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International Labour Office

“A New Era

The Philadelphia Conference
And The Future of The I.L.O.



Montreal

1944

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International Labour Office

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"A New Era"

*The Philadelphia Conference
and the Future of the I.L.O.*

*"This present Conference is
therefore the beginning of a
new era . . . in the history
of the Organisation." —
The Acting Director of the
International Labour Office,
in his speech on 10 May
1944.*

Montreal

1944

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INTRODUCTION

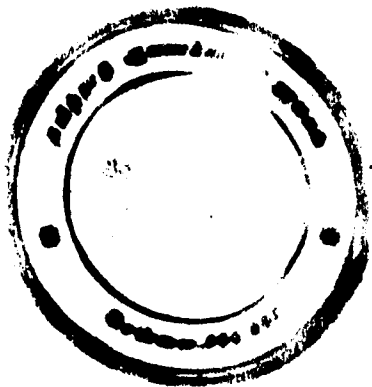
At the 26th Session of the International Labour Conference, held at Philadelphia in April-May 1944, six sittings were devoted to a general discussion on items I and II on the agenda: *Future policy, programme and status of the International Labour Organisation*, and *Recommendations to the United Nations for present and post-war social policy*. Two further sittings were occupied by the debate on item VII on the agenda: *Director's Report*.

In his speech on 10 May 1944 in reply to the debate on the Director's Report, the Acting Director of the International Labour Office pointed out that the general discussion on items I and II had in fact constituted a review of the achievements of the Organisation and of its future potentialities. He therefore proposed to make the speeches delivered available in a special publication, so that they could be more widely read and examined than if they were available only in the final *Record of Proceedings of the Conference*.

The present volume has been prepared in fulfilment of this undertaking. It contains, in chronological order, all those speeches or parts of speeches delivered by members of the Conference on the subject of the International Labour Organisation in the course of the general discussion on items I and II and of the debate on the Director's Report. It also contains the speech of the Acting Director, in reply to the debate on his Report.

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Discussion of Items I and II on the Agenda

*(Future Policy, Programme and Status of the International
Labour Organisation: Recommendations to the United
Nations for Present and Post-War Social Policy)*

(4th – 9th Sitzings of the Conference, 24 – 26 April 1944)

The Hon. Frances PERKINS, Secretary of Labor,
United States Department of Labor; *Government dele-*
gate, United States of America

... The improvement of the conditions of employment is ... an essential concern. The International Labour Organisation has a special and peculiar responsibility for developing these minimum standards and for establishing them in practice, minimum standards that all of us regard as necessary, but do not always practise, such as the reduction of the hazards in workplaces, the regulation of the employment of children, special safeguards for the employment of women, provisions for minimum wages and maximum hours, the provisions for rest periods, and opportunities for leisure, the establishment of comprehensive systems of social insurance and public assistance, provision for opportunity for development of collective bargaining.

The experience and techniques which the I.L.O. has built up, the faith that is put in it by the people of so many lands, and, above all, its character as an organisation in which representatives of workers and employers have established rights to participate, give it a strength which no newly created instrument could possibly equal. I take it, therefore, that all the nations gathered here, including the United States of America, intend in the future, as in the past, to place primary reliance on the procedures of the I.L.O. to develop and implement international labour standards.

We shall not satisfy the legitimate expectations of the people of the world, however, if we do not strengthen the Organisation and adapt it to meet additional responsibilities in the post-war period. No constitutional changes are needed to accomplish the more necessary of these provisions, such as the provision to equip the Office more fully as an organ to offer advice and assistance to competent national authorities in the development of labour standards and administration; to provide within the Office competent technical investigators to make impartial investigations on the spot, under specified conditions, of compliance with accepted standards and obligations; and to develop regional Conventions in some instances to supplement international Conventions which may exist.

In particular, for example, we believe that there should be further exploration of the possibility of setting specific minimum wages

by international negotiation, for particular industries or particular regions. We believe that the I.L.O. in the past has not given adequate attention to the problem of securing minimum earnings for those groups who do not work for wages, but sell the product of their labour direct to the open market. We believe that the role of the I.L.O. in connection with labour standards in dependent areas can be greatly and usefully extended.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR STANDARDS

We would also favour formal action by the United Nations, and such others as may care to associate themselves with us, to extend the influence of the Conventions and Recommendations adopted by the International Labour Conference. As in the past, Member States should be free to ratify these Conventions or not, as they see fit. Only thus can we preserve the influence of the economic groups here represented, and avoid an insistence upon the rule of unanimity which has been so generally the practice in diplomatic conferences, and which has so often handicapped final results and action. But, when a two thirds majority of the accredited delegates from the Member States have adopted an international labour standard, that standard should be held constantly before the eyes of the world and of all Governments. Member States should adopt for themselves a requirement to report to the International Labour Office on the status of legislation, administration and practice, practice even under collective agreements, which may have been established with regard to matters covered by the Conventions and Recommendations, whether they have been ratified or not. Such reports, incidentally, can be expected of federal States like our own, even on matters which may lie within the province of the component States and are, therefore, not submitted to the federal authority for ratification.

