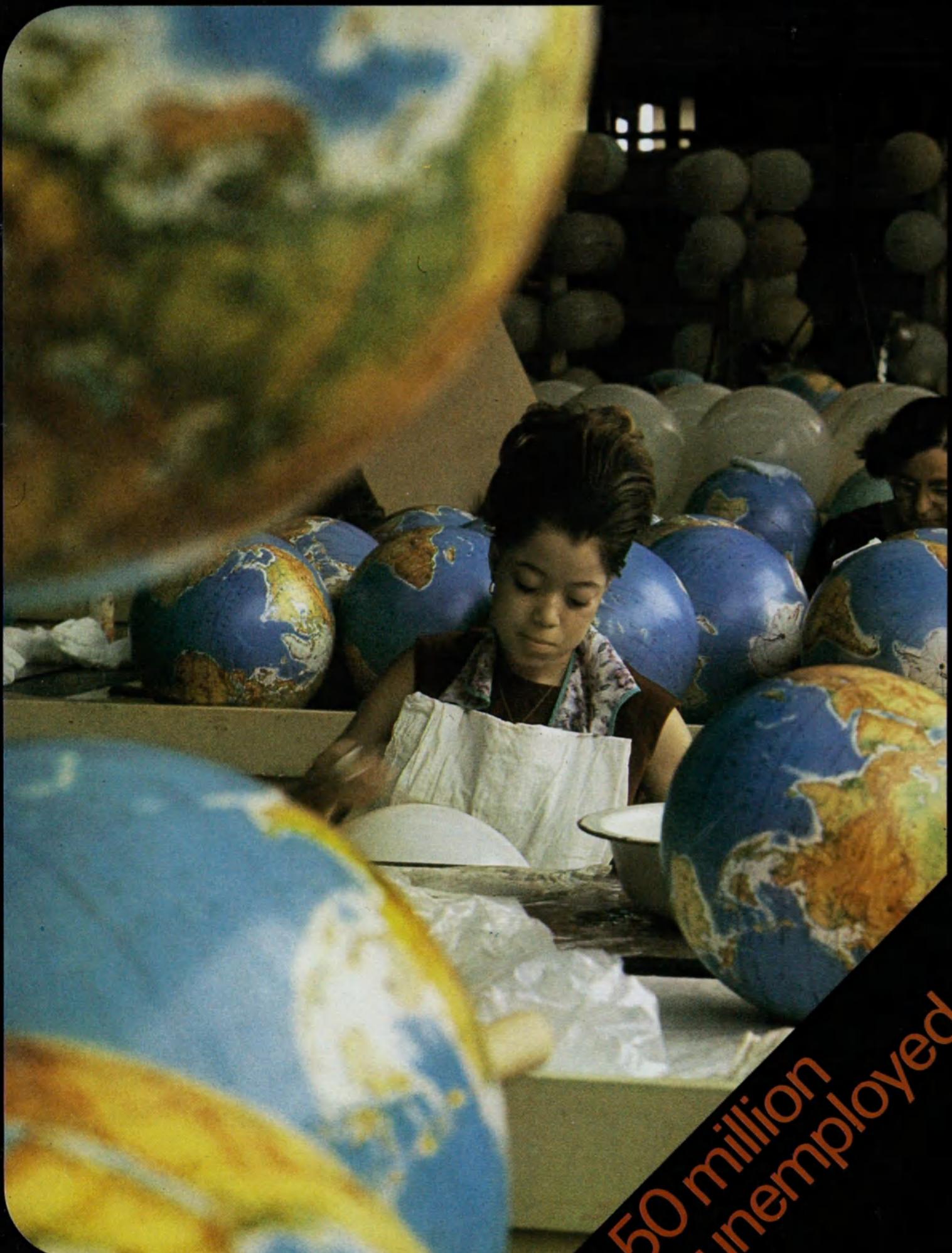


The Unesco Courier

A window
open on the world

November 1978 (31st year) 3.50 French francs



**50 million
unemployed**

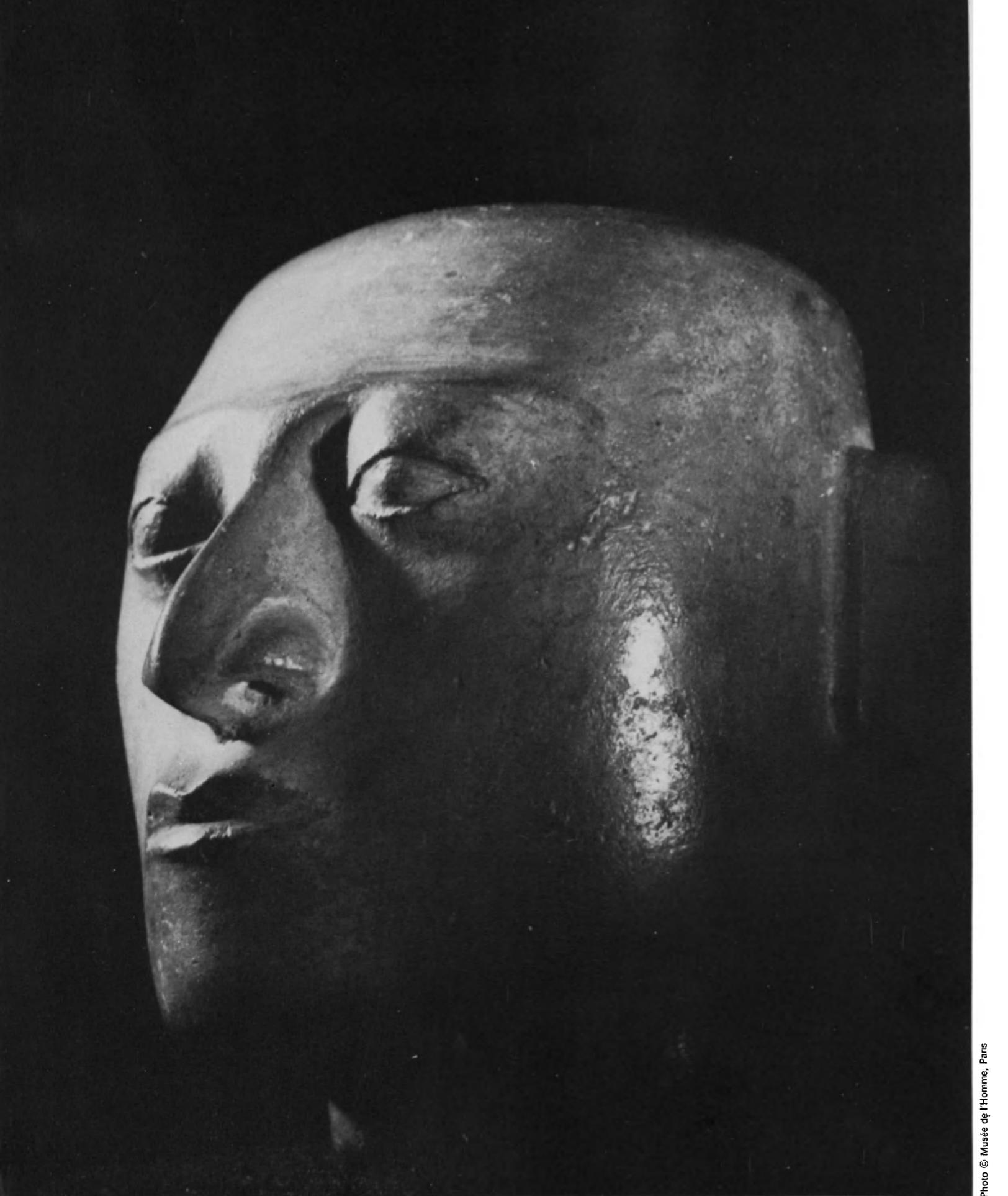


Photo © Musée de l'Homme, Paris

**TREASURES
OF
WORLD ART**

136

Bolivia

High art from the Andes

Centuries before the Spanish conquest, a major civilization arose in the high Andes whose most important centre was at Tiahuanaco near Lake Titicaca in present-day Bolivia. Much is still unexplained about the origin and development of this civilization but its influence is known to have stretched over a wide area of South America from AD 250 to 750. Hundreds of megalithic carved stones have survived at Tiahuanaco as well as many examples of polychrome pottery. Shown here, a ceramic head fashioned by a Tiahuanaco potter.

PUBLISHED IN 19 LANGUAGES

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| English | Italian | Turkish |
| French | Hindi | Urdu |
| Spanish | Tamil | Catalan |
| Russian | Hebrew | Malaysian |
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| Arabic | Dutch | |
| Japanese | Portuguese | |

Published monthly by UNESCO
The United Nations
Educational, Scientific
and Cultural Organization
Sales and Distribution Offices
Unesco, Place de Fontenoy, 75700 Paris

Subscription rates
1 year : 35 French Francs
2 years : 58 FF
Binder for a year's issues: 24 FF

The UNESCO COURIER is published monthly, except in August and September when it is bi-monthly (11 issues a year). For list of distributors see inside back cover. Individual articles and photographs not copyrighted may be reprinted providing the credit line reads "Reprinted from the UNESCO COURIER", plus date of issue, and three voucher copies are sent to the editor. Signed articles reprinted must bear author's name. Non-copyright photos will be supplied on request. Unsolicited manuscripts cannot be returned unless accompanied by an international reply coupon covering postage. Signed articles express the opinions of the authors and do not necessarily represent the opinions of UNESCO or those of the editors of the UNESCO COURIER. Photo captions and headlines are written by the Unesco Courier staff.

The Unesco Courier is produced in microfilm (microfilm and/or microfiche) by: (1) University Microfilms (Xerox), Ann Arbor, Michigan 48100, U.S.A.; (2) N.C.R. Microcard Edition, Indian Head, Inc., 111 West 40th Street, New York, U.S.A.; (3) Bell and Howell Co., Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691, U.S.A.

The Unesco Courier is indexed monthly in the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, published by H.W. Wilson Co., New York, and in Current Contents - Education, Philadelphia, U.S.A.

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ISSN 0041-5278
N° 10 - 1978 - OPI - 1 - 348 - A

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BOLIVIA: High art from the Andes

Cover



Photo Hartman © Magnum, Paris

Fifty million unemployed, 300 million underemployed, one thousand two hundred and fifty million new jobs required by the year 2000, including one thousand and sixty million in the developing world—these cold, impersonal figures supplied by the Statistical Department of the International Labour Organisation reflect a burning human problem on a worldwide scale. Horrifying as they are, the figures for unemployment do not reveal the whole picture since they include only those people looking for work who are registered with national employment services. The magnitude of the underemployment problem is also almost certainly understated and in the developing world in particular many kinds of work yield incomes insufficient to enable the working poor to meet their basic needs. Among the hardest hit are the young, first-time job-seekers and women. Cover photo shows an employee at work in an American factory manufacturing globes of the world.

Today's lost generation

'The unemployed young in the Western industrialized countries face the prospect of frequent joblessness, a long search for work, and marginal employment'

by Peter Melvyn

IF all the unemployed people in the twenty-four industrialized countries that make up the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) were to line up outside an employment office in London, they would form a queue long enough to reach all the way to New York.

The queue would be a youthful one; of the seventeen million people in it, seven million, or forty per cent, would be under the age of twenty-five. For although the current world economic recession affects all age groups, young people have been particularly hard hit and over the past few years the gap between the unemployment

rates of adult and young workers has widened disturbingly with young workers accounting for thirty-six per cent of the total increase in unemployment between 1973 and 1975. In 1976, over one third of all the unemployed in the European Communities were under twenty-five. In Australia at the end of 1976, forty per cent of the total registered unemployed were under twenty-one, while in Canada in 1974 males aged from fourteen to twenty-four accounted for close to half of the unemployed, double their proportion in the work force. In the United States young men between the ages of sixteen and nineteen account for twenty per cent of all the unemployed compared with an overall unemployment rate of just under nine per cent.

These figures do not, however, reveal the whole picture. They include only those young people in the unemployment count who are actively looking for work and are registered with the national employment services. Many, particularly first-time job-

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Photo © Staeh, Czechoslovakia U.N./IFPA International Photo Competition



seekers under eighteen who are not entitled to unemployment benefits and may have applied for jobs or training places in vain, see little purpose in registering. The real unemployment figures may, therefore, be considerably higher.

There is also evidence that growing numbers of young people are now remaining out of work for longer periods, although these periods are still shorter than those of adult workers.

Teenagers, first-time job-seekers and those with the lowest educational qualifications are the hardest hit. From the statistics of the few countries that publish data correlating unemployment with age, sex and educational and training levels, it appears that most youngsters who lose their jobs have had no training or are semi-skilled. However, data for 1976 from the Federal Republic of Germany show that a third of all unemployed people under the age of twenty had served an apprenticeship or had been trained at a vocational school. Clearly, training and skills are not in

themselves an infallible protection. Unemployment among girls and young women is also disproportionately high.

Demographic changes in a number of countries are likely to make matters worse before they get better. Between now and the end of the 1980's the number of young people reaching working age in the countries of the European Economic Community (EEC) will continue to rise substantially. Not until 1985 will their numbers go down and stabilize.

Why are young people so severely affected? Clearly, the general decline in the number of jobs due to the recession is highly significant. But this holds good for adult as well as young workers and the fear is that certain long-standing structural problems exist which may not disappear with economic recovery. Well before the recession the unemployment share of young people was disproportionately high in such countries as Canada, France, Ireland, Italy, the United Kingdom and the United States. Even today in countries

such as Sweden and Norway where unemployment is very low, the proportion of young people out of work is two or three times that of adults. All this points to a structural trend towards growing unemployment for the fifteen to twenty-five age group.

One of the most often quoted reasons for youth unemployment is the preference of employers for adult workers. Particularly in time of large-scale layoffs, employers prefer to hire or keep experienced adult workers. The costs of employing young people are greater in the short term than the benefits to the firm. An employer tends to fill job vacancies with older workers who have job experience and skills, as well as habits of reliability and punctuality, and in this way keep his training costs down to the minimum.

Research into the nature of employers' recruitment policies under current employment conditions is lacking in most European countries. However, according to one such survey carried out in the United

50 million jobless in the world today

Kingdom, "about half the employers interviewed believe that the calibre of young people has deteriorated over the past five years in terms of their motivation and basic education. Particular disappointment was voiced at the quality of recruits to skilled manual jobs. So far this attitude on the part of employers has not markedly affected recruitment policies; most employers continue to employ the same proportion of young people."

There is also evidence that relative wage costs may be a barrier to the employment of young people. Each successive rise in the minimum wage rate reduces employer demand for inexperienced workers. In a number of countries minimum wage legislation now lays down lower minima for the sixteen to twenty-one age group. In Denmark, for example, where adult wages are payable only from the age of eighteen, unemployment is lower among the younger age groups.

Paradoxically, young workers are often disadvantaged by legislation originally designed for their protection. In practically all industrialized countries there are barriers to the employment during school hours of young people under sixteen. Yet the emergence of work experience programmes or of other schemes combining study and work at secondary school level raises the question of whether legislation and practice should not take these recent developments into account. Thus it has been argued recently in the United States that "enacted many years ago to counteract a then widespread exploitive practice, these laws operate today to deny some forms of work experience that would generally be recognized as valuable... Surveys made by the Department of Labor indicate that work experience results in (or at least is accompanied by) substantial reductions in dropouts, truancy and tardiness, as well as in significant improvements in school grades. The findings appear sufficient to recommend amendment of the federal or state laws."

The same sources also point out that employers are worried about the scope of federal or state legislation concerning the employment of persons under the age of eighteen in "hazardous occupations" and consequently are reluctant to hire anyone under eighteen for fear of violating the law in this respect.

In the discussion on the problems of youth unemployment reference is often made to the allegedly negative attitudes of young people towards work, and particularly towards jobs in industry. Yet it remains to be demonstrated that their attitudes are markedly different from those of adult workers. The large body of literature dealing with job satisfaction and quality of work reflects society's growing concern with the work situation. Is it therefore surprising if the attitudes of older people towards work influence the young?

Recent studies in France show considerable variations in attitudes among young workers according to age, sex, social origin, education, training and type of job. Moreover it is not easy to distinguish between the questioning of work as a major social value and of the circumstances under which it is done. Difficulties during the transition from school to work—unemployment, unsatis-

factory working conditions, low material rewards, frustrated career and income expectations, etc.—are certain to dampen the outlook on work and are bound to give rise to discontent, indifference or despondency in young people. First impressions may be lasting and thus cause considerable social and personal harm.

Yet there are noticeable differences in attitudes which are not necessarily negative. For instance, whatever their educational level, young people become increasingly reluctant to accept author-

itative supervision or a work organization that imposes intolerable constraints and deprives them of initiative and responsibility. They tend to refuse a type of human relations at work that many adults have come to accept.

It is often said that young people do not want to go into industry but prefer jobs in the service sector. It is true that many try to avoid work on the assembly line and other repetitive and monotonous jobs. But so do many adults. Despite all the talk about the high skill demands of modern technology and the need for education and training to prepare people for these demands, there are still many jobs which require very little skill, training, intelligence or judgement.

The deficiencies of the educational system, especially at the secondary level, are increasingly apportioned part at least of the blame for the difficulties young people are experiencing on the labour market. It is frequently argued that schools do not fulfil the function of bridging the gap between the world of childhood and the world of work. In many countries there is hardly any communication between the educational system and the labour market. With the exception of those who go on to higher education, young people move suddenly from the protected, ivory-tower environment of school into a harsh, competitive, production-oriented work situation where the performance and behaviour expected of them are very different from anything they have previously known. During this transition many of them undergo a good deal of physical and psychological strain.

