which they are applied, are more fully summarized in the appendix to this paper. Each of these strategies is likely to encounter difficulties in implementation, including some opposition from the young people themselves. For example, social mobilization, if accompanied by compulsion and strict discipline, may cause resentment against the element of compulsion and, in any case, cannot remove any group of individuals indefinitely from an employment situation that may not have improved during their period of conscription; the aim of catalyzing depends often on chance and always on an overall social/commercial environment that can absorb both new ideas and commercial competition, as well as infrastructure that is able to support and regulate it; the introduction of more vocational levels of education may create resentment of those at academic levels - employability may therefore come only with a growing hierarchical perception of society.

These are difficulties which each country can resolve. Many programmes in these fields are relatively new and require a little time for proper assessment and refinement. A particularly interesting factor, worthy of immediate attention is that - apart from plans for the expansion and reform of education - young people as a group receive very little direct acknowledgement in most development plans in Commonwealth countries. There are exceptions but, even in countries with the highest proportions of young people, the omission is noticeable. Even plans that mention national youth service or youth mobilisation schemes do so briefly or in passing.

It may well be that, in an attempt to integrate provision for young people in the mainstream of provision for national development, it is not felt necessary to itemise particular applications of strategy or particular benefits for young people. This may be a problem of articulation.

Again it may be that development plans are intended to express only the broad outlines, with particular policies emerging later.

It may be useful however, to question whether sufficient thought has yet been given to youth unemployment in government planning offices and at the early stages of policy formulation.

YOUTH PARTICIPATION

The question of youth participation in national development and in seeking solutions to the problems which confront them has been discussed in many international forums. The First Meeting of Young Commonwealth Leaders, held in Ocho Rios, Jamaica, in 1977, was concerned with this subject. Commonwealth governments have generally accepted the value of youth participation and have sought to encourage it by the institution of national youth councils, political party youth wings, and other assemblies or committees of young people. How therefore can youth participation benefit the struggle against youth unemployment?

Young leaders representing such organisations have a dual responsibility; to stimulate the consciousness of governments on this issue; and to mobilise support among young people for government measures to enhance national development. As Commonwealth governments are already actively involved in expanding youth training centres, the inclusion of needs assessment, project analysis, proposal writing and financial planning in the syllabuses of youth training courses could lead to beneficial long-term results, as young people could then play a more meaningful role in their contribution to the national development effort.

Such training could open up new possibilities for action against youth unemployment.

YOUTH AS A CATALYST

One example of youth participation which could combine employment initiatives by youth with the enthusiasm associated with their age is the deployment of young people as catalysts for action in local communities. Such employment schemes would involve young people as pivots around which community employment or community economic activity would take place. Examples, more fully discussed in the appendix to this paper, include the land settlements by Young Pioneers in Malawi, the Village Polytechnics of Kenya, Youth in Business in Malaysia, and similar schemes underway in Sri Lanka.

However, schemes of this nature tend to figure least of all in those sections of national development plans concerned with youth. Precisely because the nature of such schemes demands an entrepreneurial style of operation in areas where traditional public sector development has not yet reached, they are felt to be outside the ambit of official action. The most successful of these schemes, however, have usually extended the frontiers of public sector activity. When officially supported and subsidized, such schemes tend to extend the public sector interest and public sector support into the informal sector. The process of this extension can be seen in the support mechanisms for youth entrepreneurial schemes from Malaysia and India (see Appendix).

It may, therefore, be desirable to provide a bridge between training of various types, whether in national youth service schemes, or in specialised institutions, and the operation of enterprises by young people in the non-public sector.

Such bridging arrangements would involve government sponsorship of young people to establish themselves either in urban business, rural cooperatives etc. These initiatives would require special funding facilities. The submission of detailed grant justifications by applicants would increase the area of responsibility being devolved to young people. The ability to undertake such enterprises in managerial and financial terms would establish a further link between the enterprises and the central government departments responsible for expanding small business initiatives.

In addition to initial grants, ongoing credit facilities may be made available to young people - at least for the first years of their operations. It is obvious that such credit facilities would need to be available on non-traditional banking terms, with flexibility in the provision of guarantors, interest rates and repayment terms.

In order that such schemes could become integrated with planning objectives, funding machinery could be permitted, in association with national institutions such as national enterprise boards or specialised government departments. These would, in turn, cooperate closely with government agencies directly concerned with youth.

It would be desirable for members of the youth organisations which initiate the enterprises to be able to make representations to the body designated by government for the allocation and administration of funds.

