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Labor  
in  
the  
European  
Community

# The Labor Market in the West African Associated States of the EEC

The analysis of the labor market in the West African associated states of the European Economic Community has been prepared by Adhemar Byl, a member of the faculty at Georgetown University, Washington, D. C. In a period when the developing countries are seeking to expand their position in world trade, Mr. Byl has examined their capacity to play a significant role in view of their domestic labor problems. The longer paper on which Mr. Byl's article is based was presented at the Conference on French-Speaking Africa sponsored by the U. S. Department of State and Georgetown University in August 1964. The longer paper with complete citations of sources will be published in French-Speaking Africa, William Lewis, editor, to be published in March 1965. The author's views do not represent the official policy of the European Community; they are presented as a contribution to discussion of labor's place in developing countries.

Social Security in the Community: The Netherlands is the last in a series on social security systems of the Six. Page 13.

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Requests for additional publications or for information on specific questions relating to the European labor situation should be sent to the European Community Information Service, 808 Farragut Building, Washington, D. C. 20006 or 2207 Commerce Building, 155 East 44th Street, New York, New York 10017.

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\*West African  
Associates

## The Community's African partners

Country	Capital	Area (sq. mls)	Population million	Imports \$million 1962	Exports \$million 1962
Burundi	Bujumbura	11,000	2.2	—	—
Cameroun	Yaoundé	183,000	4.1	101.8	103.4
Central African Republic	Bangui	237,000	1.2	25.2	14.2
Chad	Fort Lamy	486,000	2.6	29.1	16.5
Congo (Brazzaville)	Brazzaville	131,000	0.9	67.8	35.1
Congo (Leopoldville)	Leopoldville	902,000	13.9	170.8	120.6
* Dahomey	Porto Novo	45,000	2.0	26.8	10.9
Gabon	Libreville	80,000	0.5	38.8	58.7
* Ivory Coast	Abidjan	112,000	3.1	146.5	181.2
Madagascar	Tananarive	226,000	5.2	121.6	94.3
* Mali	Bamako	475,000	4.1	45.8	10.0
* Mauritania	Nouakchott	419,000	0.7	35.7	2.8
* Niger	Niamey	460,000	2.9	27.5	14.5
Rwanda	Kigali	11,000	2.6	—	—
* Senegal	Dakar	76,000	3.1	154.8	124.2
Somalia	Mogadishu	245,000	2.0	32.2 (1961)	26.3 (1961)
* Togo	Lomé	22,000	1.4	27.1	17.2
* Upper Volta	Wagadougou	104,000	4.5	34.7	7.9

# The Labor Market in the West African Associated States of the EEC

by **ADHEMAR BYL**

The labor market in West Africa is developing through three stages reflecting changing economic conditions. There is first a primitive stage in which approximation of the subsistence economy with the modernizing European influence has barely started; second, is an intermediate or mixed stage in which subsistence and modern sectors coexist; and third, a final stage of full integration of both sectors to become a modern industrialized society. The West African Associates (Senegal, Sudan, Mali, Upper Volta, Dahomey, Mauritania, Ivory Coast, Niger, Togo) are in the second stage: the dual economy.

## BACKGROUND AND PRESENT STATE OF THE LABOR MARKET

### A. Sources of labor supply.

The average population density in the associated member countries of the EEC was very low (4 per square mile in 1955), and in addition, the geographical distribution of the population did not conform with areas of new economic opportunities. Notwithstanding that, recruitment of a labor force in French-speaking West Africa presented less serious obstacles than in the rest of the continent, mainly for four reasons: (1) the demand for labor outside the villages was less important, relative to population, than in most other African countries; (2) the people had been exposed longer than elsewhere to trade markets and money; (3) West African economic development rested on peasant agriculture that used hired labor (the labor force was thus led into a modern wage-earning life not directly in mines and factories, but through the intermediary stage of working for African farmers); (4) the presence in the interior of these states of 2.2 million Mossi of the Upper Volta. They were adaptable and hardy workmen who inhabited an area which gave them the necessities of life but which could not provide needed money income. Their readiness to move southward gave rise to a rather elaborate system of migration and migratory labor that is still part of the West African

labor scene today. West African workers have definitely learned a lesson in economics during the existence of the system. They were well aware of the economic conditions and the wages they could expect. More Mossis tended to go to Ghana, instead of Ivory Coast, because the wages were higher in Ghana, and they tended to come in smaller numbers when the wages were lower. Because of the social and economic costs of migratory movements, stabilization of workers at their place of employment has been given serious consideration.