Yet concern about the problems young people experience in making the transition from school to work is nothing new. A

300 million persons in the world are underemployed

report submitted to the United Kingdom Government in 1959 drew attention to "the abrupt transition from school to work" and stated that "now that the school leaving age is 15, a good many people have doubts whether school conditions should not be brought for everybody a little nearer to working conditions... There is a duty to these older pupils, who are already half independent in their activities and behaviour, to assist them to fit into life as it is generally lived by adults. Abundant experiment will be necessary; and,

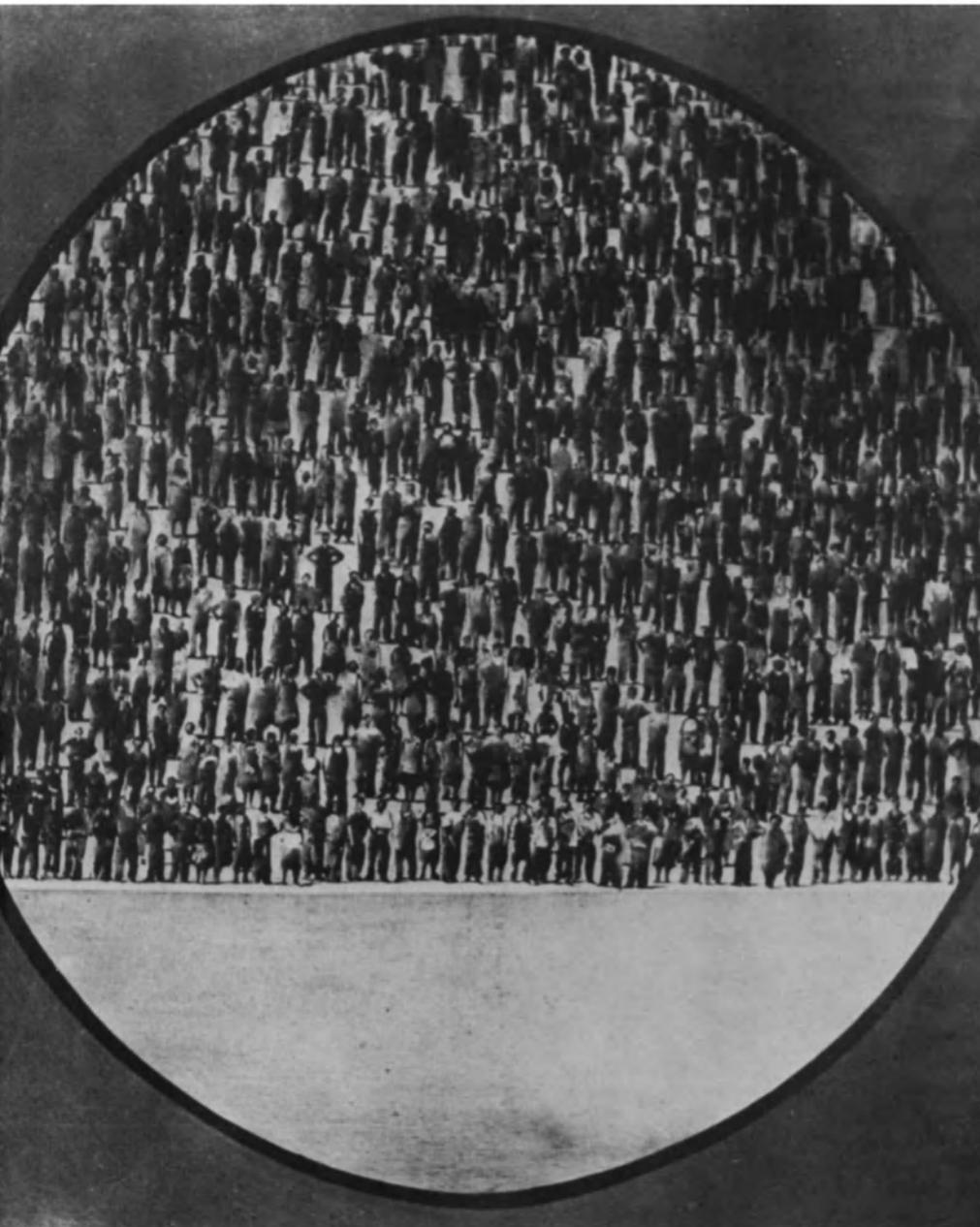


Photo © Marlborough Fine Arts, London

Spanish Horizon 1960,
a painting by the Spanish artist
Juan Genovés

because this is a no man's land between school and work, it is pretty certain that some of the experiments which ought to be tried will be difficult to carry out because they will not easily be kept within the bounds set by school regulations, trade union rules, labour legislation and insurance requirements..." However, it was not until many years later that the experiments recommended in the report were started under the impulsion of alarmingly high youth unemployment.

This criticism of the educational system for being too academic mounted rapidly during the mid-1970's and was accompanied by concern over an increasing lack of basic literacy, numeracy and communications skills.

What is being done to cut youth unemployment in the industrialized countries? Most governments are adopting a multiple approach involving innovations in education and training, employment subsidy schemes and job creation programmes.

Many governments are encouraging sixteen-year-olds to stay on at school rather than do nothing. This advice has been heeded in Sweden where seventy-two per cent stay on at school, and in the Netherlands where many youngsters go in for vocational subjects. Under a new British scheme known as "link courses"—so far rather limited in application—pupils in their last year of compulsory schooling gain practical experience by working in industry, commerce and the public services. Before lending its support to the scheme, however, the Trades Union Congress insisted that work experience for schoolchildren must among other things be "an integral element in a properly planned course of general education (and) comply strictly with all the statutory restrictions applying to the employment of children and young persons".

In the Federal Republic of Germany a year of basic vocational training is being tried out in two *Länder*. Its purpose is to prepare the pupil for entry into the world of

work, either entirely at school or in co-operation with an enterprise, by supplementing general education with broad vocational subjects as a basis for subsequent training. In Sweden much attention is being paid to improving contacts between school and working life, and in Canada, Japan and the United States programmes of alternate work and study have been in existence for many years.

Since most governments consider training to be one of the best ways of combating youth unemployment, a number of them have established programmes designed in particular to help young people with poor educational records and little or no work experience. These have generally taken the form of subsidies to firms providing training or of direct grants to trainees.

In France a number of schemes have been initiated including one which encourages employers to offer young people a minimum of work experience through "employment-training contracts" of from six to twelve months' duration. The contracts may be concluded by private or public industrial, artisanal and commercial enterprises. Employers' training costs are reimbursed by the State through subsidies of between thirty and one hundred per cent of the minimum wage.

In the United Kingdom, in addition to a number of short-term training programmes and temporary work schemes, a work experience programme has been launched to provide school-leavers with six to twelve months experience in factories, shops or offices under close supervision. Similar combined training and employment schemes are in operation in the Netherlands and in Australia.

Closely linked with these training schemes are the employment subsidy schemes adopted in a number of countries. The Italian Government, for example, has established a four-year regional employment fund for Sardinia and is also offering subsidies of 32,000 lire a month for each worker aged between fifteen and twenty-two hired at national minimum wage rates for a combination of work and training. France, the United Kingdom and Sweden all have various forms of employment subsidy schemes.

Another line of attack now widely adopted is the institution of special job creation programmes for groups experiencing special difficulty in finding jobs. The United States and Canada were the leaders in this field and the programmes usually serve social rather than commercial ends.

The Canadian programme has been based from the outset on involvement of local groups and communities in the creation of new jobs. The underlying aim is to combat seasonal unemployment, a particularly serious problem in a country that experiences such hard winters. What is unusual about the programme is that ideas for projects can be submitted by anyone—individuals, groups, municipalities or corporations. The projects must be designed for community betterment, not for profit, and the jobs must be filled by unemployed people. There is no age limit, but about forty per cent of all participants have been under twenty-five years of age.

In the 23 richest countries in the world, 4 out of every 10 unemployed persons are under 25

Apart from being economically wasteful, unemployment is felt as rejection and discrimination and is therefore socially damaging, especially to young people. Most of the measures taken so far have been of a short-term nature whereas the problem itself is a long-term one which calls for new and imaginative approaches affecting the educational and training system as well as the labour market. This will require a determined joint effort on the part of governments, educational and employment authorities, employers, trade unions, voluntary bodies and the public at large.

■ Peter Melvyn

▶ A job creation scheme modelled on the Canadian programme but aimed exclusively at young people has been initiated in the United Kingdom. As with the Canadian scheme the goal is to provide short-term jobs of social value, including community tasks which would not otherwise be undertaken. Several other countries have taken similar initiatives. In Denmark public works programmes for young people have been launched by the municipal authorities with government funding. Since 1975 the Netherlands Government has been providing temporary subsidies to public bodies and non profit-making institutions for work projects that are socially useful and do not compete with normal economic activities. The Netherlands is also experimenting with an original scheme whereby two young people share one job, one wage and one full unemployment benefit.

If the various training and employment creation measures mentioned above seem in many cases to lack continuity and co-ordination, it should not be forgotten that they were nearly always adopted under the considerable pressure of a rapidly deteriorating employment situation. That governments are learning from experience is shown by their continuing quest for new and more comprehensive approaches, particularly as regards long-term action to meet educational and training needs and to achieve better articulation between the educational system and the labour market. Most of these new moves are still in the planning stage and are the subject of public discussion and controversy.

Although it is hard to predict what the future will bring, the unemployed young in the Western industrialized countries face the prospect of frequent joblessness, long job search and marginal employment.

While youth unemployment is part of general unemployment, the proportion of young people out of work remains substantially higher than that of other workers. The reasons for this are partly cyclical but also to a significant extent partly structural. The high level of employment of the post-war years tended to conceal occupational and technological change. Increasingly jobs are lost through capital investment in equipment; fewer new jobs are created and these often demand skills that many young people cannot offer. The recession has laid bare the gap between the school and the world of work.

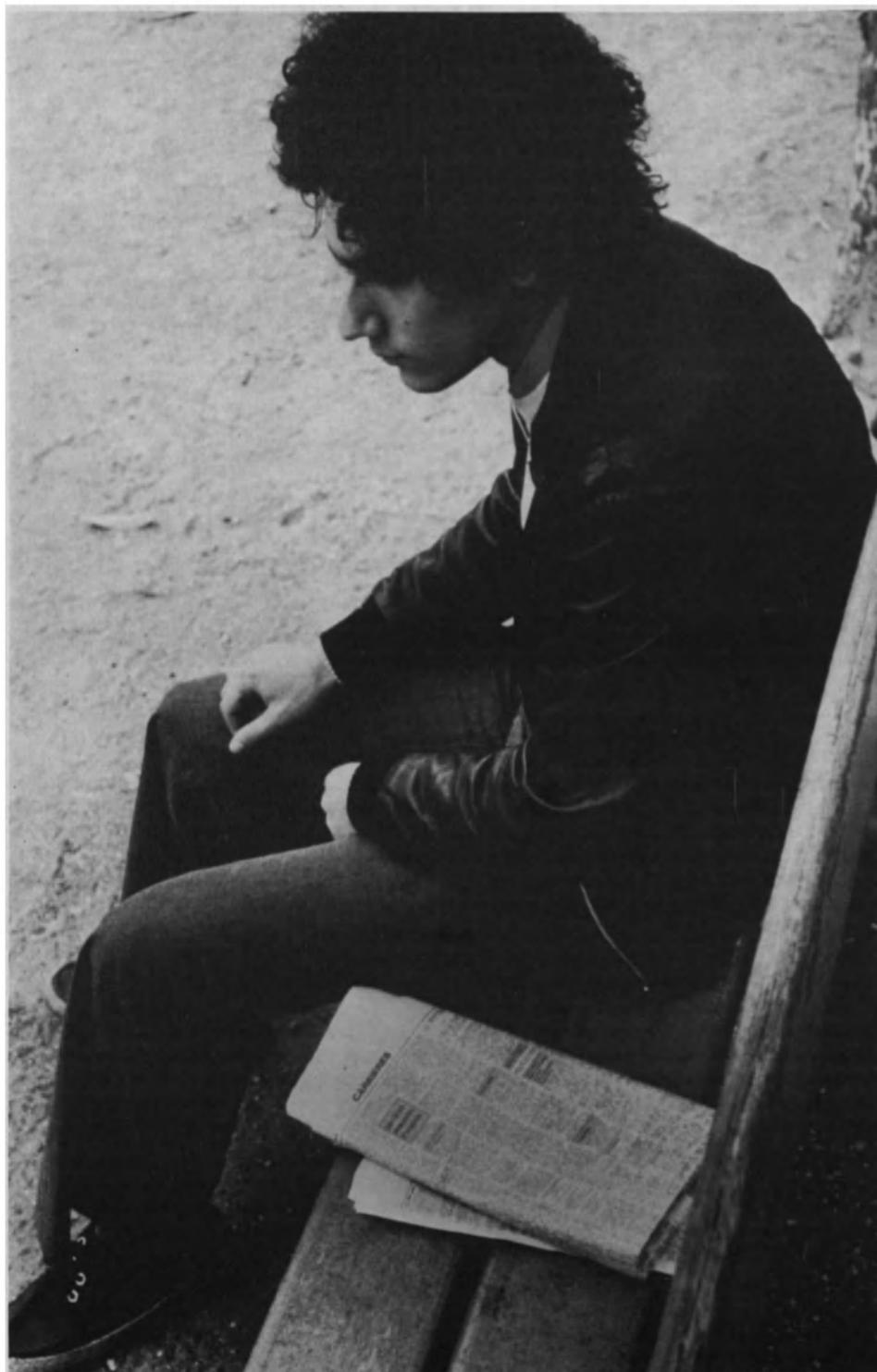


Photo © Niepce-Rapho, Paris



THE RIGHT TO WORK

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Article 23

- 1 — Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.
- 2 — Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.
- 3 — Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.
- 4 — Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

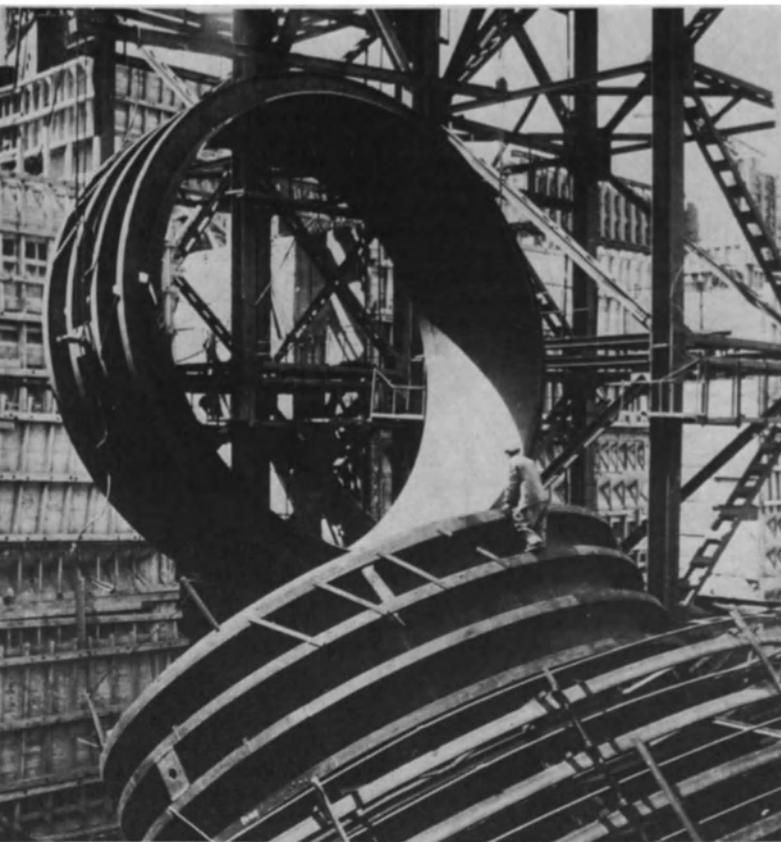


Photo © APN, Moscow

In spite of major efforts to train personnel, the socialist countries of Europe today face a manpower shortage. In the U.S.S.R. alone, only some 40 per cent of the new jobs in industry were filled in 1975. Left, a Soviet worker dwarfed by a hydroelectric installation in Siberia.

The manpower situation in European socialist countries

THE U.S.S.R. and other European socialist countries have, in recent years, achieved rapid rates of economic growth. Yet this does not imply that employment problems, such as those associated with long-term manpower planning and productivity, have been absent.

Although specific policies differ from one socialist country to another, employment problems are now viewed in all of them as part of the more general problem of improving productivity and efficiency.

In the early years of Soviet planning, however, the authorities had to grapple with a serious problem of urban unemployment and extremely low productivity in rural areas. The strategy adopted was to link employment policy to a programme of rapid industrialization so that the attainment of full employment became a by-product of the priority accorded to industry.

Careful attention was paid to the choice of technology, particularly in the early stages when unemployment was a significant problem. In general, capital-intensive techniques were used in the new branches of industry, whereas labour-intensive, capital-saving methods of production were adopted in those industries in which there was the possibility of choice.

According to official statistics, in all socialist countries, except in Yugoslavia, open unemployment was virtually eliminated by the 1960s. In subsequent years a combination of a shift of labour out of agriculture, increasing entry of women into the paid labour force and the coming of age of children born during the post-war baby boom ensured that labour bottlenecks did not arise until recently. Today, however, with the able-bodied population increasing by less than one per cent a year, labour scarcity is likely to become an increasing problem.

Growth in output and productivity has been accompanied by a high degree of apparent price stability.

Price policies have been complemented by wage and income policies. The wage structure in the European socialist countries is notable for its low differentials. In Bulgaria, for example, the minimum wage is about two-thirds of the average wage.

In addition, a considerable part of the national income in socialist countries is distributed in kind to the population in the form of collective or public consumption. Health and educational services, for example, are free, as is the use of many cultural, recreational and sporting facilities.

The trends in growth, productivity, prices and income distribution described above have developed during a period of rapid structural change. The proportion of the labour force engaged in industry and construction has risen rapidly and there has been a steady fall in the proportion of the labour force engaged in agriculture and forestry while increasing numbers are being absorbed into the service sector.

Labour shortages are beginning to make themselves felt and there is little prospect of relief through population growth. Moreover, the rapid growth of education and training is certain to result in a fall in the proportion of the able-bodied population engaged in productive occupations. Nor is there any possibility of increasing substantially the participation rate of women since they already constitute a large proportion of the paid labour force. Thus the need for improvement in labour utilization is becoming more and more evident.

For the past fifteen years considerable effort has been devoted to increasing output and productivity in the agricultural sector in the U.S.S.R. Investment in farming has increased faster than in industry and its share of the total has almost doubled, from 14 per cent in 1960 to 27 per cent in 1974. Agricultural incentives have also been improved.

Parallel to the need for faster progress in agriculture, there is an increasingly recognized need to shift more resources to the production of manufactured consumer goods.

Thus the socialist economies have reached a stage of development at which there must be simultaneously a shift in the balance of production and hence in the balance of investment between the various sectors, and in the rate of technical change with a view to reducing manpower needs.

It is in this context that the economic reforms now under way acquire their significance. Their aim is to increase productivity by decentralizing decision making and placing greater responsibility for economic performance at the branch and enterprise level.

Another urgent requirement will be to satisfy the more qualitative basic needs of the citizens of socialist countries. As in other industrially advanced societies, the satisfaction of basic material needs through rising living standards and higher levels of education leads to demands for an improved quality of life, greater participation in decisions affecting management of enterprises and an improved working environment, including safety, health and job satisfaction. ■

This text is based on a longer study which appeared in *Employment and Basic Needs, A One-World Problem*, a report of the Director-General of the International Labour Office, Geneva, prepared for the Tripartite World Conference on Employment, Income Distribution and Social Progress and the International Division of Labour.