The present moment seems to us a propitious one in which to implement the last twenty-five years of work of the I.L.O. Between 1919 and 1939, the Conference adopted, as you all know, 67 labour Conventions. At the time that each of these was adopted, it would have been impossible for all the nations of the world immediately to have ratified any one of them. Standards must be built up gradually in practice. But I think we should ask ourselves whether the time has not come when some of these standards could be made more nearly universal.

We believe that within the framework of the peace settlement it should be possible to secure world-wide adoption of certain minimum child labour standards. Those nations, for example,

which have already established a 14-year minimum age for industrial employment ought to be able to ratify the 15-year minimum provided for in Convention 59. Others should be able to accept in advance the 14-year minimum provided for in Convention 5. We believe that all nations should be prepared to prohibit so universally disliked a practice as the underground work of women in mines, in accordance with the Convention adopted in 1935 in the I.L.O. We believe that in every country there should be minimum wage-fixing machinery and current knowledge as to what wages are paid and what hours worked...

In addition, whenever international economic arrangements are being consummated, whether it be a matter of international loans, or the redistribution of shipping, or an agreement with reference to air transport, the negotiators should bear constantly in mind the possibility of utilising those negotiations and instruments as a means of improving labour standards, and the I.L.O. should be in a position to make appropriate suggestions to these other bodies.

FREEDOM FROM WANT

But even though there lies behind us a record of great accomplishment in formulating international labour standards, though we have a chance at this time peculiarly, I think, to associate the I.L.O. with those who will shape the peace in the United Nations, though we intend to use the I.L.O. to establish even better standards in the future, this will not be enough.

The United Nations are pledged to seek to achieve freedom from want for the mass of the populations. In formulating these labour and social standards which are described on our agenda, we have an opportunity today and an obligation to advance standards of living throughout the world, through the instrumentality of the peace settlement. How is this to be done? What role does the I.L.O. have in this great struggle to establish a socially just peace?

The political framework to maintain peace and an energetic joint programme to raise production and consumption to the highest possible levels will reinforce each other. The resources of the world are inadequate to sustain it as an armed camp and, at the same time, to maintain its population in health and comfort. But we have learned that improved working and living conditions actually contribute to social stability and to a developed economy and, thus, to world peace.

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International collaboration towards this end will be facilitated if the specific objectives embraced within the concept of freedom from want are defined, and if the force of world opinion can be brought to bear continuously upon the problem of raising living standards. Nations should agree that they will develop national policies within their own countries and will co-operate in international policies which will seek:

To ensure a high level of steady employment;

To encourage development of natural resources, technical progress, improved management and training of workers, so that labour may be employed under conditions of maximum efficiency and to discourage the restriction of useful production;

To ensure that all young persons have access until they are fully grown to adequate food and medical care so that they may be healthy, strong and vigorous; to housing conducive to family welfare; to educational and guidance facilities adequate to their maximum development and to the utilisation of their personal capacities; to protection from employment at too early an age, or under conditions detrimental to their health or welfare; and to social opportunities adequate to develop self-reliant, responsible individuals.

Also, we should strive:

To establish minimum standards of employment to prevent the exploitation of those workers (whether employed or self-employed, in industry or in agriculture), whose opportunities for high-wage employment are limited, and to make progressive improvement in these standards as our resources permit;

To provide for a regular flow of income to all those whose employment is interrupted by sickness or injury, by old age or by lack of employment opportunities;

To maintain the health of the population through adequate public health measures and the safeguarding of workplaces, and by providing that all individuals have the opportunity to receive preventive and curative treatment.

Agreement with respect to such objectives should underlie and motivate all of the special international economic agencies that have been and may be created as a part of the peace settlement. We welcome the recognition of these goals by the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture and by the United Nations

Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, and we believe that such standards will be recognised by any other economic agencies which may be established in the future.

The collaboration of the International Labour Organisation in the pursuit of these objectives is vital, however. They are also the objectives of this Organisation. They are the objectives of most of the groups here represented. Few of us here, however, are technically competent to engage in discussions with regard to the stabilisation of currencies, to arrange international loans, to develop more efficient production of foodstuffs. But we do know whether standards of living in our countries or in the world generally are rising or falling. We can distinguish whether a technical economic device provided by some other agency is or is not designed to limit the production of a needed commodity, perhaps only for the purpose of creating greater profits than the necessity for a fair return on the investment required. The International Labour Organisation should appropriately discuss the various ways in which progress is being made towards the objective of freedom from want, and should be able to communicate its suggestions for the more effective pursuit of this objective to each of the technical agencies whose activities will be indispensable to its attainment.