B. Stabilization of workers at their place of employment.

A stable or committed labor force is able to reproduce and multiply itself and thus brings migration automatically to a slow-down. Indicators of commitment are the immediate or primary, and the derived demographic and socio-economic indicators.

1. Primary indicator of commitment.

The primary indicator is the average length of time the labor force has spent in town. One can look at this length of time in reference to that part of the life of the laborer since his first migration, or since he became qualified to work, at age fifteen for instance. The attitude of migrants towards the future may be more crucial than the length of time spent in town. A worker who has been only a few months in town but who is skilled and never intends to go back to the rural area is more stable than a man who has been in town for several years, but intends to go back home to marry and stay there. Hence the importance of the derived (a) demographic, and (b) socio-economic criteria.

2. Derived indicators of commitment.

a) Demographic indicators. The progression of the population pyramid towards an equal number of men and women in town is a valuable demographic indicator of the stabilization process. The figures for Abidjan indicate that it is a long way from stabilization (in 1956, 49,693 women for 69,455 men) and so are most West African towns.

b) The socio-economic criteria which are most important are: (1) the rate of absenteeism; (2) the average time spent at one job, or the rate of turnover; (3) the attitude of the workers vis-à-vis urban life; (4) their degree of detribalization; and (5) their degree of urbanization.

STRUCTURE OF THE INDIGENOUS AND NON-INDIGENOUS WAGE-EARNERS BY ECONOMIC SECTOR

IN 1957 IN THE WEST AFRICAN ASSOCIATED COUNTRIES OF THE EEC (in thousands)

PUBLIC SECTOR

PRIVATE SECTOR

	PUBLIC SECTOR		PRIVATE SECTOR			Total Wage-Earners						
	Civil Servants	Non-Civil Servants Total	Primary Agri-culture, Forests, Fishing	Secondary Manu- factur- ing Mining Building Construc- tion	Tertiary Trans- port Com- merce Domes tic							
West African Associates	27.7	65.7	93.4	105.7	4.0	27.5	40.7	36.8	46.0	30.3	291.0	384.4
Senegal	5.6	15.2	20.8	4.7	1.0	12.5	11.6	17.5	20.8	11.5	79.6	100.4
Sudan (Mali)	(4.0)	(5.9)	9.9	7.4	-	3.8	5.5	3.4	3.9	2.3	26.3	36.2
Upper Volta	2.7	9.0	11.7	1.1	0.3	1.6	5.2	0.7	2.2	1.8	12.9	24.6
Dahomey	3.3	4.8	8.1	1.7	0.1	0.8	2.3	2.8	4.3	1.8	13.8	21.9
Mauritania	1.2	1.9	3.1	0.1	0.2	-	0.6	0.2	0.2	0.4	1.7	4.8
Ivory Coast	6.0	22.0	28.0	90.0	2.0	8.0	11.0	10.0	12.0	10.0	143.0	171.0
Niger	2.9	3.5	6.4	0.2	0.1	0.5	3.9	0.4	1.2	0.9	7.2	13.6
Togo	2.0	3.4	5.4	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.6	1.8	1.4	1.6	6.5	11.9

Absenteeism and turnover. Results of a recent study indicate that "absenteeism and labor turnover were proving to be quantitatively less important, at any rate in urban areas, than had generally been supposed... With some exceptions, the verified rates prove to be not dissimilar to those experienced in technologically-advanced countries..." Though this is more valid for absenteeism than for turnover, the rate of turnover in a factory is, anyway, a very imperfect measure of the degree of instability of the worker. A high turnover rate may be the result of frequent inter-urban movements or occupational mobility and promotion.

Attitude toward urban life. The possession of a house built of durable materials or of a piece of land to build on are indicators of workers' attitudes towards urban life.