The employment crisis in the Third World

1,060 million
new jobs needed
before the end
of the century

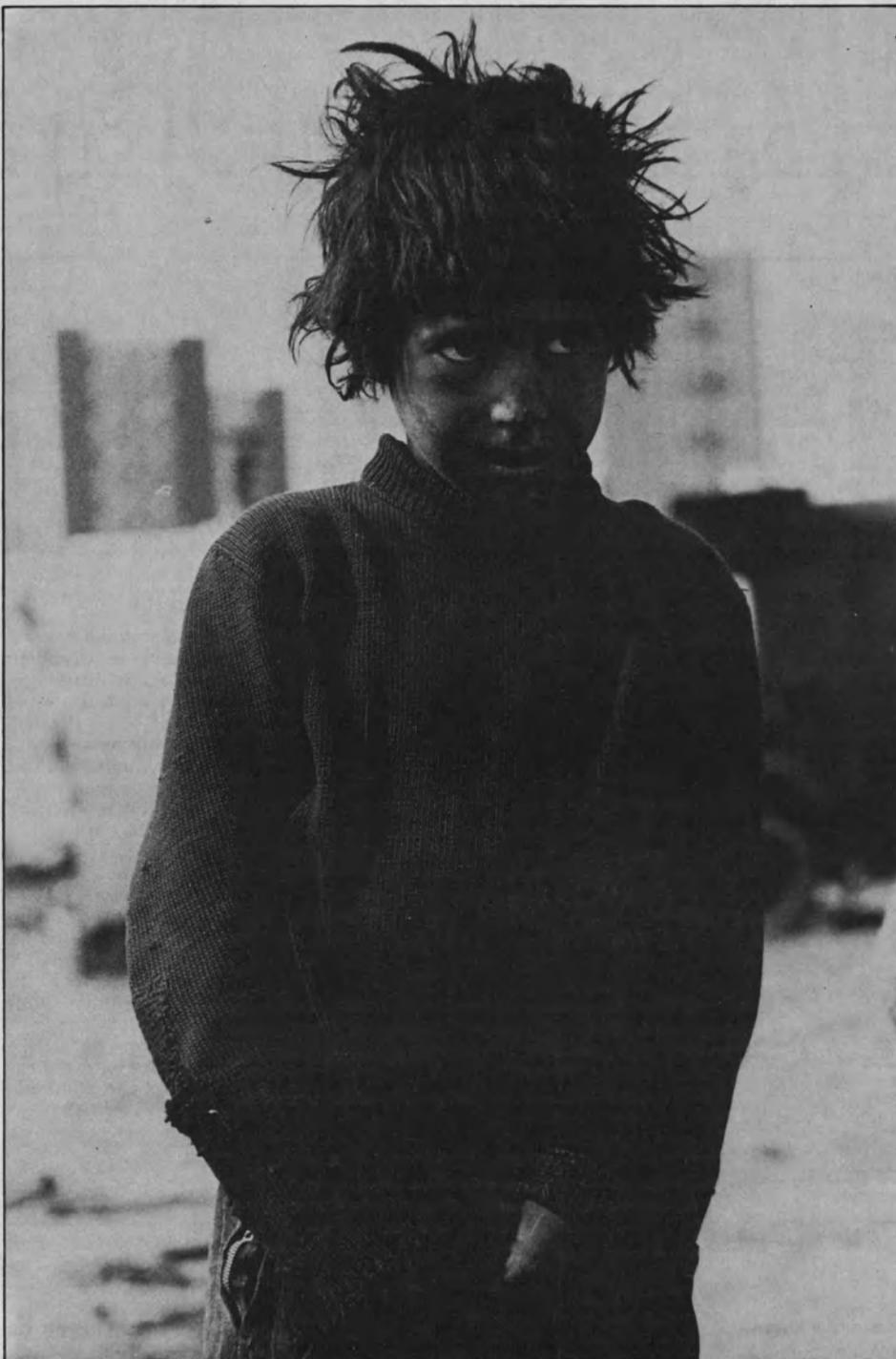
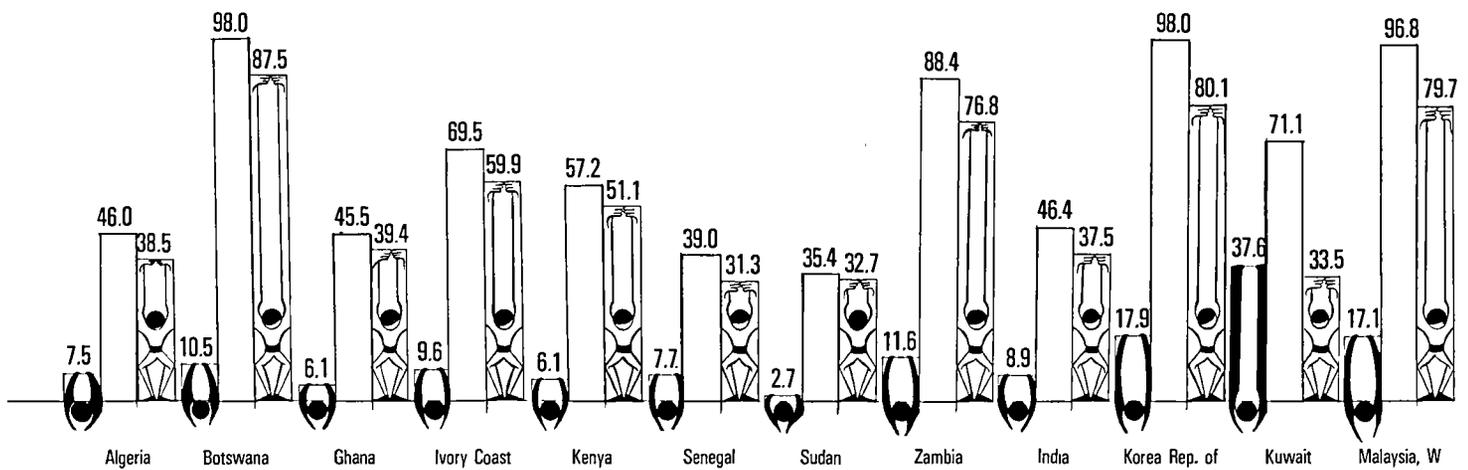


Photo Guy Le Querrec © Magnum, Paris

CHILD OF OUR TIMES. It has been estimated that migrant workers from the Third World occupy some 12 million jobs in the industrialized countries with a market economy and the oil-producing countries of the Middle East. About half of them work in western Europe, where the main countries of immigration are France and the Federal Republic of Germany. In Berlin (Fed. Rep. of Germany) alone, migrant workers and their families number 3 million. Adjusting to life in a new country poses difficult problems for the children. (Above, the son of a migrant worker living in France) Unesco is actively promoting research to aid migrant workers and their families to adapt to social conditions in the host country, while at the same time preserving their cultural identity, and to help them acquire knowledge and skills which will be useful if they decide to return to their country of origin. Particular stress is laid on the need to provide additional training for educators working in areas with a high proportion of migrant workers.

FULL employment and a reduction in poverty and inequality are not automatic consequences of rapid national economic growth. This is the harsh lesson to be learnt from the experience of the developing countries over the past three decades.

During the 1960s, national income per head of population grew exceptionally fast by historical standards in most developing countries. Indeed, throughout this period, the rates of economic growth in the developing countries often exceeded those



Design © Fitnat, Paris. Based on a graph published in "The basic arithmetic of youth employment", ILO, Geneva

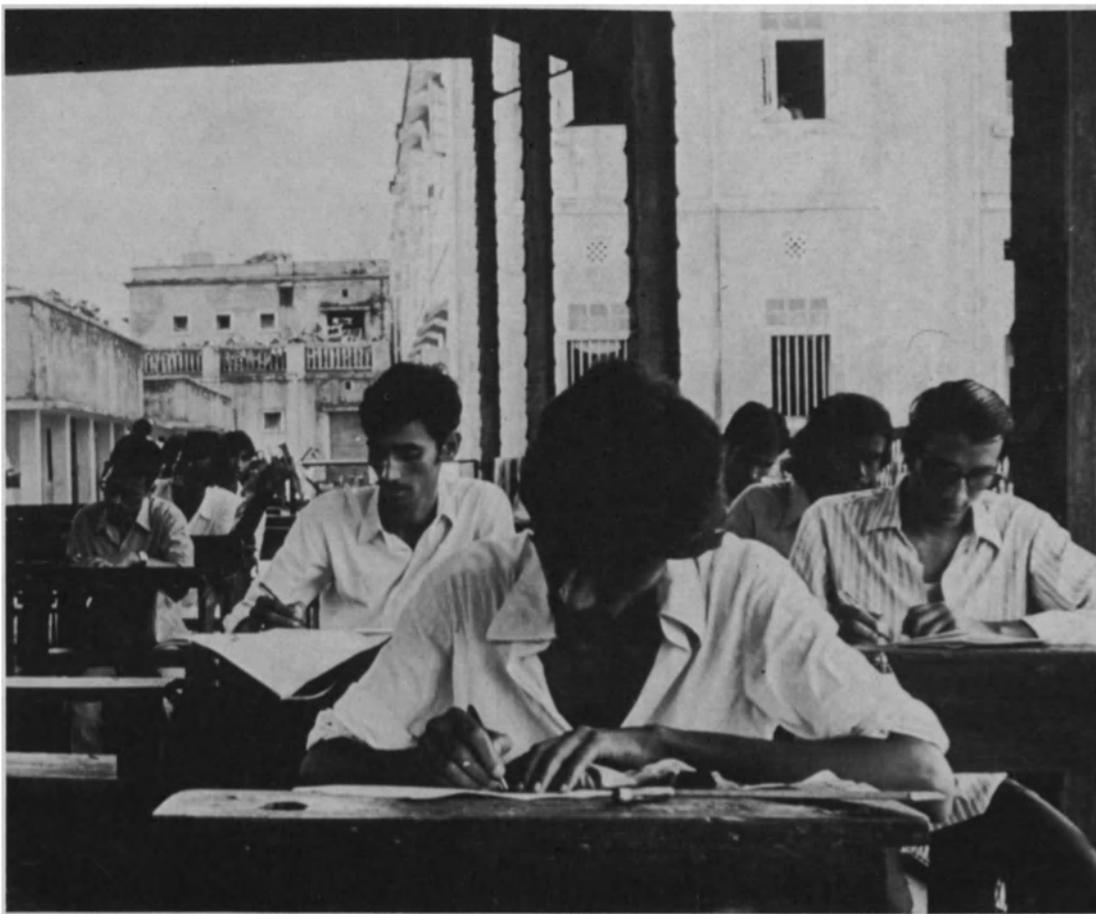


Photo Paul Harrison © Parimage, Paris

There is no single answer to the employment problem in developing countries, where there are not only high rates of unemployment and underemployment (working short hours and wanting more work) but too many of those in jobs earn incomes inadequate for meeting even their basic needs. In Asia alone an estimated 180 million new jobs must be created by the end of this decade. Left, these Indian students in the examination room will soon face another test—the search for a job commensurate with their qualifications and abilities.

► achieved by the industrialized countries when they were going through their development phase.

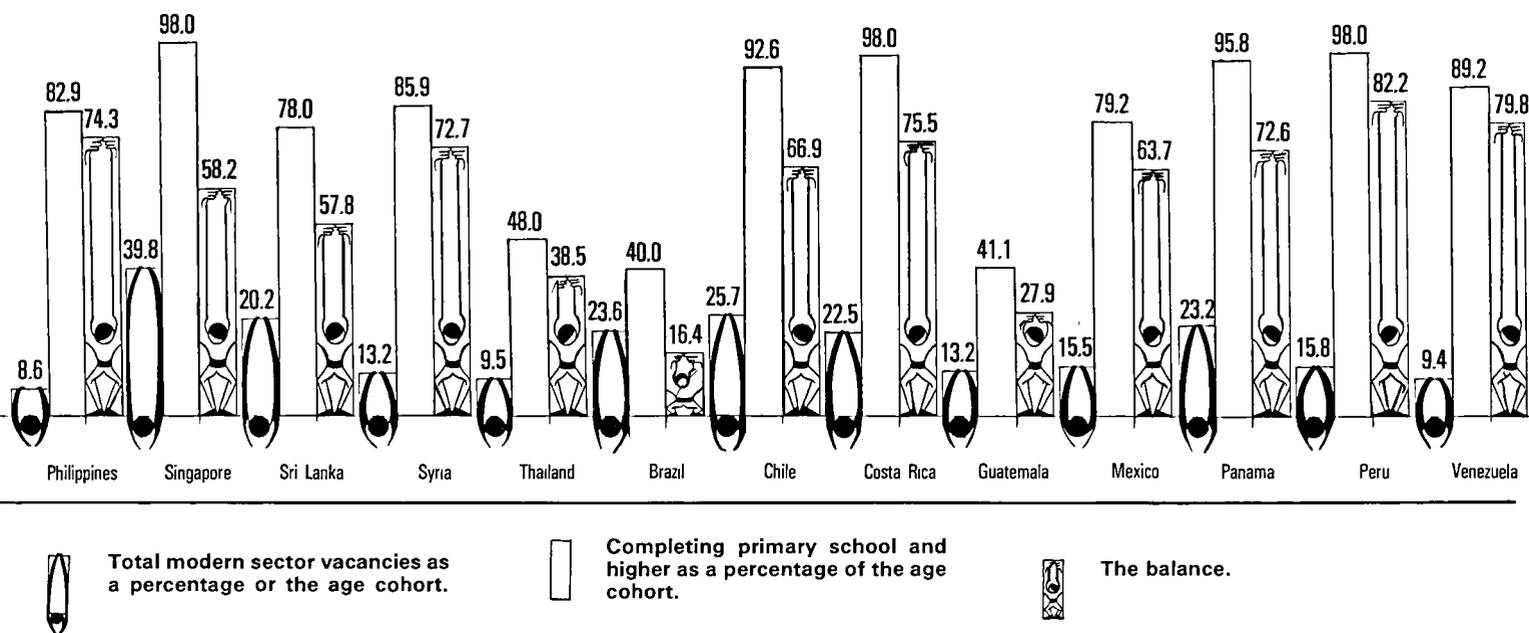
Unfortunately, economic growth in the developing countries has tended recently to be concentrated in relatively limited, capital-intensive sectors of the economy rather than in the traditional rural sector or the less organized urban sector which between them account for by far the greater part of total employment. As a result, the benefits of growth, and in particular increased employment opportunities,

have mainly gone to a very small part of the total population.

Several factors have contributed to this uneven development. Production structure and wealth distribution patterns in the developing countries are often a legacy of colonial or other alien regimes, and the continued application of foreign patterns has often led to the perpetuation of inappropriate systems in such fields as education and health. Government policies have frequently been ill-adapted to the circumstances of an independent nation in which

the reduction of poverty ought to be the major objective of economic policy.

Even since independence inappropriate institutions and policies have continued to lead to a poor allocation of investment resources, the selection of economically inefficient methods of production in relation to resources available, the underutilization of labour, capital and land, and an increasing concentration of income and wealth. Very high and sustained rates of population growth have aggravated these problems. These interlocking factors have



Higher qualifications—a ticket to nowhere?

The phenomenon of “educated unemployment” is not confined to the industrialized countries. Only 10 to 15 years ago in many developing countries almost everyone who completed 6 or 7 years of education—at a time when only 10 to 15 per cent of the age group did so—could be fairly sure of a non-manual, modern-sector job.

Modern-sector jobs may be defined roughly as jobs which (as distinct from traditional, self-employed, rural and artisan occupations) provide security and a predictable, regular, higher than average income, comfortable, modern working conditions and social status.

Hardly anywhere can one now get such a job with less than 9 or 10 years of education and a secondary certificate. In parts of south Asia college graduates compete unsuccessfully for routine clerical jobs with no great prospects.

If there are too many certificated young job-seekers chasing too few modern-sector jobs, and if the imbalance is likely to grow rather than diminish, what are the prospects for the future?

The diagram above is based on figures presented in *The Basic Arithmetic of Youth Employment*, a publication of the ILO World Employment Programme. Assuming a rather conservative rate of growth of 2 per cent in modern-sector employment opportunities, it portrays graphically the likely employment situation in 1980 for those whose education encourages them to aspire to jobs in the modern sector. It underlines the seriousness of the situation and the urgency of the task facing educational planners in the developing countries.

For each of the countries shown on the diagram the first column shows the total projected vacancies in the modern sector in 1980 as a percentage of young people coming on to the labour market; the second column shows the percentage of these young people who will have completed primary and higher education; the third column shows the balance. Thus in the case of Algeria, for example, out of 100 young people coming on to the labour market in 1980, 46 will have completed at least primary and/or higher education and will become available for jobs in the modern sector of the labour market. However, of these 46 only 7.5 will find a job in the modern sector, so that 38.5 have no hope of finding a job in this sector.

combined to keep vast numbers of people in abject poverty, deprived of any share of the benefits of the increase in total output.

By the end of the 1960s it was clear that in most developing countries following conventional patterns, growth was not leading to a reduction of poverty. On the contrary, the numbers of the very poor were rising, the degree of inequality was only rarely diminishing and the employment problem remained largely unresolved.

Open unemployment in developing

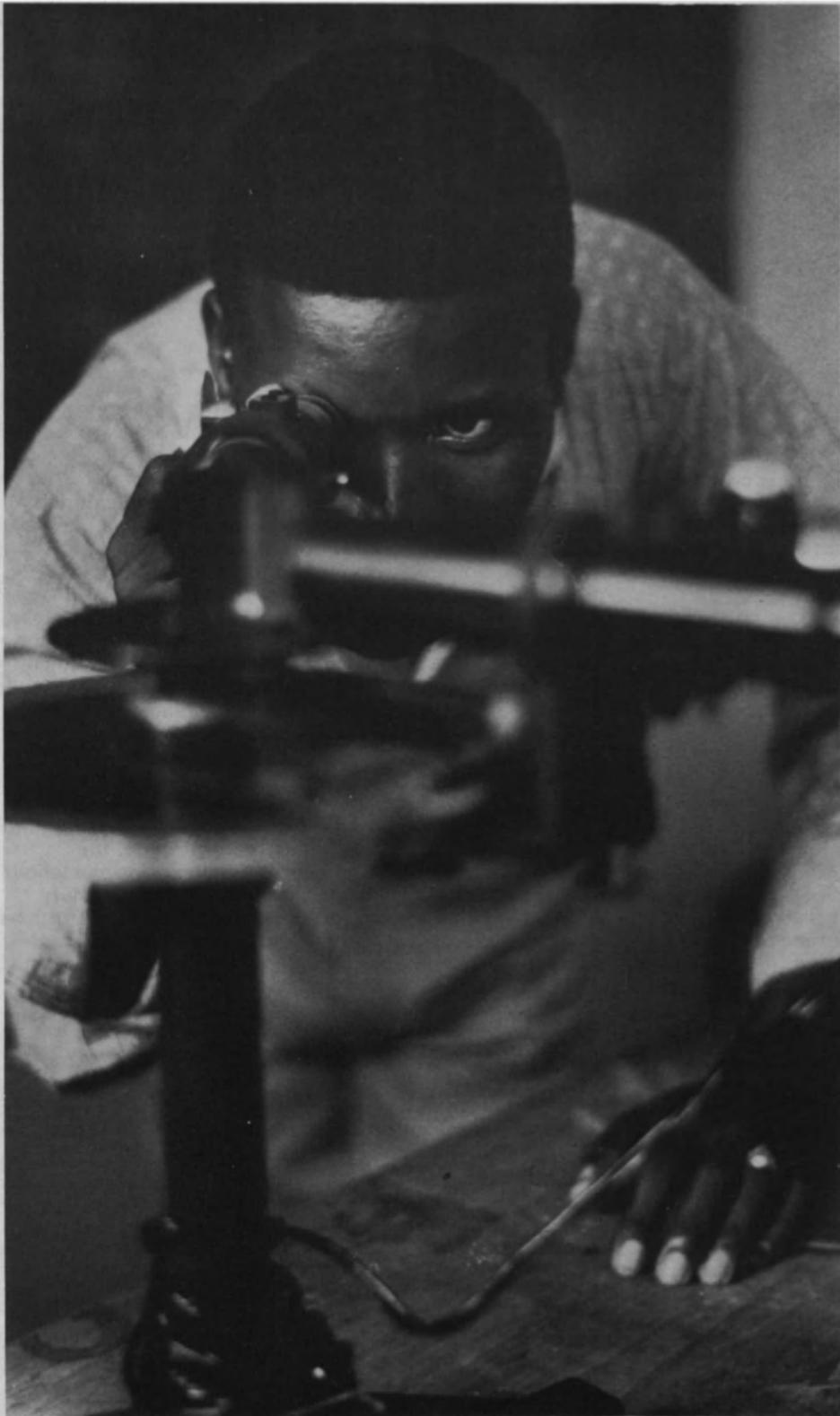
countries can be measured fairly accurately. It frequently reflects, to a greater extent than in the industrialized countries, more the problem of young dependents seeking employment than that of experienced workers losing their jobs. Despite very high rates of open unemployment for some areas and some age-groups, and much higher rates in urban than in rural areas, it is not generally a large fraction of the total labour force. The unemployed in many developing countries are disproportionately concentrated among young

people, first-time job-seekers, women and the relatively better educated.