In general, whilst it is recognised that few governments in developing countries have the necessary funds available to divert spending on current programmes into new channels for employment creation, the growing social pressures resulting from mass unemployment suggest that closer attention may become necessary to the search for funds at an international level and in the private sector. Closer consultation by governments with national youth organisations may also be necessary. The enlargement of formal channels of access for young people interested in becoming entrepreneurs to the public and private banking community will be essential if new methods are to be adopted. The extension of the concept of venture capital is relevant in this connection. So also, in an organisational context, is the idea of land leasing which avoids the more basic objections to land nationalisation which exists in some countries.

A third area which could benefit from an input of new ideas by young people is in the nature of the objectives which international aid agencies at present seek in the social development field. Such agencies, governmental as well as the non governmental, often continue to assign priority to the development of physical resources. The provision of hardware, the building of roads, the erection of schools etc. are clearly desirable. But little evidence exists that these international sources of development funds have been directed at people, especially young people, who are more likely to respond enthusiastically to entrepreneurial initiatives. In part, the reason why such funds have not been available in these areas relates to the inadequate channels of communication between the funding agencies and the central government departments whose responsibilities impinge upon youth affairs.

Nationally, little effort seems to have been made by governments or by youth organisations to suggest new ways of spending international development funds. Perhaps the need to be assured of effective coordinating procedures locally has been one area of difficulty which may benefit from further examination. Perhaps also the factor of 'will' on the part of organised youth has been lacking or the organisational responsibilities associated with handling money and problems of effective accountability have been inhibited. . Most youth organisations, whether they exist primarily to serve political or social or cultural purposes, have a wider responsibility to become committed in a practical way to more broadly based activities in the presence of growing unemployment amongst their members, in line with the overall objectives of development laid down by governments at national level.

There is much scope for new initiatives, especially in countries where the availability of land for agricultural production remains largely untapped and where channels for marketing agricultural products through local youth organisations or cooperatives can provide a useful link with urban centres. While demand is high, financial competence and management skills which are prerequisites for such initiatives remain in limited supply. But perhaps this is one area where existing training institutions for youth workers within the Commonwealth can be persuaded to increase the range of the training in such relevant skills, which they exist to promote.

NATIONAL CO-ORDINATION

Effective planning for youth employment on a national basis poses ambitious demands on the co-ordinating machinery of Commonwealth governments and has been approached with a considerable degree of trepidation, even in the most economically developed nations. The slow progress of the "Humphrey-Hawkins Bill" in the U.S.A. is one example.* The Bill, however, gives a useful indication of the extent of co-ordination required of government machinery for detailed and effective planning and policy-formulation in the field of employment provision. The Bill

- a. affirms in law the right of willing citizens to useful employment and decent wages;
- b. commits the Federal Government to a five-yearly target figure for the reduction of unemployment;
- c. requires the President to propose annually to Congress short and medium-term employment, production, productivity and real income goals, together with the comprehensive, coordinated fiscal and monetary policy and programme to achieve these goals, within the five year framework;
- d. requires the Federal Reserve to report annually its intended monetary policy for the ensuing years, with an estimation of its impact on the goals presented by the President;
- e. emphasizes as a first priority the creation and sustaining of the type of economic climate that will promote maximum activity and job opportunities.

*Proposed amendment 1703 to the Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act 1977

- f. recognizes, in law, that unemployment and inflation feed on each other and that, consequently, strategies should not consider one independently of the other;
- g. commits the Government to the achievement of price stability, including programmes to monitor prices, stockpile commodities in short supply, encourage labour and management productivity, and modify counterproductive Government regulations;
- h. encourages, as a temporary measure, short-term projects to fill the gap between present reality and declared goals;
- i. allows the President flexibility to propose modifications from time to time, in keeping with contemporary events; and
- j. requires that the Federal budget be directed towards the achievement of the goals outlined.

SCALE OF COMMONWEALTH ACTIVITIES

It is possible that a range of activities could be inaugurated under Commonwealth auspices. The Commonwealth Youth Programme has, as one of its founding objectives, a responsibility to attempt to "eliminate unemployment and to alleviate its ill-effects". Naturally, such a broad objective has not been attainable. The Programme has been active however. To date, it has:

- a. helped to fund research studies in specific areas and sectors, including studies in Sri Lanka, Nigeria and Ghana*
- b. published papers by eminent authorities**
- c. included employment studies in the syllabi of the three Commonwealth Youth Programme regional centres
- d. accepted applications to study job creation projects in its Youth Study Fellowships scheme, and
- e. hosted a number of conferences, both with reference to specific areas, e.g. the Caribbean and Asia; and specific models of job creation, e.g. Youth in Business in Malaysia***

* e.g. J.K.A. Boakye and J.C.P. Oxenham, Job Seekers and Job Placement Services in Ghana (completed May 1978, to be published by the Institute of Development Studies, Sussex)

** Philip Mbithi, Youth Employment Problems, 1975
 H.W. Singer, Employment and Youth, 1975
 Louis Emmerij, Richard Jolly, Mark Blaug, Ajit Bhalla, Hans Singer, et.al., Employment: Problems and Strategies, 1976

*** For an overall survey, see Commonwealth Youth Programme, Youth Unemployment: A Folio of Recommendations 1969-1978, London 1978

It is unrealistic, given the current financial constraints on the Commonwealth Youth Programme, to expect it to enter such fields as large scale funding for job creation projects.