Detribalization. Two separate although related issues concerning detribalization are constantly confused. On the one hand, there is the destructive effect of over-recruitment on tribal life in the bush; on the other hand, there is detribalization of town dwellers. Alarming reports from governments and scholars alike on the danger for tribal life involved in over-recruitment brought about measures to limit recruitment of able-bodied males throughout most of Africa, including French-speaking West Africa. Notwithstanding those measures, wage-labor was still considered not only to have a destructive effect on tribal life in the bush but also to lead finally to detribalization of the town-dweller. Some observers of African workers were impressed by the apparent desire of young migrants to keep in touch with their tribe mainly in order not lose their rights on land. It was also noticed that French West Africans stuck together in tribal groups even when they moved to town. Thus, one should be careful not to overestimate the amount of detribalization that has taken place under influence of wage-earning, although it may be greater in West Africa than elsewhere.

Urbanization. Urbanization should not be confused with growth of cities or the degree of urbanization with the absolute size of cities, although in many parts of Africa there has been a close relationship between both. However, in West Africa, pre-industrial towns exist. The major towns of French-speaking West Africa have the following characteristics: (1) the male population is much larger than the female population; (2) the share of the unskilled in total em-

ployment is very high; (3) the rate of unemployment is very high; (4) the housing problem is acute; (5) although smaller than in the countryside, the percentage of young unmarried people in towns is quite high; and (6) the percentage of children under fifteen in major towns and urban centers is lower than the percentage in the whole country or in the rural areas. The first characteristic has been dealt with above (demographic indicators of commitment). The second characteristic is especially important because in times of business crisis, it is mostly the unskilled and the semi-skilled who are laid off first. In Dakar, about 21 per cent of the urban male population is unskilled and 75 per cent of the unemployed are unskilled or semi-skilled. The third characteristic is of recent origin and therefore does not contradict the labor scarcity concept developed below. The third and the fourth characteristics would require separate studies on urban unemployment and on housing not possible in the scope of this paper. The fifth characteristic is brought out in the population count of Dakar published in 1955, which shows that only 57 per cent of the men were married; in Lomé, the proportion of bachelors among men of more than fifteen years of age was also 43 per cent.

C. Further reflections on available labor market data.

Table 1 shows how 30 to 70 per cent of the indigenous wage-earners of the former AOF territories were unskilled in 1957. One has always to keep in mind that the number of indigenous wage-earners represents an extremely small percentage of the total active population in the various countries, i.e., between 0.5 per cent in Niger, and 6.6 per cent in Ivory Coast. The percentage of unskilled is much higher in the Ivory Coast (70 per cent) than in the other West African associated member countries. This is due to the higher percentage of Ivoiriens working for wages in the primary and tertiary sectors (mainly as agricultural workers and domestics, respectively; and they are mostly unskilled. In Ivory Coast, 90,000 out of 171,000, i.e., 53 per cent of the wage-earners, are in the primary sector, versus 10 per cent or less in the other associated countries. The drop by nearly 50% in the figure of total wage-earners in Mali, mainly due to an even larger drop in unskilled labor, may be due to a change in accounting procedure. The break-up of the Mali federation may have contributed to the decline. The doubling

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of the total number of wage-earners in Togo between 1957 and 1961 (see table ) should be regarded as a return to normal because in 1952 there were already 27,900 indigenous wage-earners. Several of them must have left because of the struggle between the "Parti Unitaire," the "Parti du Progrès" and the French government, and because of the favorable circumstances developing in Ghana and the then British Togo. Nkrumah had become prime minister and the country was on its way to independence. The return movement to Togo started in 1958 when several thousands of emigrants were deported from Ivory Coast. The percentage of wage-earners in French-speaking West Africa has not everywhere increased. In some countries, it has even diminished since 1948. This must have been due to increased productivity and the use of more capital-intensive methods, as the output figures have mostly increased.

Indigenous Wage-Earners in West African Associated States of EEC

(in thousands)	1948	1957	1959-62	1962 Total Population
Senegal	96.4	89.7	83.3	3,109
Sudan) Mali )	33.7	34.8	18.1	4,305
Upper Volta	14.3	23.3	20.8	4,500
Dahomey	22.1	18.6	29.5	2,200
Mauritania	2.7	4.5	-	725
Ivory Coast	80.2	164.0	181.0	3,400
Niger	7.9	12.2	13.1	2,700
Togo	4.3	11.6	22.2	1,507
	257.3	347.1	581.6	20,979

TARGET WORKERS AND ECONOMIC FACTORS INFLUENCING INITIAL SUPPLY OF LABOR IN THE PRIMITIVE STAGE

A. Basic scarcity of labor.

Lord Hailey in his African Survey stressed the shortage of manpower in Africa and indicated that this was not at all generally known by the public. When this fact was revealed in French West Africa, for instance, it had a decisive effect in modifying the views of that section of the French public opinion which looked at the African colonies as an inexhaustible reservoir of

recruits for the French army. When the governments and European firms have needed labor for public works or private enterprise, labor has been difficult to find, although the demand was small. As a result, forced labor was introduced. There were three main forms: labor taxes, labor battalions, and a system of officially sponsored forced recruitment for private employers, called authorized recruitment.