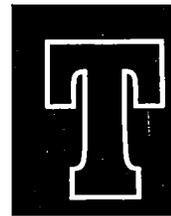
Other dimensions of the employment problem in the developing countries are of much greater importance. Seasonal unemployment is often extreme and underemployment (working short hours and wanting more work) is widespread. But the most widespread and critical phenomenon is simply that work of various kinds (especially self-employment) yields an income inadequate for the working poor to meet their basic needs.

In the developing world the number of new jobs which can be created in the modern sector of the economy is extremely limited. In many developing countries the maximum number of new modern-sector jobs which can be expected even at the most optimistic rates of growth would not provide for more than 20 or 30 per cent of the young people coming on to the labour market.

Photo Roland Michaud © Rapho, Paris



▶ In countries without unemployment compensation, those in the most desperate need (particularly heads of households with dependents) can spend little time looking for the kind of work they prefer. They must find something even if it yields only a pittance. Thus heads of households are more likely to be found among the inadequately employed or underemployed, for example in precarious low-productivity self-employment, than among the unemployed.



THE crux of the employment problem in the developing world thus lies in the high proportion of the labour force earning inadequate incomes. The proportion of the labour force classified as underemployed is approximately the same as the proportion of the population classified as "destitute". Thus, problems of employment and poverty are inseparable and the magnitude of the total poverty problem is regularly understated.

The labour force of the developing countries with market economies is now estimated to be around 700 million. About 5 per cent of this labour force is openly unemployed and a further 36 per cent is underemployed, the proportion being lower in urban and higher in rural areas. Of the total of unemployed and underemployed, about 80 per cent are to be found in rural areas.

The growth of the labour force in the developing countries with market economies has accelerated in recent years and it is likely that the acceleration will continue for some time after the overall rate of population growth has finally begun to slow down. United Nations estimates (which assume quite substantial reductions in fertility rates) suggest that between 1975 and the year 2000 the labour force of all the developing countries (including China) will rise by some 75 per cent.

In the developed countries the agricultural labour force has long been decreasing not only as a proportion of the total labour force but also in absolute terms, whereas in the developing countries it continues to

The multinationals and the Third World

increase in absolute terms. This state of affairs is likely to continue in the developing countries as a whole until the beginning of the second decade of the next century, even if non-agricultural employment were to expand much more rapidly. Thus agriculture, in addition to absorbing a substantial backlog of underemployment, will have to continue to provide employment for new entrants to the labour force for a long time to come if rural-urban migration is to be slowed to a rate commensurate with the creation of non-agricultural jobs.

That the incomes of so many of the working poor are inadequate does not mean that, like the unemployed, their labour is totally unused. Some of them are no doubt very fully occupied. However, they are available for more productive and better paid work when it becomes available. How can full use be made of these labour resources so that the working poor can meet their basic needs?

There are still many areas where factual knowledge is far from complete. More information is needed on the relation of unemployment and underemployment to poverty. What are the employment characteristics of the poor? Are they available for rural works programmes? Would they migrate to seek work or do they find security in their home villages? How many of the poor are sick or old? Without such knowledge it is impossible to tell what kind of government programmes are needed to reduce poverty.

From nearly every point of view, inadequate employment in the traditional rural and informal urban sectors is usually more critical than open unemployment in the developing countries. Creating the conditions where the former disappears will make it very much easier to deal with the latter. Measures aimed solely at reducing open unemployment, on the other hand, will worsen the basic problems of underemployment and poverty. Either additional waves of seekers of jobs in the modern sectors will appear, or even more resources will be used for the interests of the few and thereby perpetuate the poverty of the many. ■

This article and the box, right, are based on studies which appeared in the ILO report *Employment and Basic Needs, A One-World Problem*.

MULTINATIONAL enterprises cover a wide spectrum of economic activities. Their ownership is varied: the bulk of them are private, but they can also be state-owned. A high and increasing proportion of international transactions in goods, services, capital and expertise takes place under the auspices or through the mediation of such firms.

For a number of years now, criticisms, some severe, have been levelled against the activities of multinational enterprises, particularly in developing countries. From the research carried out so far by the ILO and others the conclusion has emerged that it is very difficult to generalize about their effects on such phenomena as employment, technology and labour skills.

It has been estimated that the multinationals directly employ a total of 13 to 14 million people. Out of this total, the share of developing countries has been estimated at approximately 2 million persons, or roughly 0.3 per cent of the active population, all of whom are in the "modern" or "formal" sectors. But this figure takes no account of indirect employment effects or the jobs created through activities of multinational enterprises other than direct investments. Moreover, employment effects vary enormously from sector to sector.

For example, in 1960 in Chile, Argentina, Brazil and Mexico, the jobs directly created by multinationals in extractive industries represented only a small percentage of total employment. Both foreign and domestic firms in these industries use highly capital-intensive processes, and generally very little transformation of the raw material takes place on the spot. In the case of agriculture, however, direct employment creation by the multinational enterprises is much larger, since production techniques in agriculture are traditionally labour-intensive. In 1968, in Zaire, the large foreign agricultural companies had 230,000 employees plus 200,000 "independent contractors", that is, 10 per cent of the active population.

In the case of manufacturing, direct employment in the multinational enterprises has increased sharply in recent years although the number of jobs created is still quite small when compared with the rest of the economy. For example, in countries such as Brazil and Mexico the multinational enterprises employ less than 10 per cent of the workers in manufacturing whereas their

share of investment amounts to 30 per cent. This is partly because they are investing increasingly by taking over existing firms rather than by creating new ones. There is indeed a risk that multinationals may in some cases reorganize firms in such a way as to lead to a fall in the number of jobs.

Among the criteria for evaluating the role of particular multinational enterprises (particularly when engaged in direct investments) in the creation of employment or the meeting of basic needs are: the adaptability of their production technologies to local environments, the appropriateness of the products which they promote for local mass consumption, their performance in the training of workers and managers, their behaviour with respect to social policy and wage rates, and the extent to which they have developed local subcontracting.

Many studies have shown that the technologies adopted by the multinationals in the host country are the same as those used in the home country. The reasons for this situation include the need for standardization of production techniques, the small size of domestic markets, the scarcity of supervisory skills and distortions in prices. This is not to minimize the importance of the adaptations to existing capital-intensive technologies and the introduction of labour-intensive ones which some firms have undertaken or the marketing efforts in the field of major agricultural crops which others have conducted. On the other hand, very few of the applied research and development activities of the multinational enterprises have been undertaken in the developing countries.

In the sphere of social and wage policies, ILO studies suggest that multinational enterprises typically abide by local laws and customs and, if anything, tend to pay higher wage rates than local firms in similar lines.

By importing advanced management and productive techniques, the multinationals can also contribute to training in developing countries. While almost all production staff are given training, the position is not necessarily the same for management. Localization of skilled labour and management posts has taken place at a steady pace but it is not yet clear to what extent the training efforts which made it possible have yielded benefits to the host countries outside the firms. ■

The brain drain: a hidden subsidy from poor to rich

"THE developing countries have, over the past fifteen years, witnessed a significant loss of their human capital through the process of 'reverse transfer of technology' or 'brain drain'. For the receiving countries, on the other hand, such an inflow has helped to increase the highly qualified manpower at their disposal with corresponding savings in education costs.

"For example, a report prepared for the United States House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs estimates the total educational cost savings to the United States of immigrant scientists, engineers and doctors from the developing countries at around \$1.8 billion for the two fiscal years 1971 and 1972, an average of little less than \$1 billion per year."

These observations, which highlight a situation which is having dramatic consequences for the developing world, are taken from a new study prepared by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) (1).

The United Nations has been concerned with this disturbing problem for some years. In 1975 the General Assembly adopted a resolution which underscored "the urgent need to formulate national and international policies to avoid the 'brain drain' and to obviate its adverse effects", and last December, at its 32nd session, called for an in-depth study of the subject. It was requested that particular attention be devoted to a proposal concerning the establishment of an international labour compensatory facility to indemnify labour-exporting countries for their loss of highly-trained personnel.

The UNCTAD study was prepared in response to the General Assembly resolution. Based on work by UNCTAD including case studies on India, Pakistan, the Philippines and Sri Lanka, it also draws on the work of other international organizations such as Unesco.

It throws into relief the main features of the brain drain, investigates its causes and suggests ways in which developing and industrialized countries alike could develop an equitable system of exchange between those who lose and those who gain from the brain drain.

According to the study, an estimated 305,000 highly skilled persons migrated from developing countries to the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom alone between 1961 and 1976. Nearly 61,000 were physicians and surgeons, over 100,000 were engineers and scientists, and 123,000 were technical staff. In addition, some 115,000 more skilled migrants are reckoned to have moved to other countries of western Europe.

The study also shows that in 1971-1972 half the new doctors in the United States and 40 per cent of those in the U.K. came from the developing countries. The burden of these losses was all the heavier for the developing countries since the migrant doctors, engineers and scientists tend to leave these countries during the most productive period of their lives.

The case studies on India, Pakistan, the Philippines and Sri Lanka underline the sombre implications of skilled migration for the developing countries. In the 1970s between 50 and 70 per cent of Pakistan's newly-trained doctors were believed to be emigrating each year, while in the mid-1960s it was reckoned that some 25 per cent of India's newly-trained engineers and

(1) *The Reverse Transfer of Technology: An In-Depth Analysis of Major Issues and Suggestions for a Framework of Approach.*

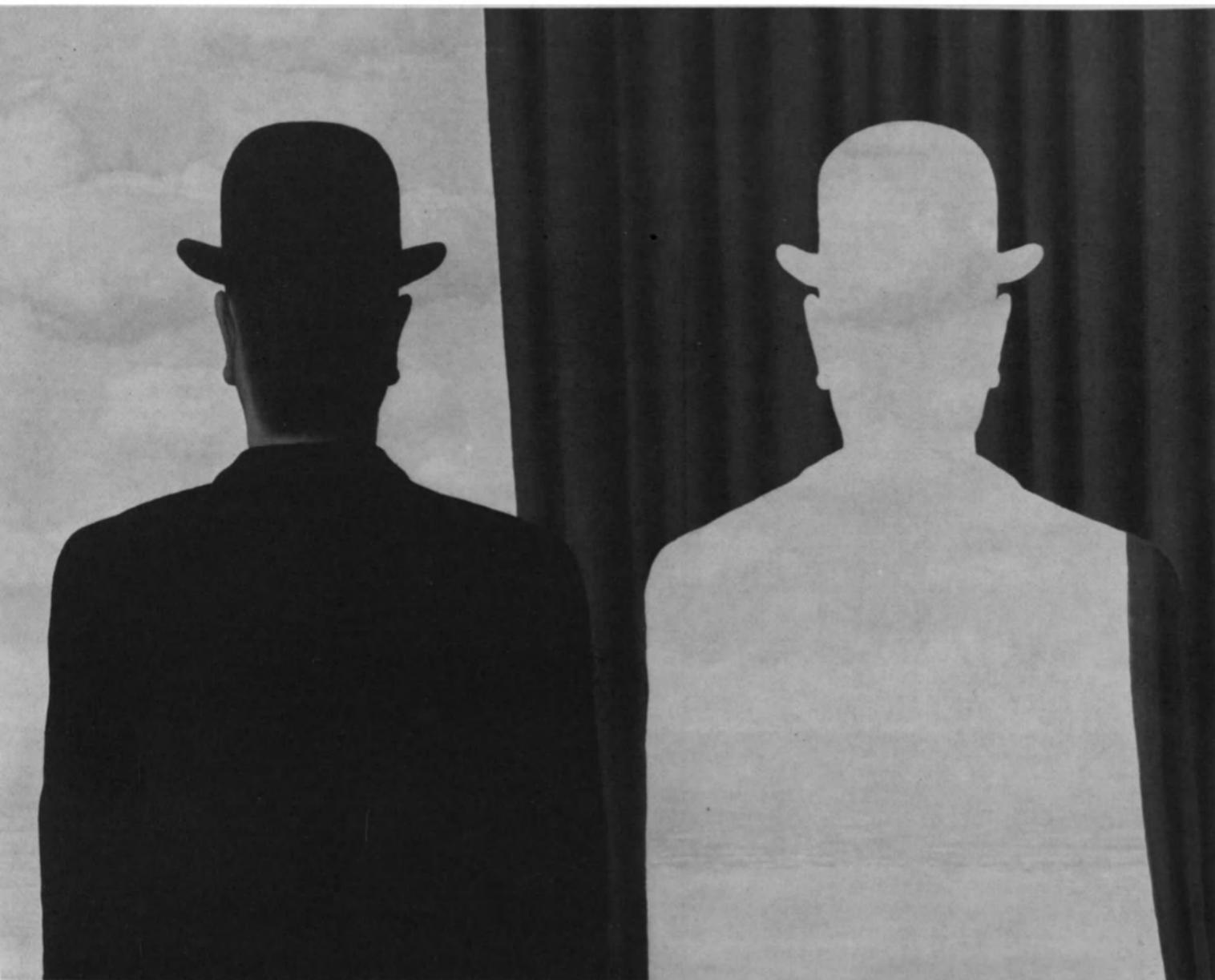


Photo © Draeger, Paris. Private Collection

some 30 per cent of its new doctors were leaving the country. In the Philippines in the mid-1970s, one newly-trained doctor in every five was leaving the country to find work elsewhere.

Between 1971 and 1975 some 35 per cent of Sri Lanka's accountants left to work abroad, along with 20 per cent of its doctors and 18 per cent of its engineers.

Although Asia has been the major catchment area for skilled migration, the lower figures for other developing regions still reflect a grim reality. For a developing country, the loss of only a handful of skilled personnel may be critical, either because they represent a big proportion of the country's limited resources of skilled manpower or because they are concentrated in areas of key importance to the economy.

A survey of the causes of migration suggests that a number of factors are involved, including international income differences, employment opportunities, living and working conditions and the social environment. Analysis of these causes does not, however, "suggest any strong implication of responsibility on the side of either the developing or the developed countries;

rather the brain drain seems to be symptomatic of the overall situation of unequal development of the international economy".

The UNCTAD study draws attention to the "need for concerted action at the national, regional and international levels in order to assist the developing countries to find solutions to the brain drain problem." Within this broad framework several alternative proposals have been advanced in recent years.

It is clear that the main brunt of the battle to stem the flow of skilled emigrants must be borne by the developing countries themselves. Three kinds of policies are currently envisaged:

- incentive policies to encourage professionals to stay in their home country or to return from abroad;
- "restrictive policies" to discourage professionals from leaving their country or to oblige them to return after a specific period abroad;
- policies aiming to minimize the need or desire of professionals to go abroad.

Action by the developed countries could help make these policies more effective.

Décalcomanie, a work by the Belgian surrealist painter René Magritte (1898-1967).

Traditionally, the most common measure in these countries has been to limit immigration of skilled workers from the developing world through the application of selective immigration quotas. However, since such restrictions on immigration pose questions concerning discrimination and the right of individuals to free movement, the recommendation of bilateral or multilateral agreements may prove especially useful.

CONTINUED PAGE 32

The myth of a rigid, artificial distinction between "men's jobs" and "women's jobs" dies hard and is often perpetuated by social conditioning in childhood. Most schoolgirls still seem to visualize themselves as future teachers or nurses whereas boys have a much wider variety of ideas and ambitions where jobs are concerned.

Photo Saul Bass, Los Angeles, California



Women at work: a European profile

by **Evelyne Sullerot**

EVELYNE SULLEROT, French sociologist, specializes in the study of women's position in society. She has prepared many studies for international organizations on aspects of the situation of women in working life and the question of equal pay for equal work. Among her published works, which have been widely translated, is *Women, Society and Change* (McGraw Hill, New York, 1971). This article has been adapted from a report prepared for the United Nations on "Changes in the Roles of Men and Women in Europe"

IN Western society, a person tends to be "identified" above all by virtue of his or her professional activities. The question "Who are you?" has been replaced by the question "What do you do?"

It is therefore inevitable that women should feel a growing need for a social identity which is not defined exclusively by reference to the economic role of men. Better trained and educated than in the past, less tied to the home thanks to a lighter burden of housework and less frequent child-bearing, they naturally wish to use their gifts, knowledge and skills to ensure their independence and play a fuller and more influential part in human affairs.

The first impression to emerge from statistics concerning women in employment is that the working world has been conceived and organized by men and for men.

Definitions of "working women" vary from country to country: in one farmers' wives, shopkeepers and unpaid workers in family businesses are all included in this category; in another they are not considered a part of the labour force on the grounds that it is impossible to assess the nature or the regularity of their remuneration. In Europe these different definitions account for disparities in calculating "woman-power" amounting to several millions of persons. The differences can be particu- ▶

Equal work... unequal pay

In some parts of the world women are still earning less than men doing the same jobs. A 50-country survey carried out by the International Labour Organisation in 1976 covering six kinds of job (spinners and machinists in the textile industry, bookbinders, laboratory assistants, grocery shop assistants and accounting machine operators in banks) revealed, for example, that in twelve countries women machinists were paid between 0.7 per cent (Italy) and 40 per cent (Madagascar) per hour less than men. However, in Hong Kong (below) and Hungary women machinists' average hourly earnings were actually from 6 to 8 per cent higher than those of men. Women laboratory assistants (bottom photo) earned 7 per cent less per month than men in Peru and around 20 per cent less in Norway and Venezuela, while women grocery shop assistants earned much less than men in Canada (Montreal), Finland, Ireland (Dublin), Malaysia (Sarawak) and Mali. In certain countries, including Cyprus, Morocco and Venezuela, the difference was over 30 per cent. The survey also showed that in some countries the monthly earnings of women accounting machine operators were up to 20 per cent less than those of men and that in Hong Kong the top monthly earnings for a woman in this job were 30 per cent less than those of a man.



Photo Tom Blau © Parimage, Paris



Photo P. Larsen © Parimage, Paris

The textile industry is still, at times, more of a money-spinner for men workers than for women. ILO figures show that, in 1976, the difference in hourly wage rates ranged from 5 per cent (Algeria, Hong Kong, New Zealand) to 30 per cent (Honduras, Mauritius, Venezuela). However, in the majority of countries for which figures are available the rates for the two sexes are the same and in Hungary, in 1976, women spinners actually earned an average of 5 per cent more than men.