The Second Meeting of Young Commonwealth Leaders however, hosted especially to consider youth unemployment, should seek a fresh dimension to the Programme's activity. Within the limits of the Programme's resources, young leaders may well provide a bridge to fresh ideas.

SUMMARY

This background paper has sought to convey the importance of introducing new ideas to combat youth unemployment within overall planning for national development. Its argument has been:

1. Youth unemployment is increasing dramatically. The social consequences are severe, and the long-term effects on economic regeneration are obvious.
2. Instead of depending solely on the improvement of the international economic factor, its effect on national economies and its effect on youth unemployment, Commonwealth governments should perhaps consider taking immediate steps to increase the priority now given to the problem of youth unemployment.
3. Whilst government procedures for confronting youth unemployment differ from country to country, the channels for doing so effectively are relatively restricted particularly in the case of developing countries. Action against youth unemployment should, therefore, be closely integrated with overall planning for national development.
4. Commonwealth governments have developed a number of strategies to combat youth unemployment, but perhaps some further benefit could be gained if these strategies were more obviously associated with national development objectives.
5. Meaningful participation by young people in the national development effort and the delegation of real responsibilities to them and their organisations can deepen the commitment of youth to attainment of national objectives.
6. Young people should be encouraged in the exercise of initiative and creativity, particularly where the results of such activity could enhance the extent, diversity and the impact of their energies on alleviating the extent of unemployment.

APPENDIX

EFFORTS BY COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES TO OVERCOME YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT SELF RELIANCE AND YOUTH AS A CATALYST

1. The concept of self reliance has appealed to many Commonwealth countries, so much so that in many countries it has become a foundation principle of development. Young people can bring a special meaning to this concept, and this special meaning can be of positive benefit in the struggle against youth unemployment.
2. Despite the variety of governmental systems and governing ideologies in the Commonwealth, almost every Commonwealth country retains an 'informal sector', where even the most detailed development plans - enforced under the most beneficial economic circumstances - cannot completely reach. Young people, acting in a catalytic fashion, can exploit this sector both to their own benefit, by providing themselves with employment, and to the benefit of national development.
3. In Botswana, according to the Botswana National Development Plan 1976-81, "the informal sector is still small...but a recent survey of the squatter settlements in traditional housing areas of Botswana's three largest towns showed that at least 4,500 people make a living from informal wage employment and self-employment in the urban areas alone. In addition the rural income distribution survey has shown that formal and informal employment in the rural areas is a surprisingly important source of cash income for the majority of households."
4. In Botswana, an important movement to combine training with an immediately productive element, and to give young people skills for the future, is the Botswana Brigades. The Brigades philosophy has four fundamental principles:
 - i. vocational training for primary school leavers outside the formal education system;
 - ii. training geared to the needs of the local area with the general aim of rural development;

- iii. a combination of training and productive work, so that the cost of training may be covered, and
 - iv. 20% classroom academic training and 80% on-the-job production and training which leads to a mix of development-oriented values, knowledge and skills.
5. The development plan projects cooperation between the Brigades and the Botswana Enterprises Development Unit, "to ensure an optimum result of combined activities."
 6. The Brigades movement, of itself, will not solve Botswana's unemployment problem among primary school leavers, but does establish a model
 - a. of combined training and production
 - b. of training which pays for itself, and
 - c. of a programme which encourages self-reliance amongst its participants.
 7. It has been noted that there is a similarity between the Brigades in Botswana and the Village Polytechnics in Kenya. Both have the dual role of training both for wage employment and self-employment in rural areas. Village Polytechnics embrace a number of skills and trades. The lynchpin in the Village Polytechnic scheme is the V.P. instructor. He plays a pivotal role in establishing work schemes, ensuring that the work groups generate the sort of momentum that establishes an inter-dependence within the local community - so that, in the circulation of goods and resources in any one community, a more favourable economic situation develops.
 8. In Malawi, the Young Pioneers are recruited from rural areas. They include both the literate and the illiterate. The aim is to equip both with the skills that would enable them to employ themselves usefully and productively on the land. "Many of the Malawi Young Pionners are self-employed as farmers in the settlement schemes. The settlement schemes have been launched by the Malawi Government as a major step in the country's development programme... when the trained Young Pioneers return to their homes after obtaining Malawi Pioneers training and establish themselves as farmers, carpenters, blacksmiths, builders, etc, the flow of the youth from the rural areas is diminished and at the same time the problems of unemployment in the country are alleviated." (Description given to the meeting of Commonwealth Ministers concerned with youth matters, 1973.)