1. Labor taxes.

It was a tax payable in the form of a maximum amount of 12 days of labor, redeemable in certain cases by a cash payment. It involved unpaid compulsory labor for public works in the immediate vicinity of the village. In practice, they were often used for all types of major public works efforts. Compulsory tax labor was prohibited by an Act of 11 April 1946, and by the consolidated Labour Code of December 1952.

2. Labor battalions.

On October 13, 1926, the "Decree on Compulsory Labor-Madagascar," was adopted in West Africa and military conscripted labor thus became a practice there. It has now been abolished.

3. Authorized recruiting.

A large number of firms in West Africa relied upon the government for recruitment of their labor force. The French government has officially said that assistance was given, for instance, to forestry undertakings in the Ivory Coast. This assistance was only refused in Upper Volta, owing to the demands previously made for forced labor for the railways.

The French government recognized also the need for measures to prevent the effects of over-recruitment from particular areas. In 1931, it issued general instructions that in principle, never more than fifty per cent of the able-bodied males of any one village should be taken for public works.

B. The luring of a non-spontaneous supply of labor.

Due to cultural factors and lack of psychological preparedness, African adults did not normally constitute a potential labor supply. They had to be prepared psychologically before they became potential suppliers of labor. As has been pointed out before, this was less so in West Africa because of long

contact with markets and money and the familiarity with wage labor in African agriculture. Notwithstanding that, direct and indirect luring systems were employed in French-speaking Africa. Direct luring could exist in the creation of a demand for an attainable good in the mind of the African, or in the stimulation of economic development on the village level through amelioration of transport facilities, etc., thus bringing new markets within easier reach.

It does not appear that the use in West Africa of negative stimulants, such as the taking away of people's economic alternatives, for instance their land, as was done in Kenya, or taking away anything else that would limit their subsistence income was an established practice. The head-tax system, also a negative stimulant, applied to men, women and children above a certain age, depending on the territory. The rate was uniform in the districts but differed among districts.

C. The luring of labor supply through recruitment.

Professor André Lux of the Lovanium University in his excellent book on The Labor Market in Black Africa justifies certain forms of recruitment when they are only temporary measures that lead to a spontaneous supply of labor. Elliot Berg, an American economist, seems to agree with this by calling the recruitment policies that were adopted in West Africa, "growth encouraging at least in a certain sense." Unfortunately, the worst employers usually needed the recruitment system most. They always reached further in the bush and tried to tax a new source of supply. This practice was only avoidable through extreme government control.

D. The spontaneous supply of labor.

In West Africa, just as in the rest of Africa, recruitment has gradually been replaced by spontaneous migration. In Ivory Coast, however, a Group Association of Employers for the Transport of Workers (SIAMO) was created in 1951 to recruit workers under contract in Upper Volta. This association operated in liaison with the Labour Inspectorate and Employment office and was really meant to give workers maximum safeguards against unscrupulous employers. Total number of workers recruited in Upper Volta rarely exceeded 20,000. The true number of migrants to the Ivory Coast was generally estimated to be around

100,000 per annum. More than four-fifths of the annual supply was not only spontaneous but also escaped health and medical and other administrative formalities, which the African worker distrusted intensely. In all the French-speaking areas of West Africa, migrant labor was often combined with a system of transmission of part of the money earned to the tribal area.

E. The labor market in the first stage of approximation with modern economy.

It is only when an economy has become a money economy that it is rational for people to work in order to gain money as such. Certain goods can only be obtained in the money economy. For a worker who is still living in the subsistence economy it is a rational thing to move over to the other sector until he has reached his goal and then to return. So the concept of target work is definitely linked to the first of the three stages mentioned above. The "primitive" African does not sell his labor at a price. He sells, so to speak, his decision to take a job.