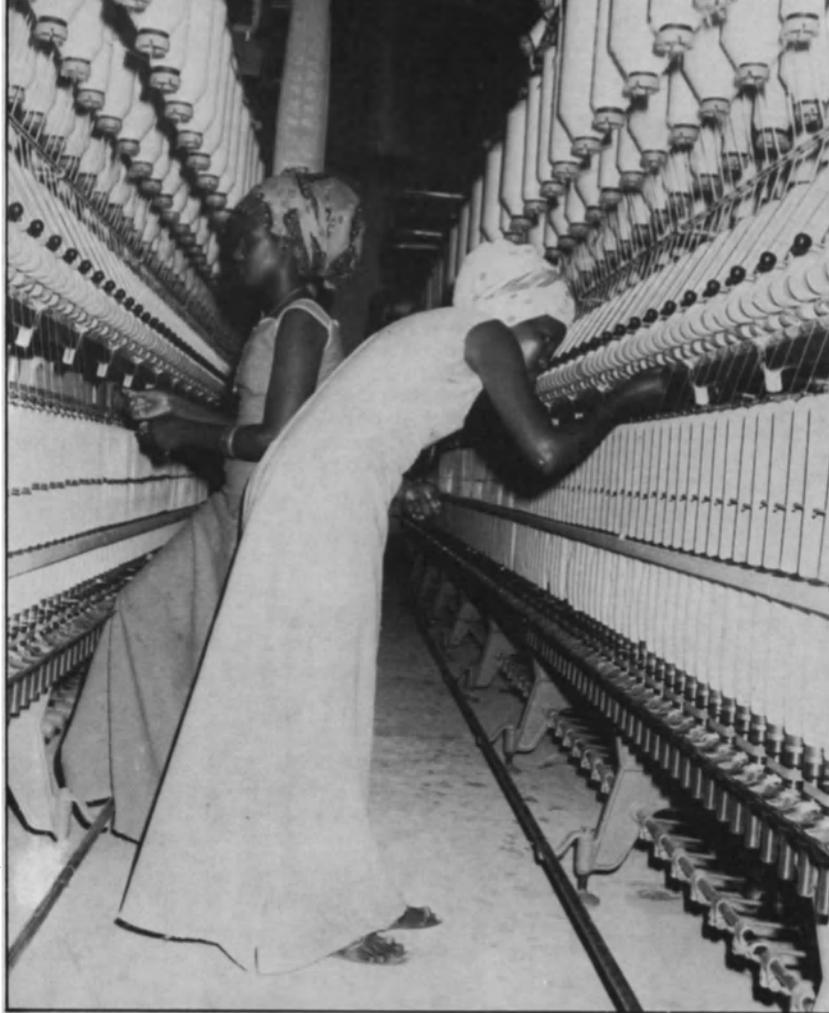


Photo Frilet © SIPA, Paris

larily startling in countries where agriculture is important. Thus the statistics show that in Turkey the proportion of women in the total labour force is one of the highest in Europe, while the figure for Greece is one of the lowest. But is it really possible that in one country the majority of women are employed and in the other they are not?

There is a wide margin of error in assessing the work of women in each country, but it grows even wider when there is an attempt to make international comparisons. Different countries use different age limits for calculating the numbers of their "active population." The percentage of women working part-time is sometimes ignored by the statisticians. This figure varies considerably from country to country: in Belgium part-time workers constitute 8.2 per cent of the total female working population as against 38.3 in the United Kingdom.

A society only assesses accurately what it deems to be important, and the vagueness of the statistics concerning women's employment is a sign that women's economic role has long been considered to be marginal.

In the mid-1970s the proportion of women in the total labour force varied widely in different parts of the world. It was highest in the U.S.S.R. (49.3 per cent), followed by eastern Asia (38.9 per cent), North America (35 per cent) and Europe (34.4 per cent). Between 1970 and 1975 the proportion of women in the total labour force dropped in Africa and eastern Asia, for various reasons. In the U.S.S.R. the figure went down from 51.6 per cent to 49.3 per cent because the demographic equilibrium between the sexes, which had

been upset by the high rate of male mortality during the war, is gradually reestablishing itself. In Europe it rose slightly from 33.6 per cent to 34.4 per cent, and according to ILO projections it will register a further slight increase between now and the end of the century.

However, this overall figure conceals big disparities between different European countries: disparities in the level of women's employment and disparities in development. Austria and the people's democracies of central and eastern Europe, where women constitute over 40 per cent of the total labour force (46 per cent in Czechoslovakia) form one group of countries. In all of them the proportion is on the increase.

In three northern countries (Sweden, Finland and Denmark), the proportion of women in the work force has risen sharply in recent years (by 6 per cent in Sweden in four years) and now stands at around 41 per cent. But although this figure is high, it includes a large percentage of part-time workers (between 30 and 45 per cent). Norway is a case apart; the proportion of Norwegian women workers has been low for many years and still only stood at 28 per cent in 1970. Since then the figure has risen spectacularly to 35.5 per cent.

In some countries of western Europe, such as the United Kingdom, France, and the Federal Republic of Germany, where women constitute some 38 or 39 per cent of the working population, women have traditionally formed part of the labour force and have played a major role in economic activity for almost a century.

In southern Europe the situation is different, although the figures are on the

increase. In Yugoslavia the proportion of women in the labour force rose from 24 per cent in the 1950s to 33.9 per cent in 1975. The lowest figures in Europe were those for Spain and Portugal (around 22 per cent), although the number of women working on the land in these countries has been underestimated. In Spain the number of women in jobs has risen in the last five years. The case of Italy is particularly interesting; in the 1930s women constituted some 38 per cent of the Italian labour force. Post-war industrialization and agrarian reform brought the percentage down to 26 per cent by 1974, but this is a gross underestimate, particularly because of the incidence of undeclared labour.

Within a single country, women's participation in economic life may vary widely from region to region. The extent of their economic role bears little relation to their willingness to work: whatever the economic activities of a given region, men get priority in the queue for jobs. If there is no industry, for example, it is the men who work in the service sector. As a general rule, the rate of female employment is determined by a "filter" of male employment.

The rate of female unemployment also varies widely from region to region. In western Europe as a whole the rate of unemployment is proportionately higher for women than for men. But there is also a hidden form of unemployment, which reveals itself, for example, when new jobs are created in a region where hitherto there have been few women workers. Discouraged in advance by the hopelessness of finding a job, many women do not even bother to register as job-seekers.

Ever since the industrial revolution there has been a distinction between "men's jobs" and "women's jobs". Some occupations have become "professional ghettos" for women, with low status and salary.

This distinction is often artificial, in the sense that it is not based on biological differences between the sexes, and is becoming increasingly flagrant as technological progress takes the backbreak out of work. A comparison between the "feminized" jobs in different countries also highlights the artificiality of this distinction. In the U.S.S.R., many women work in the printing industry, whereas in France and Belgium it is an all-male preserve. The fur and tobacco industries are other examples of the same phenomenon.

What unwritten laws lay down this distribution of functions between men and women? By and large it can be said that when a job is downgraded it becomes a "woman's job" and vice versa.

Furthermore, women in minor jobs are proportionately more numerous than men. They climb the ladder of promotion more rarely and more slowly. They have a "preference" for jobs in the service sector, which they often prefer to jobs in industry even when the latter are better paid. They outnumber men in industries such as the garment and textile industries which are an extension of their traditional functions. Their output is higher than men's in precision jobs. But although they work quickly, their dexterity generally receives little reward.

Contrary to an often-made assertion, it is not women who do the most unpleasant jobs. The toughest work (mining, deep-sea fishing, foundrywork, etc.) as well as the humblest and least attractive jobs (refuse collection, sewer cleaning, etc.) are everywhere done by men. Men are in a much wider spectrum of occupations than women, ranging from the most prestigious to the least enviable.

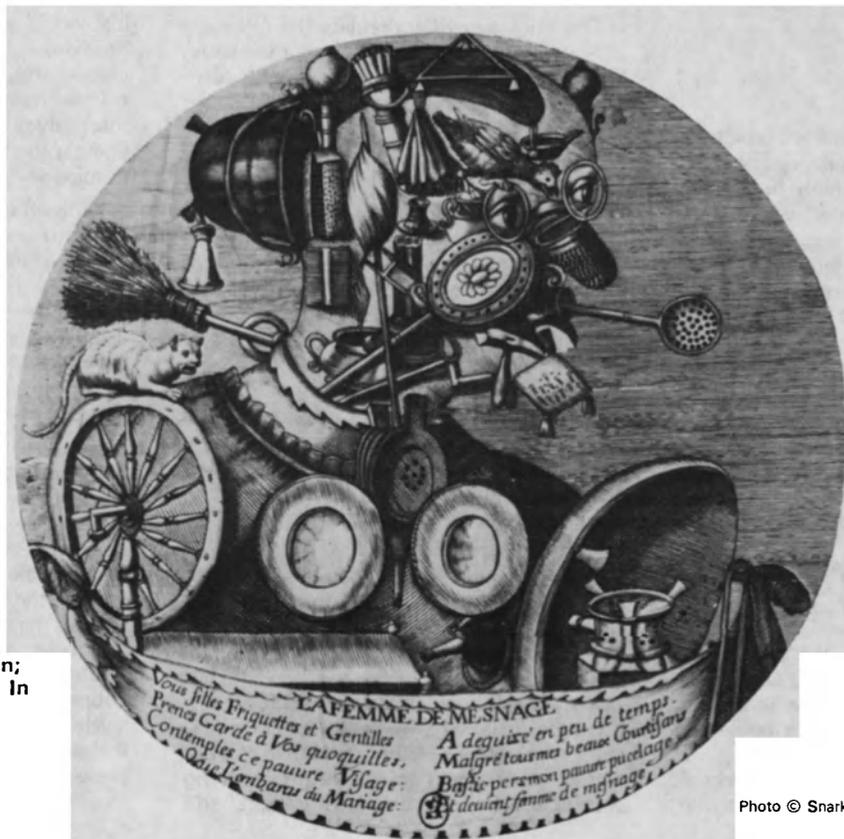
Even at school boys have a much wider variety of ideas and ambitions than girls where jobs are concerned. Girls' choices focus on two main activities: teaching and nursing. This trend is universal and appears in countries as different as the U.S.S.R., Italy and Sweden. Nor does co-educational schooling seem to encourage wider choices. Obviously, social conditioning is all-important here, and even if we are performing an act of faith rather than true reasoning, we must do away with the prohibitions and stereotypes. School textbooks must be monitored to see that they do not present stereotyped images of men's and women's jobs.

Maternity has an important bearing on the whole question of women's employment and poses many role problems both for the mother, the father and society at large. Should mothers be encouraged to stop working? Should child care facilities be provided for them during working hours? Should they be given the opportunity to go back to work later on?

Women everywhere are starting work later than in the past because of the raising

of the school leaving age. The number of women workers between the ages of 20 and 55 is on the increase throughout Europe, but the statistical pattern varies widely from one country to another. In the eastern countries all women generally work until retirement age, which is earlier than that of men and is brought forward even further if the woman has had several children. In the Soviet Union the pattern is sharply outlined: 85 per cent of women aged 20 are in employment; almost 90 per cent of those between 30 and 50; after the age of 55 the figure drops sharply to 26 per cent, and then falls to 7 per cent after the age of 60. Even if the Soviet definitions of "activity" are very broad, this pattern shows that a strong priority is given to the economic role of women through their professional activities over their role as wives, housekeepers and mothers.

The same pattern is found in the east European countries, with certain variants. However, sudden downturns in population growth have caused some of these countries (Hungary, Czechoslovakia, the Democratic Republic of Germany and Poland) to allow women to take about two years off work after the birth of a child, in addition to a long period of maternity leave. This interruption in working life is unpaid in the case of the first child, but starting with the second the mother has the right to an allowance. In Hungary in 1974, 229,000 women, or 10 per cent of the total number of women in employment, had temporarily stopped work after a birth. These figures show that Hungary has come to give priority to the role of the mother.



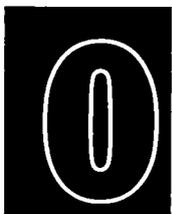
"Man's work lasts till set of sun; Woman's work is never done". In this satirical 17th-century engraving, Woman is depicted festooned with household utensils and condemned to a life of drudgery.

Photo © Shark International, Paris (Private Collection)

In countries such as Spain, Luxembourg, Ireland and the Netherlands the situation is quite different. There women take jobs as soon as they leave school until the age of 20 or 21. By the age of 25 only between 20 and 30 per cent of women are still at work, and the figure drops even further later on. The drop is so abrupt that it can almost be taken to indicate the age of marriage and the birth of the first child. The roles of wife and mother have taken precedence over professional activities. There is no large-scale return to work after maternity.

The same phenomenon occurs in Belgium, Italy and Greece where the activity peak is reached at age 21-22, but in these countries the drop is much less abrupt and less closely linked to marriage. In Belgium, married women even represent a particularly high proportion of the total number of working women: 60 per cent.

Fifteen years ago, the rates of working women in the Federal Republic of Germany, France, the United Kingdom, Sweden and Denmark peaked around the age of 21 (70 per cent). The figures dropped at the age of maternity and then began to rise again after the age of 35, reaching a second peak around age 50. This indicates that for many women life was divided into three phases: work, maternity, work. Since then things have changed (except in the United Kingdom). More women are working at the age of maternity, and more and more young mothers are continuing to work. In the United Kingdom there is still a drop at the age of maternity but more and more women are returning to work later on: in the U.K. the average age of women in employment is relatively high.



ONE observation which is rarely made is that women everywhere on average live longer than men but finish their professional lives sooner, whether or not they have had children. Except for women who work on the land, few carry on beyond retirement age and many retire even before. In the case of men the situation is totally different. Does this mean that women are less energetic? Do they feel that they are less "defined" by their profession, Are they less affected than men by the trauma of retirement? Is their grandmother-role more important than is often thought and does it influence their decisions? Research on these questions still remains to be done.

It is known that farmers' wives are the most "active" category of working women, but the professional activities of women vary according to the social and professional status of their husbands. The proportion of married women who do not go out to work reflects a U-curve in relation to the salary of their husbands. They are proportionately numerous in families where the husband earns little, less so when he

has a moderate salary. The figure rises again in the case of women whose husbands have a high income. Far from tending to promote equality in family incomes, the wife's work sometimes accentuates the disparities in income between families in the lower and middle strata of society, since it is more common for the woman to make a significant contribution to the family budget in households where the husband already earns a decent salary.

The social and professional category of the husband is often more important in determining whether or not the wife works than that of the wife. Furthermore, relations between man and wife are often on a more equal basis in the middle strata of society while certain aspects of patriarchy have persisted among the very poor and the very rich.

Few data exist on the relationship between the number of children, their age and the working lives of the mother. However, such figures as we have all tell the same story.

The birth of a third child often has a strong influence on whether or not the mother goes out to work. Between 80 and 90 per cent of mothers of children under fifteen do not go out to work, even in countries like France and Belgium which lead Europe in their provision of day-care facilities for children between two and six years old.

The value attached to a job is generally indicated by its remuneration. In Europe it was traditionally accepted that women should be paid less than men, either as a sanction of their natural "inferiority" or of their presence in the world of paid work, considered to be abnormal and detrimental. Today the principle of unequal pay is no longer accepted, but it has not totally disappeared. However, although a good deal of ink has flowed on this question, it is still not widely understood by the public.

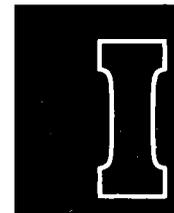
The only way to appreciate the question of equality or inequality of pay for the same job or an equivalent job is to make a comparison between workers of both sexes doing the same job, with the same qualifications and the same amount of experience, etc. Only then is it possible to appreciate the disparity in virtue of sex.

The application of the principle of "equal pay for equal work" is not easy, in spite of all the legislative instruments surrounding it: the ILO International Convention Concerning Equal Remuneration for Men and Women Workers for Work of Equal Value (1951); article 119 of the treaty setting up the European Economic Community; the fundamental laws incorporated in the Constitutions of many countries; provisions in different countries for punishing infringements of the principle and for taking a case to court.

A list of such laws and decrees would be a long one. However, many of these measures have only been promulgated in the last ten years, and the principle of "equal pay for equal work" is most respected where it has already been applied for a certain time. It takes time to remove discriminatory provisions from collective agreements, to establish an efficient monitoring system and to bring home to workers' and

employers' organizations a full awareness of the issues involved.

Above all, it takes time to thwart attempts to twist the law and undermine the principle of equal pay for equal work by changing professional definitions and classifications. It takes even more time to persuade women that they have rights of redress when they are victims of prejudice, even in a period when the employment situation is giving rise to concern.



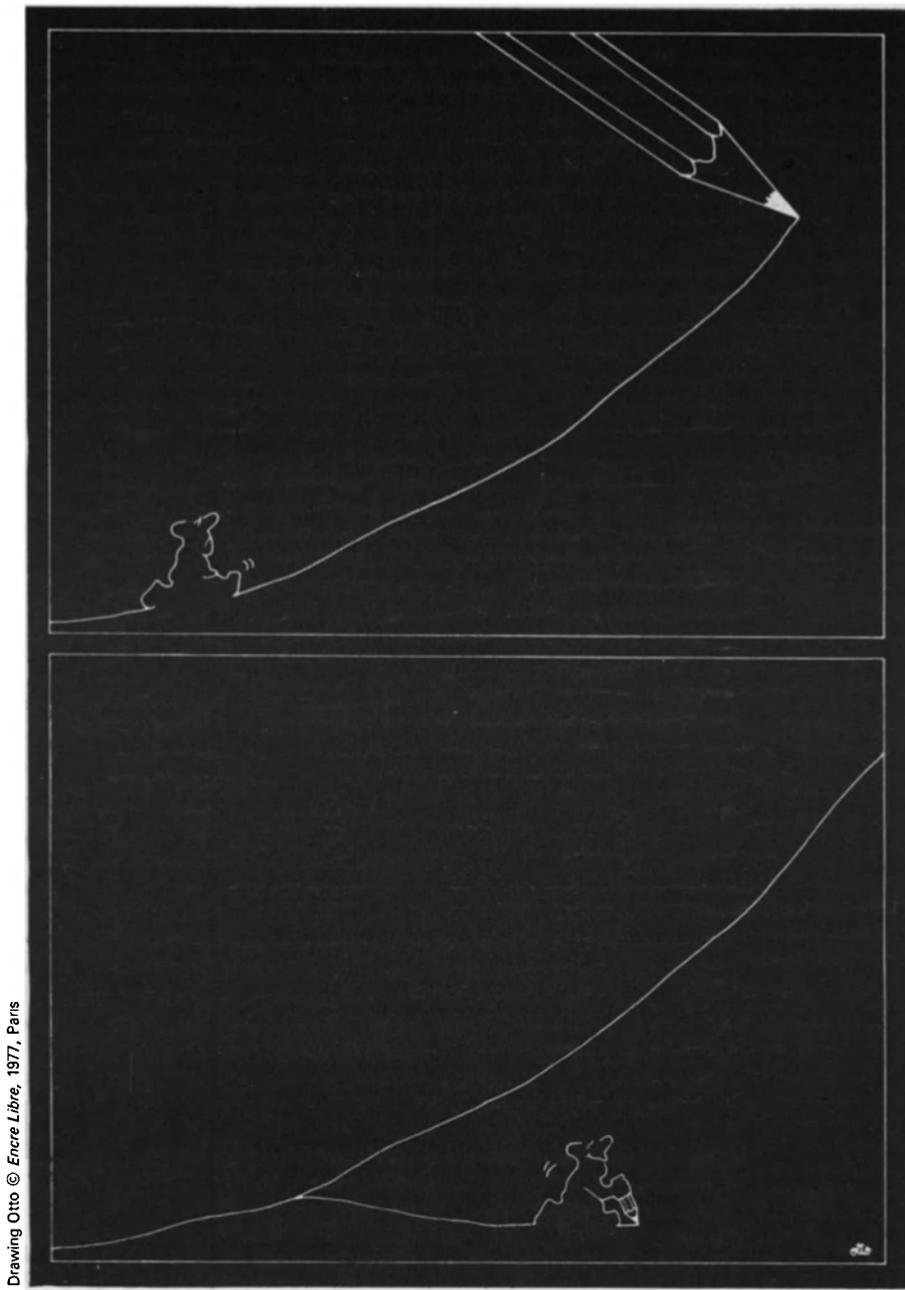
IN the last few decades there has been a movement towards greater similarity between men's and women's role. There has been widespread concern about women's status and roles, and the results of this concern have been and should continue to be beneficial to women. Yet whatever women's roles may be, and even if in the less hidebound societies they are recognized as being of considerable importance, they still take second place to those of men. Is this because women are somehow incapable of exploiting their roles in terms of power, at least off the beaten track of private life where they are accustomed to do so? They are often led to emphasize the negative, constricting and subordinate aspects of their roles rather than seeking to transform them into organized power.