9. All these examples have in common the multiplier effect young people have after appropriate instruction and direct involvement in development work. The very nature of their training has an immediate impact upon the community, and they are trained in such a way that they are able thereafter to continue their impact upon the community.
10. Self reliance and catalytic behaviour can also be applied in urban contexts. The Malaysian model provides an example. Malaysia has developed a detailed system through which young people can be assisted in training and in the development of entrepreneurial schemes; and in consolidating themselves in business enterprises. A thorough statement of the system was made at the CYP Regional Seminar, Youth in Business (Kuala Lumpur 1978). What is impressive about the Malaysian model is not only the end result of:
 - a. employed young people, and
 - b. a stimulated non-public sectorbut the extent to which young people are involved in formulating the model's strategy and day-to-day behaviour; and the extent of financial trust readily accorded young people.
11. In Commonwealth countries there is a range of instructions devoted to the training of young people for self reliance in the non-public sector. The Opportunities Industrialization Centre in Lagos, Nigeria, established in 1970, has a number of objectives to do with the training of young people, particularly early school leavers. One of these is "to develop new business and industries through total training programmes" (Nigeria Country Statement to the CYP regional seminar, Banjul 1978).
12. The Indian Government recognizes that emotional stress, "symptoms of youth dissent, disillusionment and frustration" may be caused by "anxiety about employment." Recognising that there are two types of employment, "paid employment and self-employment", the Indian Government has given consideration to self-employment opportunities, "in view of the growing discrepancy between employment opportunities and job seekers" (Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, Youth and National Development: Concepts and Practice in India, New Delhi 1975).

13. There has thus been, in India, an active development of appropriate infra-structure to ensure that self-employment enterprises are supported.

These include:

- a. agro-service centres
 - b. consultancy services
 - c. cooperative credit societies
 - d. marketing societies, and
 - e. financial assistance to selected entrepreneurs.
14. The widest examples of Indian training in this area are the Nehru Yuvak Kendras. Initiated in 1972, 235 centres have been planned, and more than half of this number already built. They are fully financed by the central government, with an annual expenditure of Rs.25,000 envisaged for each centre; and with the local states closely associated in the implementation of programmes. These programmes provide non-formal technical education for the illiterate and semi-literate young, and "employment oriented training programmes for promotion of self-employment in cooperation with appropriate service agencies" (Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, Youth Programmes in India, New Delhi 1977).
15. Another Indian centre deserving mention is the Calcutta 'Y' Self-Employment Centre, which provides vocational training for self-employment with a constant "eye on the market situation" and retailoring of training programmes. Many of the 'Y' trainees have been well-educated, middle-class youths but, of late, the centre has initiated a slum-based programme, involving the creation of slum-based industry and the sanctioning of small loans and other sponsorship. An early result was the self-employment of 14 young people in an automobile repair cooperative. The centre has emphasized, however, that "if the self-employment programme is to make any real impact, the idea has to be inculcated in young minds while still in the formative stages", and is therefore encouraging schools to include self-employment centres in their overall facilities. (Calcutta 'Y' Self-Employment Centre: 5th Annual Report)

16. There are other impressive Commonwealth examples, including the activities of the Management Development Centre of Trinidad and Tobago. This Centre represents a practical effort to assist small-scale enterprises, with courses conducted on a short-term, part-time basis, e.g. a basic course in management, requiring no academic qualifications, lasting from 5- 8pm over five consecutive evenings. The Centre is a statutory body, established in 1965. One of its most interesting programmes is provided for young people, 14 years of age and over; it is taught as a course at the Mucurapo Secondary School. Its syllabus, taken from the Centre's 1978 prospectus, includes:

- a. types of business organization - forms and structures;
- b. the characteristics of small business - opportunities and problems;
- c. how to start a business - location, markets, finance, employees and legal requirements,
- d. the functions and qualities of management;
- e. aspects of management to do with personnel matters, the management of money, sales organization, management of time, production methods and quality standards, tax matters, use of development agencies, insurance considerations, and
- f. social responsibility towards the community, and the environment.