THE MIXED STAGE OF LABOR MARKET DEVELOPMENT

This stage is more complex than the previous one, and also much longer and much more important.

Many Africans remain migrant. Two factors are basic for explaining the evolution in the behavior of the supply curve of labor of the African worker: first, the extension of the "target areas"; second, the appearance of economic alternatives.

1. The enlargement of the "target areas."

The most primitive target is an imposed one, such as a tax burden. One wants to get rid of it by paying it, not by revolting against it. There is, however, also a second kind of target, namely, a chosen one. It will mostly consist of one or more target goods one wants to buy. The existence of this attractive type of target generates progress. The worker will not only on the one hand sell his decision to work, and on the other hand have a certain target commodity in mind he wants to buy, but these two objectives integrate. The worker wanting this or that good, has also a burning desire to spend at least a few months a year in town. He will be limited in the latter by a time factor,

namely, the amount of months his wife or clan can do without him in the subsistence sector. But also this is flexible. Some African tribesmen lengthen that time to make more money in order to keep up with their neighbors. If the African earns more than he expects to earn in the available time, he will then suddenly be faced with pure buying power. And as he, like any other human being, has basically unlimited wants (only his cultural environment has obstructed those wants from becoming real) he will find some object he can buy with his extra money. The vicious circle of lack of incentives and low wages is thus broken. The target economy at that moment disappears and is replaced by a more market-oriented, or at least, incentive-oriented system.

2. The appearance of economic alternatives.

Economic alternatives for wage-earning open up in the field of commercialized agriculture. West African commercialized agriculture existed before jobs were available in mining and industry. Commercial agriculture constitutes a real alternative to wage-earning. Subsistence agriculture, since it does not offer any possibility for earning money, is not a real alternative.

The evolution of the individual labor supply from the second stage of "migrant" labor to the "integrated" stage can take place in two ways, depending upon what comes first in the interaction between the increasing buying power and the increasing wants. In the first case, the increase in buying power creates new wants until those wants become so overpowering that the laborer decides that the only way to fulfill them is by becoming a permanent worker for a wage.

In the second case, the increase in wants comes first and the increase in buying power has to be created. The worker who envisions buying one target commodity may be tempted to buy a second target commodity, and thus prolong his time of wage-earning employment. This is called a moving target. This observation demonstrates the value of the spread of wants to stimulate economic development which has been for the most part unperceived and might offer an alternative to the Chinese solution of limiting wants.

# Social Security in the Community: Netherlands

The social security system of the six EEC member countries are to be harmonized under the provisions of the Rome Treaty. Thus, the system in each member country will be important in shaping the benefits which will be available in all countries when harmonized rules go into effect. This article, sixth in a series, is based on a Community study of the Netherlands social security system.

## What Is the Coverage and Who Is Covered?

In the Netherlands and in the five other Community countries, eight types of social benefits are provided: health insurance, maternity payments, disability insurance, old age payments, survivors benefits, workman's compensation, family payments, and unemployment compensation. The Dutch general social security plan described here covers most workers. There are special programs for miners, civil servants and railroad workers.

## HEALTH INSURANCE

Medical care insurance is provided by mutual insurance companies, funds administered by the insured and the doctors, funds maintained by life insurance companies and similar agencies. For cash payment benefits, 26 professional associations provide coverage. The medical care insurance programs are managed through a national council of insurance funds, and the professional associations have created a common administrative management office. This office also handles those sectors not directly covered by the professional associations.

## Who Is Eligible to Participate and Under What Conditions?

All workers receiving a salary, their families, pensioners and the unemployed are eligible for coverage. There is no minimum period of work required for eligibility, but a worker must be registered with the health insurance fund. The highest income permitted for a worker to participate in the program is \$2,209 a year. Benefits are paid from the onset of illness for an unlimited period. Hospital benefits paid under this program are limited to 70 days. More prolonged hospital coverage is made available to about 90 per cent of those covered.

How Are Health Benefits Financed?

The Dutch system provides for separate payments for each kind of social insurance. For medical care benefits, employers and employees contribute equally an amount totaling 4.8 per cent of wages. Cash payments are also financed by employers (.5 to 6.5 per cent) and employees (.5 to 1 per cent). Communes contribute for certain categories of unemployed workers. The state makes no contribution to the program. The wage base for determining contributions may be no higher than \$158.40 per month.