The most serious studies of women's attitudes often show that women who go out to work do not justify themselves by defending their work but by criticizing home life, while housewives point to the alienation of women who go out to work instead of speaking out for the powers of the wife and mother in the home. This is a classic attitude in groups which have been treated as inferior: they tend to denigrate themselves by matching themselves against the performances and values of the dominant group.

Women could certainly do better in working out and establishing their roles—both those which they once monopolized but are now beginning to share and those which are now open to them and which they are learning to perform. If they did so they would achieve something more than uncertain and unsystematic forms of protection; they would achieve power in public life.

A minority of women are thinking along these lines, but only a small minority. Time is going by, and the climate of opinion may become less favourable. In any case, defining female roles in terms of power may be yet another instance of slavish obedience to the male stereotype, which aspires to conquest and the assertion of power. There always remains the possibility, of course, that men may adopt less aggressive and competitive patterns of behaviour. If they do, modern society will really have broken new ground.

■ Evelyne Sullerot



Drawing Otto © Encre Libre, 1977, Paris

Workers can be choosers

In defence of free choice in working life

by Gösta Rehn

GÖSTA REHN, head of the Swedish Institute for Social Research, University of Stockholm, was formerly Director for Manpower and Social Affairs with the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in Paris. A slightly longer version of this article has also appeared in ILO Information, Geneva (Vol. 14, No. 1, 1978).

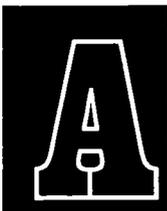
THERE are many dimensions of working time: hours per day or week, days per month and year, years of work versus years of study and retirement. Traditionally these aspects have all been regulated separately and rigidly with little allowance for the idea that different individuals or groups might want to use their time along different lines.

Individual requests for deviations from the norms are subjected to scrutiny and tutelage. Thus you must prove that you are either a very gifted and stable person or else definitely retarded and unstable in order to get particular support from society

for studies and training. You must prove that you are unable to work to get an early pension. You must be strong and healthy not only in order to be able to work but also to overcome all legal, administrative and socio-psychological hurdles, if you want to continue working after normal retirement age; even then you may be penalized by a tax rate on your additional earned income similar to that levied on the income of a millionaire. And if you do not use holiday rights before a certain date every year you simply lose them.

The fact that social insurance funds or other arrangements now exist to provide

▶ income maintenance during all the periods of non-work could, however, be the basis for a greater freedom of choice. The various sorts of income maintenance, including the tax-based study financing system, could be combined into one common scheme of exchangeable *drawing rights*. Assets accumulated on each individual's social security account, thus integrated, could be made available to him at any time for purposes of his own choice.



A basic credit for studies after compulsory school would be needed, as a starting fund for everybody, but people should not lose their rights in this respect if they prefer working instead of going to higher schools for some years of their youth; this should instead create extra drawing rights for them once they want to use the money. This feature would imply a rectification of some present inequities: that persons who use big societal resources for long studies get high pensions on the basis of a low number of working years, while the opposite holds for those who work and pay pension fees all their lives from sixteen to sixty-five.

With such generalized drawing rights it would also be up to the individual when and whether he opts for late retirement with a high pension or the opposite; whether he takes a "temporary retirement" with full rights to return to work; whether he accumulates holiday rights in order to use them for studies, leisure, or an increased pension; whether he interrupts his work career for further education, or his studies for work. The choice would be his, and the authorities would have no reason to scrutinize the "legitimacy" of his use of his own fund.

Under such a system of drawing rights, records of "debit" and "credit" should be available to the individual at any time, just as with a bank account—with the important difference that the state is in a position to guarantee its value against inflationary erosions, thanks to the fact that the generalized contributions would grow automatically with inflation as they already do in most social insurance schemes. We assume of course that the individual is not permitted to *exhaust* his assets; he must still have money left for a reasonable pension without extra contributions from taxpayers to keep him from starving in his old age.

It would also be possible to offer certain advantages to persons who use their drawing rights in ways that are useful to society, for instance those who time their periods of further study or extended leave to coincide with periods of low demand for their type of labour, thus making savings on unemployment insurance. Training for higher skills and qualifications could be encouraged and rewarded especially if it implied

switching from an unemployment area toward shortage occupations.

This idea is not utopian. Various forms of flexible retirement do already exist. The new fifth holiday week in Sweden is available for accumulation so that the worker can take nine weeks off every five years if he so wishes. In Australia such "long service leave" is a tradition.

With growing levels of real income, people will want continuing reduction in working time. Different persons, however, want this in different ways. To meet all requests for shorter weekly hours, more holidays, more schooling, and earlier retirement by across-the-board regulations is not possible. People would not like the ensuing limitation on income and the high taxes and fees needed for financing the necessary income maintenance. This overall limitation should not hinder us in letting the individual choose his own form of working time reduction, to be financed out of his own account for drawing rights in the overall social insurance system.

In some respects such freedom may create difficulties for the production process. But it can also be a help. Well organized flextime systems have helped to reduce irregular absenteeism and high labour turnover. And a systematic co-ordination with labour market policy, offering incentives to people to use voluntarily their drawing rights in a way that helps to maintain balanced full employment would also be advantageous to workers and employers alike and make shorter working time economically more feasible.

Human freedom and technical and economic efficiency may sometimes appear at first sight to be incompatible. It is up to the social and economic policy makers to work out ways of eliminating any incompatibilities and of making these aspirations mutually supporting.

■ Gösta Rehn

Society's poor relations

Teachers count among the lowest paid workers



Photo Satyan, Unicef

IN both developed and developing countries primary school teachers starting their careers are often paid less than semi-skilled workers in their first job in manufacturing industry.

As in few other professions, the impact of teachers, who in some countries represent over 2 per cent of the active population, is felt on the economic and social health of the country concerned for as much as forty years. And yet, it may be thirty years, or just prior to retirement, before a primary school teacher catches up with the worker on the pay scale—long after his first pupils have entered the employment market themselves.

This is one of the findings of an ILO study (1) which contains information on some 70 countries and was undertaken to ascertain the methods of determining teachers' earnings and the relation of these earnings to those of other occupations.

Incremental progression, compensation for non-scholastic duties, difficulty of recruitment in isolated areas and large cities are but a few of the factors which must influence the final determination of teachers' earnings. These considerations vary from country to country and even within countries, from one locality to another,

making it impossible to lay down hard-and-fast rules on a global scale.

However, for purposes of international comparison, average earnings in manufacturing industry were found to present the most practicable universal norm with which to relate the earnings of primary school teachers at the start of their careers.

Using this as a yardstick, among the 27 countries (with a total population of 1,900 million) for which detailed data for 1976 were available, Canada (New Brunswick) paid the lowest salaries—44 per cent less than average earnings in manufacturing industry—to primary teachers at the bottom of their salary scale, while the highest went to their counterparts in Nigeria, who received the unusually high pay level of 144 per cent more than the relevant workers' remuneration. Next to Nigeria, teachers in Switzerland (Aargau) did best with 27 per cent more, followed by teachers in the Federal Republic of Germany with 14.3 per cent more.

Other countries where teachers in the same situation received less than the average manufacturing industry worker during 1976 were Japan where it was 35 per cent less; England and Wales, 32.5 per cent less while in Norway they received 5 per cent less.

Figures for 1975 show that, by this same

yardstick, the best place for beginner primary teachers that year was Argentina where their salary was 60 per cent more than that of the worker. Starting salaries in Denmark during the same period showed a respectable 30.1 per cent more, but in Italy the percentage was 41.8 less; in Austria, 33.6 less; Kenya, 28.7 and Australia (New South Wales), 19.6 less than the workers.

In countries where relevant data were available only up to 1974, beginner primary school teachers were best off in Mali with 12.7 per cent more than workers in manufacturing industry, while in Belgium they received 6 per cent more and in France, 4.8 per cent more. In both the Philippines and Sri Lanka teachers and workers were paid approximately the same. Teachers' salaries for 1974 were less than those in manufacturing industry in New Zealand where the difference was 3.7 per cent; in the Syrian Arab Republic, 11 per cent less; the German Democratic Republic, 18.9 per cent less and Zambia, 34.2 per cent less.

Statistics from both the United States and the U.S.S.R. covered the ten-year period from 1965-75 but were compiled on an average salary basis. In the United States salaries of primary and secondary teachers averaged out slightly ahead (about 5 per cent) of average earnings in manufacturing industry, over the entire period. ▶

(1) *Teachers' Pay*, ILO, Geneva, 1978.



During the same decade in the U.S.S.R., average earnings of educational personnel in general trailed those of manufacturing industry and in 1975 were 26.5 per cent less. However, these figures do not take into account subsidized rentals, social services, etc. Moreover, in 1977, the government increased salaries of educational personnel by 18 per cent.

One of the most pressing problems which has become acute in the last decade is the defence of the purchasing power of teachers' salaries against rampant inflation. Methods of determining periodicity and amounts of cost-of-living increases range from *ad hoc*, almost casual arrangements, to regular reviews which may be carried out by an autonomous government agency such as the National Personnel Authority in Japan. The time interval between reviews may be as much as two years or more as it is in some of the *ad hoc* surveys, or as little as three months as is the case in France. However, in the countries for which it has been possible to construct true scores, it is clear that the purchasing power of teachers has shown a general upward trend, although government intervention has sometimes been necessary to bring this about.

Although the study draws no con-



clusions, several trends are apparent. Over a number of years, differentials have narrowed between the salaries of primary and secondary school teachers and between salary levels at the bottom and top of individual scales. This may be socially justifiable but it tends to dampen enthusiasm for obtaining higher qualifications which in turn could lead to a deterioration generally in the calibre of education, the study warns. There are also indications that in some educational systems graduate teachers in secondary schools as well as primary school teachers receive less than the average earnings in manufacturing industry when commencing their careers.

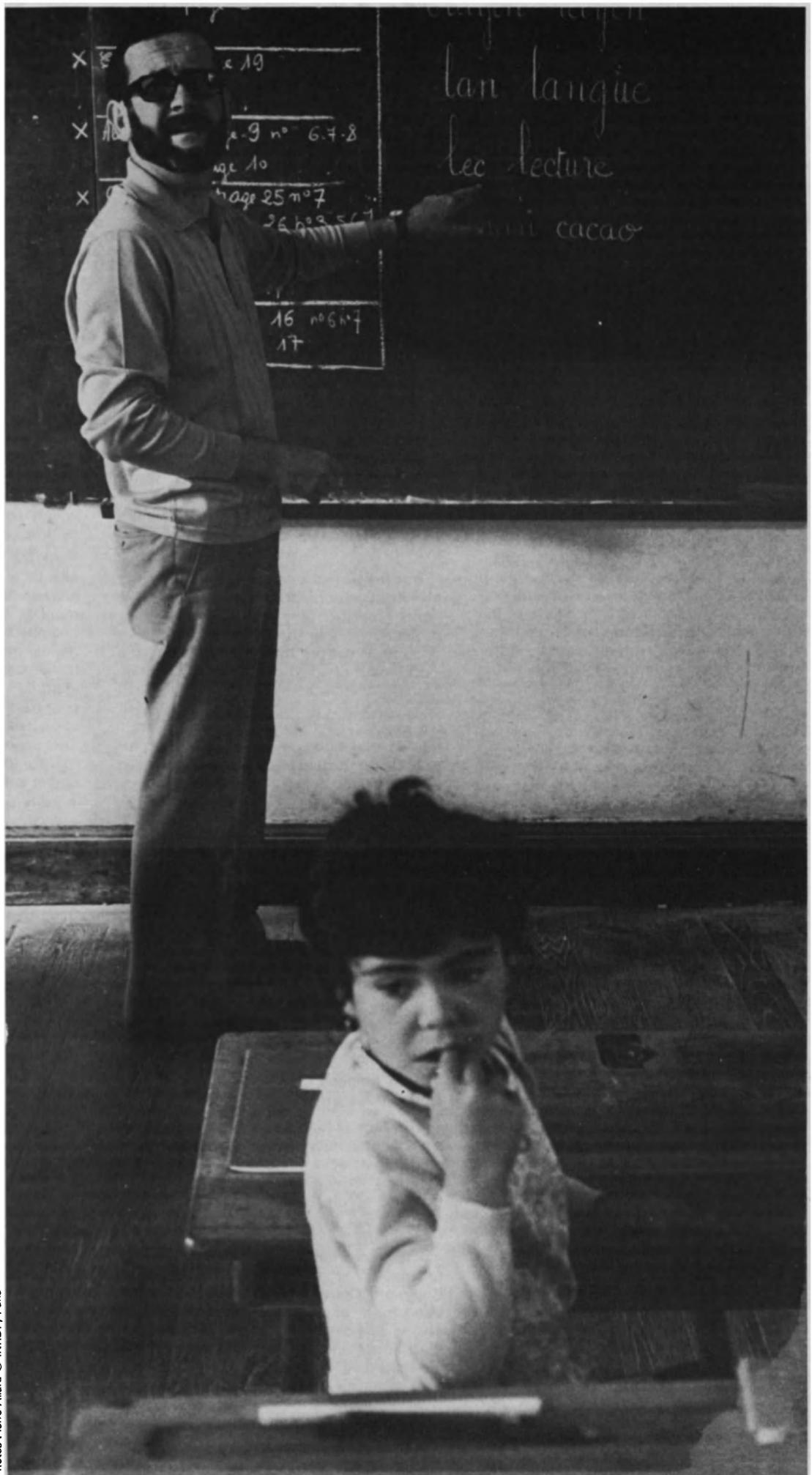
With the advent of audio-visual techniques, programmed learning and new approaches to traditional subjects, the teaching profession is becoming more complex and more demanding, and teachers'

organizations are requesting, more and more, that recognition be made of these new responsibilities when it counts the most—on pay-day.

The salaries that teachers receive reflect the importance that society attaches to the profession. The study points out that the question is often asked "can the country afford to pay?" The question may equally well be asked, "can the country afford not to pay?"... After the family, the teacher is the most important influence on the next generation. ■

This article has also appeared in the International Labour Organisation's bulletin *ILO Information*, Geneva (Vol. 13, No. 5, 1977).

"A teacher affects eternity; he can never tell where his influence stops", wrote the American historian Henry Adams (1838-1918) in *The Education of Henry Adams*, one of the world's great autobiographies. And yet in spite of the far-reaching influence teachers exercise and the growing number of skills they must have at their fingertips, in many parts of the world their economic status leaves much to be desired. An ILO study on teachers' pay reveals that in some countries today young teachers earn less than semi-skilled workers in their first job, with few prospects of catching up with these workers on the pay scale until just before retirement. Photos on these pages show teacher and pupils in the little village of St. Maurice d'Isbie in southern France. Twice a week the youngsters leave books and blackboard behind them and take a ramble in the countryside to learn about natural history at first hand.



Photos Pierre Allard © INRDP, Paris

The creator's bread and butter

by Henri de Saint-Blanquat

ARE authors an endangered species? Will they be extinct, a hundred years from now? These questions are not entirely facetious. Judging from the present state of affairs as far as the protection of their livelihood is concerned, their future is, to say the least, uncertain.

This statement may come as a surprise. Never have so many books been printed; never have there been so many authors, whether of literary or other works. Yet the explosion in modern means of communication carries with it a threat to the author and to the notion of "intellectual property". Authors may well soon find themselves the victims of technological advance.

Not that authors were treated more favourably in the past. In the early 18th century, an author who sold a manuscript to a bookseller surrendered all his rights as far as his work was concerned; the bookseller could dispose of it as he wished. And if the notion of literary property is of more ancient origin (the Romans recognized it, just as they recognized the fundamental principle of moral interest, which allowed the author some say in the fortunes of his work, even after he had sold it to another person), this early "copyright" was a matter of unwritten agreements and traditional arrangements: it carried no legal consequences.

It was not until the end of the 18th century that the first copyright laws made their appearance, according official recognition to the rights of authors to obtain equitable payment for their work, and to retain some measure of ownership of their literary property, even when it had been published.

This was a hard-won victory; in a great many cases, authors were obliged to go to court to obtain recognition of their rights. In France, it was not until the Revolution was well under way that their rights began to be recognized in law. As far as writers for the theatre were concerned, the dramatist Beaumarchais put the matter in a nut-

shell when he remarked: "They are saying in the theatre lobbies that it is ignoble for writers, whose pretension it is to aspire to fame, to plead for vulgar monetary reward. Yet in truth, whatever the attractions of fame, to enjoy it but for one year, nature obliges us to dine three hundred and sixty-five times."

But it was not enough for a country to give legal recognition to literary and artistic rights, for this only afforded the author protection within the frontiers of his own country. What the 18th century began, the 19th century had to continue, not only by ensuring that authors' rights were recognized abroad, but also by ensuring that their works enjoyed truly international protection, so that a book by an Italian author, for example, remained as much his property in Iceland or Japan as in his native land.

This was easier said than done. Bilateral treaties were a beginning, later to be followed by international unions and conventions. 1886 saw the adoption of the Berne Convention for the Protection of Artistic and Literary Works—a European agreement and the first multilateral copyright convention in history. Three years later, the first in a series of pan-American conventions was adopted.

But that was not the end of the story. Protection can always be improved. The Berne Convention was revised and corrected in 1908, 1928 and 1967, while a series of pan-American conventions were concluded between 1889 and 1946.

The fact that there were two different sets of conventions posed a number of problems that were partially resolved by the adoption in 1952, under the aegis of Unesco, of the Universal Copyright Convention. But this Convention, which in its turn would be revised in 1971, did not replace the earlier instruments. States remained free to adhere to the Universal Copyright Convention in its original or revised form, or to any of the non-universal unions or conventions. This explains why the Berne Convention could be revised for the third time in 1967, fifteen years after the Universal Convention was adopted.

At present, some States adhere only to the Berne Convention; others (72 in all) adhere to the Universal Convention; still others adhere either to both or to none,

while the Soviet Union is a signatory of the Universal Copyright Convention, in the version of 1952. All of which goes to show that the protection of literary, artistic and scientific works is a complex affair, and one which may become even more complicated as time goes on.

At this point, it might be asked, what exactly is to be protected, and how? The answer depends on the situation; and the number of different situations is virtually unlimited. Anglo-Saxon law, for example, merely protects works that have been formally deposited, registered and legally identified, whereas "continental" European law tends to protect the act of creation itself. The existence of these two distinct schools of legal thought explains why, for so long, two series of international agreements have existed side by side.

Furthermore, the Socialist countries have their own ideas on the subject. In the Western countries, notwithstanding certain national differences, copyright law is based on the notion of property and the laws of a free market. In the Socialist countries on the other hand, where the State assumes the role of publisher, works of authorship are sometimes considered as property that can be exchanged (in which case the author enjoys certain rights of ownership); but they are above all considered as cultural values and as instruments to be placed at the service of society, so that the author receives no royalties when they are used for educational purposes.

To complicate matters still further, there is the case, only recently acknowledged, of the developing countries, which must rely on massive imports of intellectual works, and at the same time develop their own output. Efforts to help them solve this problem have led to the granting of certain facilities as far as copyright is concerned, which in effect limit the rights of authors of works circulating in those countries.