EFFORTS OF COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES TO OVERCOME YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

MOBILISATION

1. National youth service takes a variety of forms in Commonwealth countries, quite apart from the question of whether it is compulsory or voluntary. There are also, however, a number of common underlying principles. In addition, while national youth service schemes contribute to the struggle against youth unemployment, this is only one of two major reasons for their operation.
2. National youth service schemes are not concerned solely with unemployment, firstly because of obvious inbuilt limitations to their effectiveness in this area:
 - a. they cannot remove any group of individuals indefinitely from a poor employment situation and, by themselves, do little to improve that situation during the time of induction
 - b. they range over only short periods of time - most are under two years in duration - so that, given massive induction, only one age sector of young people will be affected at any one time or, given a smaller induction, only one portion of one age sector will be affected.
3. The ILO did consider what the benefits of the schemes are, as they relate to youth unemployment. ILO Recommendation 136 (1970) stated that national youth service schemes should have one or more of the following purposes:
 - a. To give young persons who are educationally or otherwise disadvantaged such education, skills and work habits as are necessary for useful and remunerative economic activity and for integration into society.
 - b. To involve young persons in national, economic and social development including agricultural and rural development.
 - c. To provide a useful occupation related to economic and social development for young persons who would otherwise be unemployed.

4. The ILO, throughout Recommendation 136, emphasizes the effect of national youth service schemes on youth unemployment. The Recommendation contains admirable guidelines to protect scheme participants and to regulate their conditions of service, the level of expertise required of the supervising staff, the standards of training, and the thoroughness of administrative arrangements made on behalf of these young people.
5. Secondly and more importantly, national youth service schemes are concerned with a range of objectives that go beyond a concern for youth unemployment. Professor De Graft Johnson, participating in a CYP workshop on national youth programmes and service schemes, Youth for Development an African Perspective (Accra 1975), said that two main objectives stood out for national service schemes:
 - a. To expose the youth to the idea of sacrificial service to the nation.
 - b. To expose youth to some kind of discipline - moral, physical and political.
6. In short, national youth service encourages - in a disciplined manner - the social development of young people. "Sacrificial service" frequently means the hope of establishing, through these young people, forms of infra-structure in previously deprived sections of the community. In addition, the participants are meant to benefit by becoming:
 - a. motivated to seek their country's benefit, and
 - b. anxious to inject others with this motivation - what has been labelled as a 'multiplier effect'.
7. The objectives of national youth service in Guyana can be viewed in this sense. According to the Guyana Country Statement at the Ocho Rios Meeting of Young Commonwealth Leaders, national youth service has had a "tremendous impact on youth involvement because it has created the institution which can mould youths for their role of decision making and it further institutionalised the planned involvement of youths in developmental work." Such work aims to help decentralise economic activity in Guyana and to open up the hinterland. The concept of self reliance is also stressed. As Prime Minister Forbes Burnham said in a State Paper on National Service (20 December 1973), "National Service will provide an opportunity for all people from whatever background they may come to get to know each other in the course of training together in work and support.

Its aim would be to produce a truly productive Guyanese citizen equipped with both the skills and attitudes needed to contribute positively to the economic, social, cultural and political revolution that has already been embarked upon. A citizen who places nation above self."

8. The implication of such an emphasis was made clear by the Guyanese ambassador to Peking, Sir John Carter. Questioned by West Indian Digest (May/June 1978) as to the strict economic benefits of national youth service, he replied that the importance of "social engineering projects" could not be mentioned in mere economic terms.
9. The Nigerian Youth Service Corps is of similar interest (established by Decree 24, 1973). It has the express intention, quoting from the Country Statement to the CYP Accra 1975 workshop, of "committing the youth of the country to nation building and national development". Its objectives are:
 - a. to inculcate discipline in Nigerian youth
 - b. to raise the moral tone of youth
 - c. to develop a national interest and attitude of mind in youth
 - d. to promote common ties among youth and national unity thereby, by ensuring in the operation of national youth service:
 - (i) that youths are assigned to work in states other than those in which they make their home;
 - (ii) that each working group is representative of a variety of states and
 - (iii) that young people are exposed to different types of community throughout the country.

Only in the final sections is employment specifically mentioned:

- e. To encourage participants to seek employment at the end of their service in any part of the country;
- f. to induce employers to hire young people from any part of the country, and
- g. to enable young people to acquire self reliance.

Even so, (e) and (f) have as much to do with Nigerian national unity as employment.