What Doctors and Hospitals Participate?

The insured person has a free choice of doctor from among those belonging to the health insurance program. The individual is reimbursed directly for the doctor's fees. Any hospital near the worker's home and having contract with the insurance fund may be chosen. All expenses are covered by the health insurance fund.

What Special Health Benefits Are Covered?

Three-quarters of the expenses of anti-tubercular sanitariums are paid. Dental work including orthodontia is completely covered, and individuals are required to have dental examinations every six months. Prescriptions are paid for directly by the fund. Allowances are made for prosthetic, optical and acoustical devices.

What Cash Payments Are Made to Individuals  
Receiving Health Benefits?

Workers unable to work because of illness may receive as much as 80 per cent of their salary (daily maximum base salary is about \$8) for a twelve-month period if they are not hospitalized. Those receiving hospitalization benefits receive from 27-80 per cent of their base salary, depending upon the size of their family. Benefits extend for three years to tuberculosis patients.

Are Benefits Available to Foreigners?

All foreign workers in the Netherlands receive the same benefits as Dutch workers. Outside the country, workers from EEC countries and those from other countries having concluded special agreements with the Netherlands receive benefits they have earned there.

## MATERNITY PAYMENTS

The health insurance program provides benefits to insured women and wives and daughters of insured workers. Midwife expenses of insured women are paid, and they receive 12 weeks of full salary payments. Wives and daughters of insured workers get a maternity allowance of \$15.12.

## DISABILITY INSURANCE

The disability program is tied to the old age benefits program in the Netherlands and in all other Community countries except Belgium.

### Who Is Eligible?

All workers less than 35 years old and earning less than approximately \$2,000 a year must take part in the program. The maximum salary a participant may have is about \$2,900. A worker who cannot earn more than one-third his normal salary in his usual job for whom contributions have been made for 150 weeks and who is more than 66.7 per cent disabled is eligible for benefits.

### How Is Disability Insurance Financed?

The employer is the sole contributor. A single contribution of approximately 15 to 17 cents per worker each week covers benefits for old age, survivors and disability benefits.

### What Benefits Are Given?

The annual pension includes a basic amount equal to 260 times the total contributions divided by the number of weeks of coverage. An additional amount of up to 20 per cent of the base amount is provided; for those receiving an annuity and younger than 65, the additional amount is 290 per cent of the base figure. Additional payments are also made if the beneficiary has children. These benefits may be combined with those under other social security programs. A disabled worker may receive job retraining under the disability insurance program and his benefits are increased in line with the cost of living.

## OLD AGE PAYMENTS

Governmental worker and employer representatives take part in the management of this program. The employer is the sole contributor for benefits for salaried workers (tied to disability insurance); the maximum salary for a participant is

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\$2,279 per year. Under the general old age insurance plan, individuals contribute 5.75 per cent of income. The state makes up any deficit in the old age-disability program. Men and women are eligible for benefits at 65; payments are the same as those for disability except there is no provision for annuity recipients. Participants in the general program receive a fixed amount per year depending upon the number of years they have been covered. Additional payments are made if the recipient has children, and payments are adjusted according to the cost-of-living index.

SURVIVORS BENEFITS

Widows raising children and those over 50 (general old age plan) or 60 (old age-disability plan) may receive as much as 100 per cent of the insured worker's annuity as survivors benefits.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

Employers may provide coverage themselves or through the social security bank or a commercial insurance company. The social security bank determines the degree of disability. The base salary (maximum \$8 per day) multiplied by the degree of incapacity, in turn multiplied by as much as 80 per cent, yields the amount of the benefits. These benefits may be added to any salary earned or other pensions. Benefits are also paid, at a lower rate, to widows and orphans. Job retraining is part of the program as are cost-of-living adjustments in benefits.

FAMILY PAYMENTS

An employer's contribution of 4.9 per cent of the base salary (not exceeding \$8 per day) finances family payments. The payments for one child are \$5.14 a month, but the amount for each additional child is greater.

UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

Employers, employees and the state contribute to unemployment compensation, which is paid to workers who are available for work. Payments last 174 days per year and equal 70-80 per cent of base pay. Family allowances may be paid at the same time.



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