The key word here is the word "limit". It might be presumed that during the past two centuries works of the mind have come to enjoy greater and greater protection, and that their authors' livelihood has increased accordingly. Such is indeed the case, and bodies like Unesco and the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) are doing what they can to consoli-

HENRI DE SAINT-BLANQUAT, *French scientific journalist, is the author of many articles on anthropology, ethnology, sociology and archaeology. His study on medieval and early modern Europe, La Vie en Europe (Life in Europe) was published by Hachette, Paris, in 1970.*

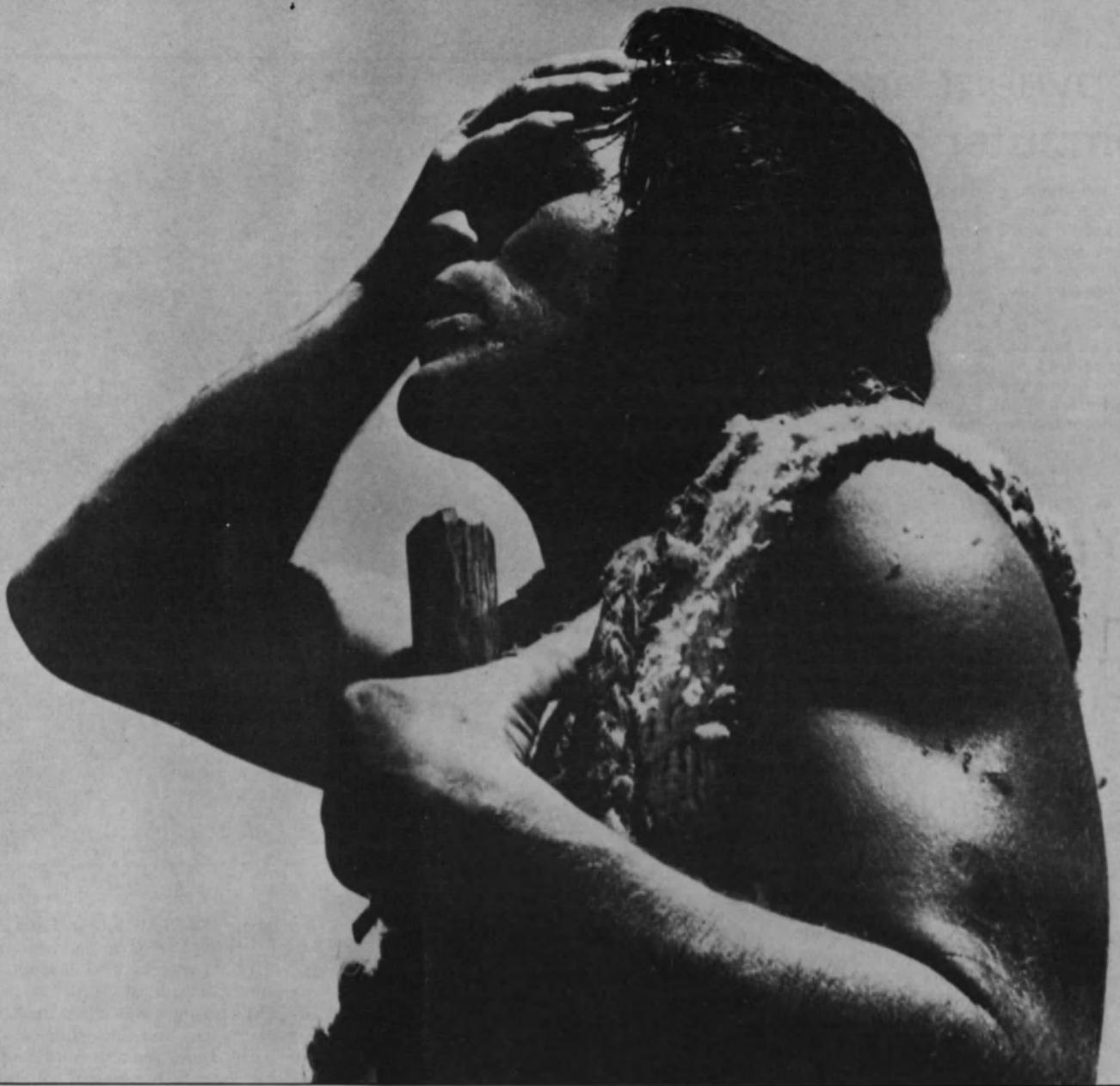


Photo © Télérama, Paris

It has been calculated that if Sophocles' play *Oedipus Rex* were presented on television today, the audience it could reach in a single showing would be far bigger than the total number of spectators to have seen it in a theatre since it was written 25 centuries ago. Above, Oedipus in a 1967 film version of the play, directed by the Italian film-maker Pier Paolo Pasolini. A recent Unesco-ILO survey on the condition of writers and artists in the modern world drew attention to "the small extent to which the artist exercises control over the management of his own affairs, and the problem of obtaining remuneration commensurate with the commercial use made of his work."

date this trend. Nevertheless, there are limits to the progress that can be made, and a number of disquieting signs indicate that the situation is not evolving as favourably as it might, at least as far as authors are concerned.

One thing is certain: there will always be limits of some kind. When is an author not an author, and where do creation, imitation, plagiarism, execution and interpretation begin and end? Precisely what should copyright protect? There are no easy replies to these questions, as may be seen from a number of lawsuits heard in recent years.

In 1975, for example, a French court was called upon to rule whether or not the formula of a particular perfume was protected by the laws of copyright. In the same country, the unauthorized reproduction of photographs has given rise to lengthy debates and contradictory judgements. French law, it is true, protects "photographic works of an artistic or documentary nature". But what is "artistic", and

what is "documentary"? That is where the difficulty lies.

The attribution of royalties poses another problem. On orders from their superiors, two American soldiers designed and erected a statue destined to serve as the emblem of their garrison. When they returned to civilian life, they claimed royalties on their work of art. The courts decided otherwise, ruling that the Army had financed the project, and discharged the executants from any further obligations. "If copyright is due," ruled the judges, "it is due exclusively to the Government of the United States of America."

Whether or not plagiarism has been committed can also be the subject of endless debate. It should be pointed out here that copyright, as a general rule, protects creations but not ideas, in other words, the substance but not the inspiration. Following a competition for the design of a monument to the liberator of Paris, General Leclerc, to be erected on the outskirts of the French capital, an unsuccessful compe-

ditor took the winner to court, claiming that his project had been plagiarized. The defendant claimed that he had merely "borrowed" his rival's idea of a grandiose and symbolic "Victory-V". The initial judgement in favour of the plaintiff was reversed on appeal: since the defendant had merely adopted the plaintiff's idea, plagiarism had not occurred.

These examples are more than anecdotal. They reveal not only that the exercise of rights at any given time (our own time, in the cases mentioned) is subject to limitation, but also that the limits are mobile and subject to constant dispute.

The rights of individuals, of authors, are one thing, but the right of access to literary and other works of society as a whole and the public at large must also be protected. In addition, there are various "pressure groups", whose primary concern is with protection of their vested interests. To keep all these different elements in equilibrium requires a veritable juggler's skill. The see-saw is never horizontal.

Copyright and computer art

Electronic music, graphics and other works created with the aid of a computer today pose a highly sensitive copyright problem. One major difficulty is where to draw the line between human intervention in the creative process and the point where the computer might be considered to "take over". Unesco is carrying out studies on this and other related questions as part of the international community's effort to define the copyright status of computer art. Right, computer graphic by artists from the Fed. Rep. of Germany.

Translators are another category of people with problems of a similar kind. It was not until 1976, during the General Conference of Unesco at Nairobi, that an international Recommendation was adopted on the legal protection of translators and translations. In its opening lines, the text recalls that the principles of protection are one thing, and their actual application another. In principle, translators are protected by the Universal Copyright Convention, by certain provisions of the Berne Convention and by a number of national laws. In reality, the text prudently observes "The practical application of the principles and provisions is not always adequate." This remark is followed by a series of suggestions for further action—a modest step forward after so many years of effort.

It would, in any case, be an error to believe that steady and irresistible progress is being made towards increased recognition of authors' rights. The example of the developing countries mentioned above shows, on the contrary, that it has been necessary in their case to impose certain limits on authors' rights with regard to works translated in or imported into those countries. The copyright conventions thus provide for various facilities, reductions or dispensations designed to enable the developing countries to obtain more books and to make more translations, as a matter of extreme urgency.

These measures reflect a certain moral concern—or at least an enlightened self-interest—on the part of the major book-producing countries. But the extension of copyright protection is threatened by other limitations, which are yet to be clearly defined and which are due to the manner in which the techniques of communication are evolving. If the recognition of copyright poses few problems where radio and television programmes are concerned, the task is far more difficult in the case of reproductions: tapes and cassettes for creative works in sound, cables and video-cassettes

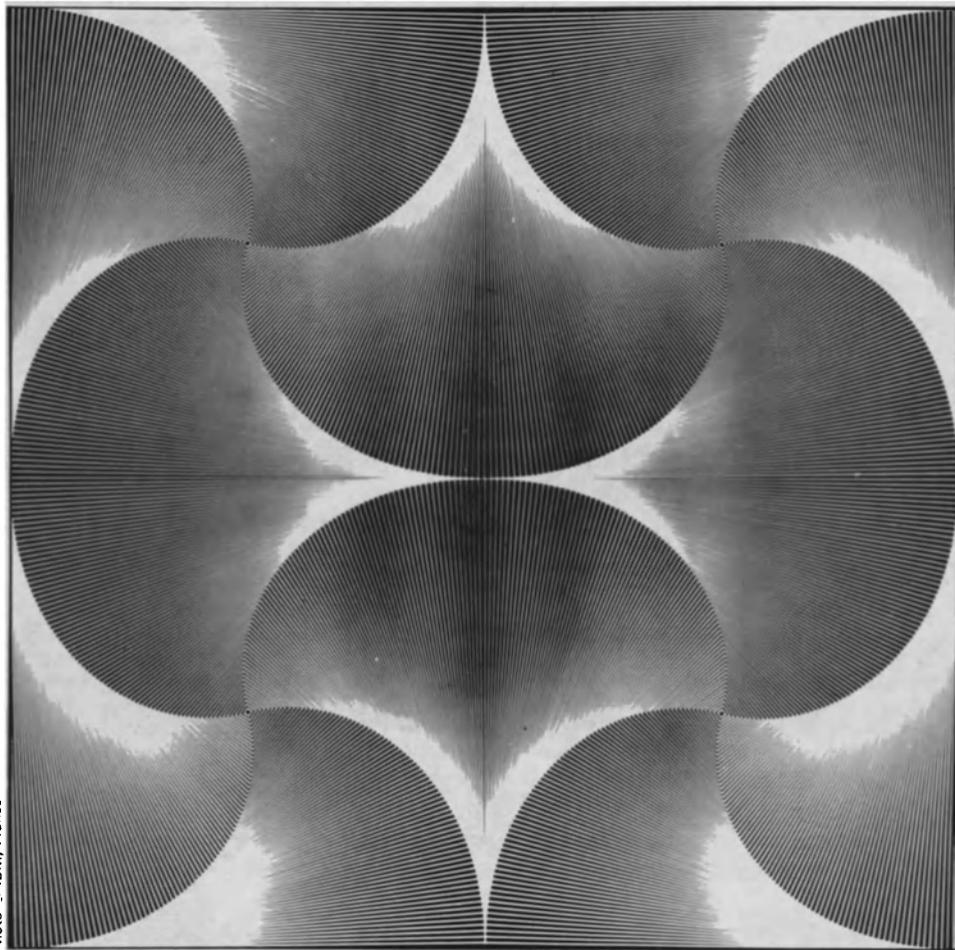


Photo © IBM, France

for visual images, and photocopies for texts.

Here, too, one or two case-histories will show the kind of difficulties that can arise. At the beginning of 1974, a Paris court handled a lawsuit involving a number of publishing houses, including publishers of scientific works in particular, and the French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS), on the subject of photocopies.

Instead of purchasing several copies of a given book, this research centre, like many other laboratories and libraries, preferred to buy single copies, and to make use of a photocopying machine to reproduce the pages which their scholars and students required. Quite obviously, the more the photocopier was used, the fewer copies of the book were sold by the publishers and the smaller the royalties received by the author. In this case (similar ones have occurred in the United States), judgement was given against the CNRS, but in merely symbolic terms; if it had gone further, the court would have infringed the right of public access to published works.

This ruling indicates that the trend is towards compromise: laboratories and libraries, whose requirements are untested, are assimilated to private individuals, and their photocopying activities are not considered as an offence. On the other hand, the case showed that a limitation had indeed been imposed on authors' rights.

Another recent case concerned radio sets installed in hotel rooms. France's Society of Authors, Composers and Music

Publishers (SACEM) took a Paris hotel to court, claiming that rights were due on behalf of its members in respect of programmes broadcast on those sets. SACEM's position was clear: the hotel was a public place, and thus subject to copyright. The hotel management, supported by the French Federation of Hoteliers, claimed that its rooms were private, and thus exempt from copyright law.

The court found in favour of the hotel, basing its ruling on the fact that the management did not select the programmes broadcast. If, on the other hand, the manager had relayed programmes to clients' rooms from a receiver situated somewhere in the establishment, he would have been found guilty, since the programmes would then have been considered as public performances. This, incidentally, was the judgement given in an Australian case, where the organizer of a dance for members of a private club was found to have given a public performance.

Many copyright problems have yet to find solutions. "Pirate" recording is one of them. Countless young people today lend each other records, and re-record them on to cassettes. There is nothing to prevent them from doing this: as members of the public, they are merely exercising their right of access, with the help of the latest techniques. Some countries have, however, found solutions to the problem. In the Federal Republic of Germany, for example, the purchase price of a tape-recorder includes a sum destined for the benefit of performing artists.

The "rediffusion" of programmes of all

kinds is another issue that awaits solution. Here, the situation is complicated by the fact that a distinction is made according to whether or not the body responsible for retransmission is the originator of the programme concerned. No solutions have as yet been found in this connexion, whether with regard to radio, to cable or television or to video-cassettes, although the matter is being considered by a number of inter-governmental committees, under the aegis of Unesco.

Cable television was the subject of a meeting in July of this year, and video-cassettes were considered in September. While it is to be hoped that positive solutions will eventually be found, one thing is already clear. The latest techniques of communication permit ever-increasing access to an ever-increasing number of works of all kinds, and it is morally unthinkable to obstruct this process.

The increasing use of satellites carries the problem of copyright into space, and into a new and extremely important dimension. Three well-placed geostationary satellites can in fact cover the whole surface of the Earth. This means that unauthorized countries or organizations, which have not signed any of the international agreements, will be able to pick up programmes transmitted to other destinations, and to become "wavelength pirates" on a grand scale. Can this be avoided?

In 1974, Unesco and the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) adopted a Convention specifically devoted to this question. Under the provisions of its Article 2, each Contracting State "undertakes to take adequate measures to prevent the distribution on or from its territory of any programme-carrying signal by any distributor for whom the signal... is not intended." At present, four States have signed this convention. It is true that the problem is an enormous one, and goes beyond the mere risk of piracy: certain transmission networks are capable of monopolizing the attention of the whole world.

Last in this series of problems of copyright are those posed by computers. What can be done, for example, with regard to their programmes? How can they be given legal protection? Are they covered by copyright or by patent law? Should they be the subject of special legislation? WIPO is studying the question. But here again, reproduction is a stumbling-block.

Computers, in fact, represent automatic

The protection of folklore

In its customary setting, folklore undergoes a natural growth which ensures its authenticity, but when transplanted from its native soil and used for commercial purposes it is laid open to the same risks as other works of the creative imagination: plagiarism, amputation, misappropriation and unlawful reproduction or use. Unesco, in collaboration with specialized bodies such as the Berne Union, is engaged in the search for ways of protecting the world's heritage of folklore by regulations enabling it to retain its authenticity. Below, musicians of Kahemba (Zaire) playing the balafon, a kind of xylophone.

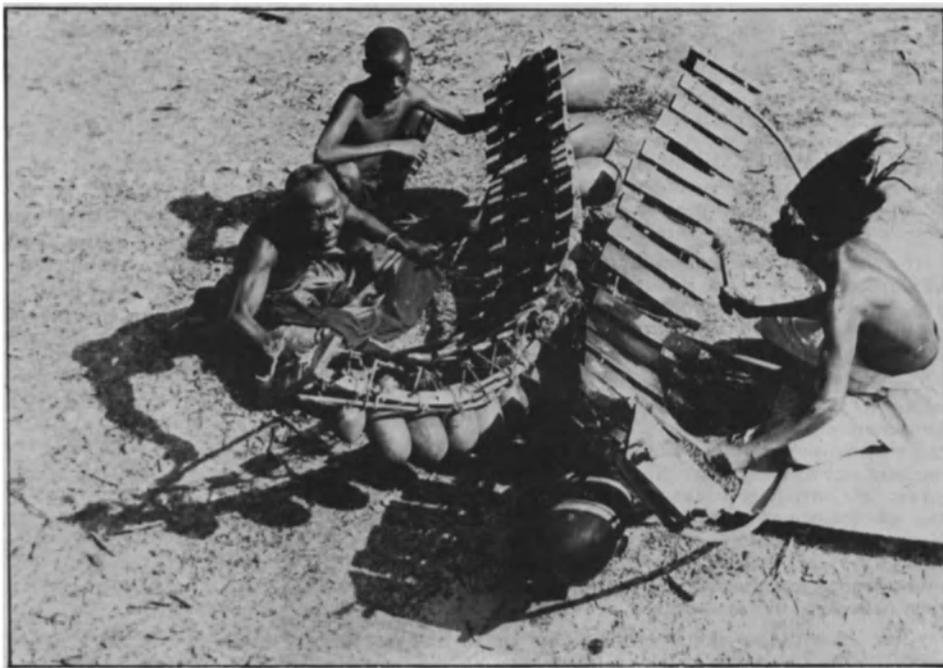


Photo © Hoa-Qui, Paris

documentation carried to the heights of perfection. And whether they store catalogues, inventories, data, quotations, abstracts, analyses or automatic translations, they are of direct concern to authors, whose attempts to secure their rights are likely to meet stubborn opposition on the part of the computers' owners and programmers, who will no doubt use all the means at their disposal to avoid paying royalties.

Today's technological revolution, as Marie-Claude Dock, head of Unesco's Copyright Division has pointed out, is full of promise and at the same time fraught with dangers. It recalls an earlier leap forward: the invention of the printing-press. After Gutenberg, authors were for a long time powerless in the face of printers and publishers. They had to wait three full centuries before they were officially entitled to

draw real benefit from the extraordinary opportunities that printing offered.

Their problems today are of a similar kind. The explosion in communication, which has virtually acquired the dimensions of a chain-reaction, is not to be deplored; science and culture will undoubtedly be its beneficiaries. But there is as much risk as promise in the situation. New economic forces have made their appearance or are waiting in the wings, and this cannot but affect works of the mind. And since identical phenomena lead to identical solutions, unless care is taken the rights of authors may well be swallowed up and lost in the dark waters of economic interest.

And meanwhile, today as in the age of Beaumarchais, authors must, if they are to survive, sit down to dinner three hundred and sixty-five times every year.