10. It should be noted that the Nigerian National Youth Service Corps is compulsory for all Nigerians, up to the age of 30, who are university graduates. The scheme thus ensures the sort of mix that would encourage a sense of national unity among the well-educated.
11. Young people who are not as well-educated, who are school dropouts, are provided for by the National Youth Employment Programme - a disciplined variety of vocational training.
12. The same division is practised in Ghana, where all university and equivalent graduates are required to undergo national service for a year. In addition Ghana has established a National Reconstruction Corps as a means of overcoming urban unemployment among young people by deploying them in rural settlements. This is a scheme obviously designed for the urban school or job dropout.
13. In Tanzania, national service also involves two categories of youth:
 - a. all high school and college graduates are compulsorily enrolled for one year;
 - b. rural youths and, to a lesser extent, urban youth, who are not graduates, may volunteer.
14. An Indian National Service Scheme launched in 1969 provides places for undergraduates and the National Service Volunteer Scheme, recently launched, is for graduates.
15. The difference in emphasis between provision for those educated and those not as well educated is one which may bear some thought. Even though both categories are involved in either development work or training for development, it may seem at first glance that those who are most bitterly affected, not only by unemployment but by the inability generally of national development to reach them are the ones who are being trained at a lower level, a level which no doubt will benefit them within their communities, but which does not in any major sense guarantee the fundamental advancement of their communities and the conditions of life within their communities.
16. Nevertheless they are given a number of strong vocational skills, usually at an examinable level which is of relevance to the outside world where the former participant will seek employment. The Kenya National Service is only one of many schemes which provides vocational training for participants to the level of Government Trade Test Certificate requirements. This includes training for mechanics, fitters, turners, plumbers, electricians, agriculturalists and rural artisans.

17. It may be noted, however, that despite the emphasis given by many Commonwealth governments to national youth service, not all have made provision for it by legislation or decree, or have mentioned it at length, if at all, in their national development plans. The question should be asked as to whether they are a peripheral provision for young people in keeping with overall national development objectives, but outside of the main thrust of development. In this light it is worth noting the symbolic emphasis at least that Kenya has accorded its national youth service, whereby the Constitution of Kenya was amended to allow for the existence of national youth service as a disciplined force on par with the police, the prison service and the armed services.

EFFORTS OF COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES TO OVERCOME YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

EDUCATION

1. Commonwealth countries have been concerned that education systems may be unresponsive to declared national needs. A number of countries have now declared intentions to change their education systems. These changes fall into three categories:
 - i. the extension of the length of normal education
 - ii. the reorientation of the curriculum of normal education, and
 - iii. the institution of special education/training courses for employable skills.
2. The role of higher education has also been considered. Government delegates to a CYP South-Asia Symposium on Employment Strategies and Programmes (Chandigarh 1976) agreed that the educated unemployed were not only a problem of numerical magnitude, but of "tremendous waste". Higher education had to be reformed to:
 - a. eliminate further additions to the existing group of educated unemployed, and
 - b. make fruitful use of both unused capability and latent potential among the educated.

The symposium recommended, within the bounds of social justice, restrictions in higher education and, more essentially, an incomes structure that was related to occupational realities rather than general educational qualifications.

3. Similar points were made by the President of the Caribbean Development Bank in addressing the CYP regional seminar, The Young Unemployed: A Caribbean Development Problem (Barbados 1975): "Two things are wrong fundamentally with the educational system in the countries of the Caribbean:
 - a. the divorce between school and work generates "wrong values and attitudes towards different types of work," and
 - b. the educational system, in any case, produces the wrong sort of skills - leaving a particularly acute gap at the middle level."

The problem of higher education, identified by government delegates at Chandigarh, was only the

specialised expression of a general educational shortcoming, as described in Barbados.

4. Many Commonwealth countries have accordingly set out to reform their education systems, particularly to improve the employment prospects of young people. This has been a declared objective in many national development plans:
 - a. The First Five Year Plan 1973-78 of Bangladesh stated (chapter 14) that it was necessary to relate "education to the needs of society and producing properly trained and motivated citizens to serve these needs."
 - b. Fiji's Seventh Development Plan 1976-80 itemised a major aim for the education system (chapter 24): "to develop Fiji's human resources in such a way as to guide all citizens towards satisfying, productive employment, in accordance with national needs, thereby accelerating economic development."
 - c. The Five Year Plan for Economic and Social Development 1975/76 - 1979/80 for The Gambia described proposed changes in formal education (Chapter 17), in line with manpower strategy (Chapter 3) which seeks to "contain urban unemployment by adjustment of the volume and type of formal education."
 - d. Similarly, the Guidelines for the Five-Year Plan 1975-80 in Ghana stresses that education should be "geared towards manpower requirements," recognizing that education is "the main instrument for raising the skills, productivity, technological and managerial levels of our labour force." (chapter 5)
 - e. The Kenya Development Plan 1974-78 recommends (chapter 19) "the localisation of syllabi at all levels of education," to reduce the number of young people "with higher pro forma qualifications chasing relatively fewer jobs in one small part of the economy."
 - f. The Third Malaysia Plan 1976-80 recognizes the participation of young people in the development effort. "To this end, education and training in science, technology and business management require more emphasis." (chapter 3)
 - g. An increased emphasis on technical education is also emphasized in the Development Plan for Malta 1973-80. One of the four educational aims

(chapter 3) is "to promote a greater awareness of the dignity, status and potential contribution to society, of manual labour."