■ Henri de Saint-Blanquat



Photo © Doug McKenzie

Record piracy and plunder

The booty of "record pirates", whose illegally reproduced recordings rob record producers, authors, composers and performers of their financial rewards, is reckoned to have reached \$500 million in 1977. Cassettes are the main target. A meeting of record producers recently estimated that 70 per cent of the cassettes sold in the U.K., 50 per cent of those sold in Italy and 5 per cent of those sold in France (mostly Arab music) had been reproduced illegally.

Unesco, youth and the right to work

"EVERY young person has the same inalienable right as all other human beings to perform fairly paid, creative work"—this was a major conclusion of the European Regional Meeting of Youth organized by Unesco in Venice (Italy) from 7 to 11 November 1977. The gathering's theme was "the effects of the economic situation on the access of young people to education, culture and work".

The problem of unemployment was uppermost in the minds of many speakers, at a time when there were six million unemployed in the European Community, one-third of them young people.

On the other hand, delegates from the socialist countries, where the right to employment is effectively guaranteed by the constitution, pointed out that the problem did not arise in the same way in their countries, although it was recognized that the question had many different forms, perhaps more difficult to pinpoint but no less important. One of these was employment in jobs unsuited to the holders' abilities, education or aspirations.

Although most speakers were concerned with factors bound up with the prevailing economic situation, they all expressed the view that a more human approach should be adopted regarding unemployment. Present concepts of work were questioned, and participants stressed that young workers and employees are particularly sensitive to the boredom, frustration and lack of fulfilment that characterize many employment situations today. Work, they felt, should be viewed as an integral part of cultural life, and education should be conceived with this in mind.

Participants formulated a number of recommendations seeking: to facilitate the exchange of information and experience between young workers in Europe and those in the developing countries; to produce studies on the transition from school to work, on work as young people see it, and on the role of the mass media in relation to employment problems; to promote the adoption and implementation by the United Nations of a code of conduct for multinational enterprises; to organize international meetings on problems faced by young workers such as new forms of vocational training and the access of young workers to culture.

As a follow-up to the Venice meeting, Unesco's Youth Programme has accorded increased attention to the problems of young people at work or seeking work. In early 1979 an international study will be published on the specific difficulties of schooled or university-trained jobless youth.

An agreement is being concluded between Unesco and ILO to review special employment-related youth training programmes in Africa.

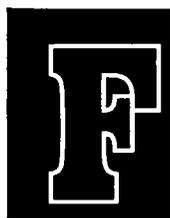
Finally, the renewal of vocational training programmes, which should prepare youth educationally and culturally as well as for job mobility but which are at present over rigid, has become a central concern of the world community and thus of Unesco. ■

THE BRAIN DRAIN *continued from page 17*

In addition, developed countries could assist the developing countries to absorb their skilled manpower better by setting up and supporting funds that encourage Research and Development activities in developing countries. Another possibility is to use personnel or consultants from developing countries to carry out programmes or projects in these countries which would be funded by the industrialized nations.

The problem of compensation is particularly complex because of the difficulty of clearly establishing the cause and effects of migration, and of assessing its scope in statistical terms.

One major obstacle is the lack of comprehensive and standardized statistics. Definitions and categories used for classifying immigrants to developed countries have not yet become standardized, and even when they are available, the data take no account of emigration back to the developing countries which, according to one UNCTAD study, may represent 25 per cent in some cases.



FINALLY, inconsistencies may arise from the general practice of recording immigrant data on the basis of last permanent residence as distinct from nationality. This is important since, to take one example, as many as 80 per cent and 50 per cent of Pakistani scientists and engineers entering the U.S. as immigrants in 1966 and 1973 respectively appeared to have resided outside their country of birth. In such cases, therefore, the use of the "last permanent residence" concept would tend to underestimate the figures of immigrants from developing countries into industrialized countries. The United Kingdom has, for instance, often been regarded as a stopping-off point for migrants from developing countries whose ultimate destination is the United States or Canada, and these migrants may constitute a significant proportion of both the inflow and the outflow from the U.K.

A number of proposals have been made regarding compensation:

- Contributions by host developed countries, related in some way to the imputed value of skilled migration from developing countries. These might take the form of direct assessment or tax-sharing arrangements under an agreed formula, supplemented by the possibility of permitting migrants from developing countries to make voluntary tax-deductible contributions to charitable organizations in developing countries and of earmarking, again on a voluntary basis, up to 10 per cent of their income tax payments in developed countries for development purposes;

- A moderate supplementary tax levied on the income earned in developed countries by skilled migrants from developing countries (at a rate, say, of 5 per cent for a period of no more than ten years);

- The creation of specially chartered organizations created in conformity with a model to be prepared and continually revised in accordance with internationally agreed procedures. These organizations could receive and spend funds raised through the foregoing measures;

- The possible extension of the International Monetary Fund compensatory financing facility to take account of "adjustment problems" associated with fluctuations in migrants' earnings.

In recent years there has been a decline in the numbers of skilled immigrants from developing countries to the industrialized world, but although it is difficult to forecast the likely size of the brain drain in the next decade, it can be plausibly argued that this decline has been related to a number of factors which are mainly cyclical and temporary in nature. Future trends in such migration would, consequently, depend in part at least on the rate of recovery in the developed countries.

They may also partly be determined by the extent to which the economies of the developed countries have become structurally dependent on certain types of imported skills. As the Report prepared for the House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs observed: "Future projections of American requirements... suggest that shortage rather than surplus of technical manpower may characterize this century from the late 1970s or early 1980s on. To satisfy these needs, the advanced countries may complement their own indigenous stock with emigrants from developing countries."

According to one estimate a 4 per cent annual growth rate in 1978-1980 and a 3.5 per cent rate in 1980-1990 in the Federal Republic of Germany might necessitate an additional inflow of foreign labour (both skilled and unskilled) of the order of two million by 1990 in that country. In the United Kingdom, the maintenance and development of the National Health Service depends on an inflow of foreign doctors ranging between 2,500 and 3,000 a year.

"The current system under which skilled manpower migrates from country to country is largely a legacy of the past", concludes the UNCTAD study, "and fails to distribute equitably to the developing countries the value of their contribution, in the form of skilled manpower, to the developed economies. The various proposals outlined above, which aim at correcting some of the asymmetries in the international market for labour, are neither novel nor would they involve any change in existing international practices; rather they may be regarded as a step towards broadening the application of existing international rules to take into account the concerns of the developing countries as suppliers of skilled manpower." ■

The material on which this article is based represents UNCTAD's contribution to the in-depth study of the brain drain problem called for by the General Assembly of the United Nations in December 1977.

Letters to the editor

WASTE NOT, WANT NOT

Sir,

I enjoyed the February issue of the *Courier* but I was somewhat disappointed that in an issue devoted to ways of averting a world water famine, there was hardly a mention of the potential that exists for reusing some of the water which at present carries our wastes.

Korzun and Sokolov (page 5) predicted a bleak outlook for the world's populated areas which by the year 2015 are expected to have come close to exhausting their water resources. Victor (page 17) is of the opinion that there are only two viable methods of providing further supplies of freshwater—desalination of seawater and exploitation of icebergs. Desalination is an expensive process and often requires large amounts of energy, and the feasibility of using freshwater from icebergs has still to be established. On the other hand, wastewater reclamation and reuse is a known technology being practised in a number of countries.

The New Zealand Commission for the Environment is compiling a worldwide bibliography and directory on the utilization of waste nutrients from domestic and industrial wastewaters. Over 350 individuals and agencies have already responded to our request for references and our efforts amassed over 4000 titles on the subject. I would like to suggest that in view of the considerable amount of information available and the comparable degree of interest, you could consider an issue of the *Courier* dedicated to this very necessary change in our basic philosophy:

- we should not be expending money and energy searching for ways of disposing of our wastes, we should be channelling our efforts to seeking ways of how to use these "wastes";
- we should not search for new sources of water, but rather, we should be looking for ways of using what we already have more efficiently.

Philip Tortell

for Commissioner for the Environment
Wellington, New Zealand

S.O.S. TAJ MAHAL

Sir,

Art-lovers and ecologists throughout the world are worried that one of the wonders of the world, the Taj Mahal, most appropriately described as "poetry in marble", is going to be slowly but surely destroyed by the acid fumes from the six-million-tonne oil refinery destined to be sited upwind of it.

This region of Mathura-Agra, located along the valley of the Jamuna river, expe-

riences atmospheric inversion for most of the time during winter. Under the existing conditions of industrial growth and environmental pollution control in India, it is very difficult to ensure proper water and air quality standards. As many acidic fumes, gases and dusts from this refinery travel to Agra, get converted to acids and attack the marble, there is bound to be discolouration and disfigurement of the Taj Mahal within a short time after the refinery starts working.

Since world-famous monuments like the Taj Mahal are considered part of the cultural heritage of mankind, it is the sacred duty of everyone to preserve them with all their grandeur for posterity.

The stone cancer of Cologne cathedral, of the marble Madonna of Milan cathedral and the gargoyles of Notre-Dame in Paris must be an eye-opener to those who do not know about the long-distance travel of air pollutants and their impact on acid-rains and the corrosiveness of the industrial environment.

T. Shivaji Rao

Professor of Environmental Engineering
Andhra University
Waltair, India

A WISH FULFILLED

Sir,

Your November 1977 issue ("Southern Africa at grips with racism") made instructive reading, especially Karel Vasak's article on the long struggle to give legal force to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, accompanied as it was by the full text of the Declaration.

I feel that readers of the *Unesco Courier* would welcome the opportunity to read similar studies on other conventions, declarations and documents of general interest set forth by the United Nations and its specialized agencies, along with the texts of the documents in question.

Andrés Rodríguez Gómez
Pinar del Río, Cuba

Our October 1978 issue on teaching human rights goes some way towards fulfilling your wish. In addition to articles on various aspects of human rights, it contained a study entitled "Twenty Questions" which dealt with the terms of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Social, Economic and Cultural Rights, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Optional Protocol to the latter. In the same issue we also presented certain Unesco recommendations in the field of human rights along with Unesco's procedures for dealing with specific complaints concerning alleged violations of human rights in its spheres of competence — Editor.

UN-AIRWORTHY ISSUE

Sir,

A subscriber to the *Unesco Courier* since 1969, I am invariably interested by your articles on historical and educational subjects and on the conservation of the environment, as well as your attacks on racism and discrimination.

Ever since I became a subscriber, I have looked forward to reading an issue on aviation and so I was thrilled to receive the April 1978 number on "Aviation at Age 75"

When I came to read the issue, however, I was terribly disappointed. I had hoped that you would have paid tribute to the contribution of aviation to human progress by telling readers about the history of aviation, its trailblazers and their discoveries. Instead of doing this you concentrated on aviation today and its prospects for tomorrow, paying scant attention to its history.

Armando Carnet Nunez
Manzanillo, Cuba

WHO MADE THE FIRST PLANE FLIGHT?

Sir,

The author of "Flight without Frontiers", an article published in the April 1978 issue of the *Unesco Courier*, notes that on 17 December 1903, Wilbur Wright, at the controls of "a frail structure of metal, wood and fabric struggled into the air" and that man thus "succeeded for the first time in flying a heavier-than-air, engine-powered machine".

I am prompted to write to you not so much because of this statement, debatable though it is, as the assertion that follows it: "This date is generally considered Year I in the history of aviation". This is far from being the truth. Brazil, for example, officially chose to celebrate 1956 as "Santos Dumont Year" to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the Brazilian inventor Alberto Santos Dumont's historic flight at the Bagatelle park near Paris on 23 October 1906. On that day Santos Dumont, flying his "14-bis" aircraft, solved the threefold problem of engine-powered flight: taking off, achieving sustained flight, and landing a heavier-than-air machine using only its own power.

The Wright brothers' machine rolled downhill along a wooden rail to pick up speed before take-off; it had skids, not wheels, as can be seen in the photo on page 4. Santos Dumont's "14-bis", on the other hand, was equipped with wheels in direct contact with the ground and gained speed only from its own engine-power before it took off. Unlike the Wright brothers' machine, it had an undercarriage.

In 1941, when the aeroclub of the United States proposed that 17 December should be chosen to mark "Pan-American Aviation Day", Brazil and many aviation clubs in Central and South America protested on the grounds that this would have constituted a slight on Alberto Santos Dumont, the man whom Thomas Alva Edison dubbed "the pioneer of the air". The Aeroclub de France, on the other hand, erected a monument to this "pioneer of aviation".

Emil de Roure Silva
Graduates' Association
of the Higher War Academy
Niteroi, Brazil

The question of who first conquered the sky is still unanswered and probably will be so forever. It is a fact that a number of aviation pioneers, including Santos Dumont, experimented with flying machines before and after the Wright brothers succeeded after several attempts in staying aloft for 59 seconds, covering 852 feet on the ground—the equivalent of a flight of one half-mile in still air. Perhaps more than any other "invention" human flight resulted from the creative impulse and the daring of pioneers of many countries who learned from each other's mistakes and successes and each contributed in his own way to making aviation what it is today — Editor.

BOOKSHELF

RECENT UNESCO BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

• **World Water Balance and Water Resources of the Earth**, prepared by the Chief Administration of the Hydrometeorological Service under the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. (U.S.S.R. Committee for the International Hydrological Decade). The results of studies of the earth's water balance and water resources, prepared by Soviet scientists within the programme of the International Hydrological Decade and incorporating the latest Soviet and international research. ("Studies and Reports in Hydrology" series, No. 25) Also includes the **Atlas of the World Water Balance**, which contains 65 maps illustrating the distribution of precipitation, evaporation and river run-off over the continental land masses, the world ocean and the earth as a whole. 1978, 663 pp. (+ 65 maps) 300 F.

• **Economic Aspects of Special Education**. Three case studies on education for the handicapped in Czechoslovakia, New Zealand and the United States. 1978, 152 pp. (24 F).

• **Computers and Social Options** is the theme of Unesco's quarterly **Impact of Science on Society** (Vol. 28, No. 3, 1978). Each issue: 12 F; subscriptions 40 F for one year or 66 F for two years.

• **Human Habitats: from Tradition to Modernism**, theme of Unesco's quarterly **International Social Science Journal** (Vol. XXX, No. 3, 1978). Each issue 23 F; subscriptions 70 F for one year or 116 F for two years.

OTHER BOOKS

• **A Primer of Drug Action**, by Robert M. Julien. W.H. Freeman and Co., San Francisco USA and Reading U.K. 2nd edition 1978, 288 pp. (\$16.80 hardback; \$7.20 softback).

• **Tactical Nuclear Weapons: European Perspectives**. Published by Taylor and Francis Ltd., London, on behalf of Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), and distributed by Almqvist and Wiksell International, Stockholm (for Scandinavia), Crane, Russak and Co. Inc., New York (for USA), and Taylor and Francis (for rest of world). 1978, 371 pp. (£10.50).

• **Gardening for Better Nutrition**, an OXFAM document by Arnold Pacey. Intermediate Technology Publications Ltd., London. 1978, 64 pp. (£1.60).

• **The Role of Women in Rural Zaire and Upper Volta**, by David A. Mitchnik. An OXFAM working paper (A revised version of a paper prepared for the ILO within the framework of the World Employment Programme. Available from OXFAM, Oxford, U.K. 1978, 36 pp. (50 p.).



Unicef greetings cards

Unicef, the United Nations Children's Fund, is today active in nearly 100 developing countries, providing needy children with better nutrition, improved health care and better educational opportunities. Most aid is for long-term development, but Unicef also provides emergency relief when children are endangered by natural or man-made disasters. The idea was born in 1949 when a 7-year-old Czechoslovakian girl drew a picture and sent it to Unicef as thanks for the Fund's help to her village after World War II. Today Unicef produces cards suitable for many occasions: birthdays, Mother's Day, birth announcements and so on, as well as a calendar postcards and stationery sets. All are now available at Unicef sales points throughout the world. The theme of the 1979 calendar, "Focus on Children in Art", was chosen to tie in with the International Year of the Child proclaimed by the United Nations General Assembly for 1979. The reproductions, from over 40 countries, include masterpieces by Rembrandt, Rubens, Goya, Gainsborough and Fragonard, and the cover, a child writing on a banana leaf, is a detail from a Japanese screen. Card shown here features "Church Bells", a design by the Polish artist Maria Jas.

Unesco sponsors Red Cross poster series

As a tribute to the part played by the Red Cross in contributing to the peaceful development of nations, thus promoting a new international economic order, Unesco is sponsoring a poster series produced by the League of Red Cross Societies on "The Red Cross and World Problems". The poster set, accompanied by a background document for teachers, contains 6 photos showing major Red Cross activities. The posters are available (with commentary in English, French, Spanish or Arabic) free from the League of Red Cross Societies, P.O.B. 276, 1211 Geneva 19, Switzerland.

Rabies spreads in Europe

The recorded number of animal rabies cases for 1977 indicates that the disease has gained new territories in Europe, reports the World Health Organization. Italy was again invaded and Denmark reinfected for the third time, while the epidemic spread to new areas in Austria, Switzerland, France and the Czech Socialist Republic. The disease maintained its strongholds in the German Dem. Rep., the Fed. Rep. of Germany, Poland and Hungary.

Unesco award for officials of 12 National Commissions

At a ceremony held at Unesco's Paris HQ on 27 October 1978, the Director-General, Mr. Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, presented the Organization's silver medal to 3 chairmen and 9 secretaries-general of National Commissions for Unesco who had occupied their posts for at least 15 years. At a round table meeting before the ceremony there was discussion of the draft charter on the role of National Commissions, which was to be submitted to Unesco's General Conference and forms part of efforts to bind the Organization as closely as possible to its Member States.

Nineteen new reserves for Brazil

Brazil is establishing 19 ecological stations throughout the country covering a total area of 900,000 hectares. In each station ecological data will be collected and comparative studies made between these protected areas and those nearby inhabited by man. Most of the stations will be ready for scientific work by the end of 1978.



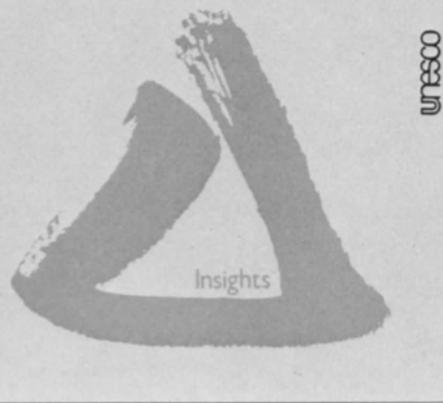
U.N. stamp honours General Assembly

The United Nations Postal Administration has issued a set of stamps on the theme "The United Nations General Assembly". All Member States are represented in the General Assembly, the U.N.'s main deliberative organ, which meets in regular annual sessions from September to December and in special sessions when required. The stamps are issued in the following values: Sw. Fr. 0.70 and 1.10 and 13 and 18 U.S. cents.

Biology and ethics

Reflections inspired by a Unesco symposium

by Bruno Ribes



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INSIGHTS, a major new Unesco series focussing on important themes and critical choices facing mankind today. By creating **INSIGHTS**, Unesco hopes to inform a wide public, as well as specialists, about the contributions of many different disciplines to the study of world problems.

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202 pages

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Violence and its Causes

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A ticket to nowhere?

Once the key to a well-paid, satisfying job, a university degree is fast becoming a ticket to nowhere. At the end of 1976, in France, for example, 25,000 young university graduates, one third of the annual output, were registered as job-seekers; in Japan, only 70 per cent of the 1976 graduates had found work by the end of the year; projections of supply and demand for university graduates in the United States suggest that there will be a surplus of 950,000 over the period 1974-1985. The problem of the "educated unemployed" is also affecting the developing countries (see diagram page 12).