5. It is not certain as to whether these declared plans have yet been fully implemented. Successful curriculum reform takes time. Teachers need to be retained. Pupils themselves need to make the adjustment from one form of education to another. Despite planned intentions, therefore, it would seem that educational reform in Commonwealth countries is a long-term strategy, and will have little immediate effect on youth unemployment.
6. Insofar as Commonwealth governments are concerned with change through education, however, the determination and broad sweep of the Tanzania Country Statement to the Ocho Rios Meeting of Young Commonwealth Leaders (Ocho Rios 1977) provides an example of new educational thought:

"The introduction of Education for Self-Reliance in 1967 marked yet another milestone in youth development in Tanzania. The type of education we had inherited at the time of our national independence was still a colonial type of education which was more capable of inculcating in the youth such values and aspirations which were contrary to those espoused by a free and self-respecting nation. The most outstanding feature of the inherited educational system was that it imbued its recipients with exaggerated respect for white-collar jobs and correspondingly instilled undue disrespect and actual hatred for manual labour. To make matters worse it had the capacity to dehumanise the youths into becoming helpless victims of foreign cultures and values ... our educational system now emphasizes that each level of education, be it primary level or secondary levels, must be sufficient by itself to enable its product to be capable of facing life's problems and requirements as a mentally properly equipped person. This means that our educational system now is directly linked with the requirements for economic and social reconstruction of our country and this means that due emphasis is given to the link between education and work ... We believe that once the philosophy of education for self-reliance is properly understood and followed we should not have the so-called problems of unemployment because we actually have more land than the number of people to work on it, and what made it seem that there was 'unemployment' was the presence of white-collar-job seekers who are definitely a product of an irrelevant educational system."

7. Short of this total transformation, and in addition to reform of the formal educational system, many Commonwealth Governments are making serious efforts in the field of non-formal education. Delegates to the 1976 CYP South-Asia Symposium (op.cit) recommended that "Programmes on non-formal education should be intensified and put into operation throughout the national community."
8. This point has been taken up by Commonwealth governments. The Government of Sierra Leone in its National Development Plan 1974/75 to 1978/79 called for (chapter 3) an increase in the scale of efficiency in the labour force by improved education, job-oriented pre-service and in-service training programmes.
9. Often such programmes are an addition or supplement to the formal education system. However, the 1975-80 Five Year Plan of Mauritius seems to pose this type of non-formal education as an alternative to formal education when it says (chapter 8), "young people who do not join secondary or technical schools would be provided with a number of employment courses which last from one to one and a half years."
10. A CYP Sub-regional Seminar for Directors and Assistant Directors of Youth Affairs (Banjul 1978) considered the development of this sort of education, and gave special emphasis to training in the use of appropriate technology.
11. It is unusual, however, for Commonwealth Governments to establish non-formal education as a centralised system. This is the intention of the Government of the Seychelles, as outlined in the Guidelines for the Fourth Development Plan 1975-85 which states (section 9), "that there should be a centralisation of all further education so that programmes would exist for all idle young people for whom schooling terminated at the age of 14 years and who are too old to go to school and too young to work."
12. For the most part, however, non-formal education has been established as a complement to formal education, correcting its shortcomings in the field of vocational schooling. Obviously, with a successful reform of formal education and a greater vocational orientation, ad hoc informal programmes would lose their importance. As it is, however, non-formal education is very rarely even an extension of normal education services, but forms a separate series of isolated and specialised attempts to grapple with problem areas, rather than constituting centralised strategy under a single national direction, with few of those funds normally available in formal education. This statement excludes schemes such as the Kenyan Village Polytechnics, with their combination of training and production, which were considered earlier in this appendix.

THE COMMONWEALTH YOUTH DECLARATION

OCHO RIOS 1977

On 9 May, 1977, at their first meeting in Ocho Rios, Jamaica, youth leaders from thirty-one Commonwealth countries and four Associated States of the Eastern Caribbean unanimously approved the following Declaration:

1. In the Commonwealth of Nations over thirty out of the thirty-six independent countries have populations of which more than half are under the age of twenty-five. We believe that the resources of such a vast section of Commonwealth peoples must be enabled to play its full part in the affairs of Commonwealth countries, including in particular their social and economic development. We therefore consider it essential that the youth of the Commonwealth must participate in decision-making in the institutions within our societies and internationally if national development and the construction of a new social order based on economic and social justice are to be achieved for the mass of our peoples.
2. We believe that increased participation by youth leaders, officials and young politicians in a united effort, within local, national and international institutions, is imperative for hastening the pace of development and for combating the intolerable evil of unemployment which so extensively pervades the ranks of youth and most directly affects their right to equality of opportunity. We therefore as youth leaders, officials and young politicians dedicate our energies and efforts to the full involvement of the young in decision-making at all levels in our countries so that social and economic development can more rapidly be achieved. We believe that it is our prime responsibility to seek to broaden the franchise in some of our countries so as to facilitate increased access by young people to parliaments and to local and provincial councils. We also seek the continuing democratisation of national institutions including political parties, trade unions, schools, colleges and universities and in all national political structures.
3. We believe that the need for participation and leadership, mobilisation and motivation of the masses of youth towards achieving the social and economic targets we have set necessitates emphasis being assigned to the role of political education in awakening the consciousness of youth to their national responsibilities and to their individual rights.
4. We believe that the quest for peace in our communities and the struggle against racism, class divisions, bigotry, urban deprivation and rural impoverishment can be accelerated by the mobilisation and motivation of Commonwealth youth towards practical action. The achievement of peace at the roots of our communities is not only a prerequisite for peace in our nations, but also for the eventual establishment of peace in the world.
5. We believe that young people in Commonwealth countries are primarily concerned with the political and economic emancipation of the people. We also strive to achieve mental liberation, especially from those psychological factors which negate our cultural development. In those of our nations whose economies and histories have been dominated by class divisions, we recognise the emergence of new political forces especially amongst the young. We therefore are convinced that in the search for

justice the aspirations of youth in these societies depend equally on the mobilisation and motivation of the young and in the encouragement of effective leadership.

6. We believe that the youth of the Commonwealth can exert a growing influence in reorientating those international policies which are repugnant to national sovereignty and human dignity. We believe that Commonwealth youth can mobilise public opinion in our respective countries against policies which offend the ideals of youth and are violations of basic human rights. The urgent need to establish a new international economic order; the elimination of colonialism, neocolonialism and the imperialist influences of multinational corporations where such exist; racism; the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons; and the need to protect the ecology and our environment; are examples of issues upon which Commonwealth youth wish their voices to be heard. The relationships which we can foster and extend within the Commonwealth can increase understanding amongst the youth of our countries. The Commonwealth as a multi-national association provides an international platform from which youth can denounce oppression, and in unity can join with those in other countries of the world in the vanguard of the campaign for the establishment of justice and world peace.

7. Our experience at this first meeting of young leaders from the Commonwealth countries compels us to record our belief in the advantage we would gain from the establishment of suitable and permanent arrangements for on-going dialogue among youth leaders, officials and young politicians, under the umbrella of the Commonwealth Secretariat's Youth Programme. Hence in order to generate greater momentum at all levels towards achieving the targets of this Declaration, we feel it is appropriate to direct the following recommendations to our respective Governments and to the Commonwealth Secretary-General who administers the Commonwealth Youth Programme.

8. TO GOVERNMENTS

(a) Youth Participation in decision-making

We recommend:

- (i) That the Governments of the Commonwealth should encourage and facilitate youth representation in all national political and social institutions to allow youth effectively to participate in the decision-making processes in all sectors of our societies so as to realise the objectives of social and economic justice in their countries.
- (ii) That, in those countries in which they do not exist national youth organisations be established.
- (iii) That, in all cases, such national youth organisations be fully integrated with and representative of the broad mass of young people.
- (iv) That Governments should examine the need for legislation to be enacted to facilitate participation, where necessary, in national, political and social institutions at all levels.

(v) That Governments should not only support the principles of youth participation, but should also ensure that adequate financial, human and technical resources are made available for this purpose, including the creation where necessary of a Ministry of Youth and a national policy in each Commonwealth country.

(b) Education in preparation for mobilisation and leadership

(i) That where necessary Governments should take immediate steps to restructure their education systems so as to provide wider opportunities for community service and participation as an integral part of the learning process.

(ii) That Governments should democratise their education systems so as to ensure that students, teachers and the community have their rightful share in the decision-making processes.

(iii) That Governments should provide free and universal education at the primary level and expand and reorientate existing facilities to make them available to all sectors of the community.

(iv) That Governments should provide greater opportunities for political education in the broadest sense of the term.

(v) That Governments should encourage wider participation by youth in political parties at both membership and leadership levels.

9. TO THE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT

(a) That recognising through experience the importance of this meeting, we recommend through the Commonwealth Secretary-General to the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting that provision be made for the specific inclusion of meetings of young Commonwealth leaders within the Commonwealth Youth Programme and that such meetings should take place every two years preceding the Heads of Government Meeting in order to discuss areas of general concern.

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