A REVIEW OF PROGRESS

More than this, the I.L.O. is a suitable forum in which nations should review from time to time the total picture of their progress in social justice. When we set up a series of specialised technical economic bodies in the world, there is danger that we may lose sight of some of these basic objectives.

It is not our object to progress in identical ways in all parts of the world. In some countries, sanitation may be a prerequisite to progress; in others, food may be the greatest need; in others, housing; in others, a wider distribution of national income; in others, the stabilisation of employment. All that we are trying to do here is to set in motion forces throughout the world which will ensure that everywhere, year by year, in one respect or another, progress is being made towards these goals. Where, more appropriately than in the I.L.O., can these programmes and this progress be discussed and measured? The I.L.O. has always been a forum for the discussion of social conditions and economic problems affecting the well-being of the workers. The United States Government will propose at an appropriate time that this function be extended and formalised somewhat in this language:

The United Nations and such others as are willing to join us should agree to give information annually to the I.L.O. Conference in regard to the degree of achievement of the social goals they agree to set for themselves.

Such reports will be more fruitful if there is general agreement with respect to objective standards that should constitute the goals of economic and social policies, and if there is some uniformity in the compilation of information with respect to the extent to which these standards have been approximated. We shall therefore wish to recommend a formal undertaking to be adhered to in connection with the peace settlement, to develop, through appropriate international agencies, statistical measures, and to maintain statistical and other information bearing on the enumerated goals of social policy, as well as on employment, national income and the distribution of income. There should be close collaboration and full exchange of information between the I.L.O. and other international bodies established to promote economic advancement and social well-being.

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The International Labour Organisation has been and will continue to be a powerful instrument for social progress. I am proud to have shared in its work in recent years. It is an instrument through which labour and employers have a direct and continuing voice in shaping world social economic development, and as such, it will grow in influence in the years of peace that lie ahead of us, and for which we pray today, as we affirm our part and our share in making that peace a socially just peace.

Mr. George TOMLINSON, M. P., Joint Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Labour and National Service;
Government delegate, British Empire

The reports on items I and II cover a very wide field, and include subjects so diverse in character that it seems impossible to deal adequately with all the issues involved in a single speech. Moreover, in my opinion, the main object of this discussion is to enable the Conference to reach decisions on those issues which are of fundamental importance to the future of the International Labour Organisation. This being so, I have felt that it would be desirable, in the first place, to concentrate attention on the proposed Declaration concerning the aims and purposes of the Organisation.

Speaking on behalf of the British Government, I want to say that we wholeheartedly support the proposed Declaration.

A RETROSPECT

Looking back over the years, I think the I.L.O. has every reason to be proud of its achievements, for in spite of all the obstacles it has had to face those achievements have been real and substantial, and those who, in its inception, laid down the general principles for the purpose of guiding its actions built, perhaps, better than they knew. It is particularly appropriate that we should be considering, at a session of the International Labour Conference in the United States, the adoption of a Declaration concerning the aims and purposes of the I.L.O., for it was at a session of the Conference in the United States that a beginning was made in giving effect to the aims and purposes of the Organisation formulated in its Constitution.

That was a quarter of a century ago, a quarter of a century as eventful and as significant as any similar period in the history of mankind. It is right, I think, that we should consider the aims and purposes of the I.L.O. in the light both of its achievements during the past twenty-five years and of the demands that are likely to be made upon it in the future. In the years between the wars it may not have been able to realise all the hopes of its founders. It may have seemed to some to move too slowly, to others to move too fast. But it did succeed in building up an international labour code which, thanks to the extent to which it has been applied in the various countries of the world, has led to real reforms in labour and industrial conditions.

In its twenty-five sessions, the I.L.O. has adopted 67 Conventions and 66 Recommendations. The total number of ratifications of Conventions is now about nine hundred, some fifty countries

having ratified one or more. These are impressive figures, and they become more impressive when we try to picture all that they represent in the lives of the workers of the world. A Convention is not, and ought not to be, a document which is forgotten as soon as it is adopted. When it is ratified and applied, it translates itself into a real improvement in the conditions of the life and work of men and women. My own country has ratified over thirty Conventions, and those Conventions are fully applied in accordance with national legislation. In addition, effect is given to many of the provisions of other Conventions, either by legislation or by collective agreement.

The I.L.O. has no reason to be ashamed of what it has accomplished, for every Convention that has been ratified, every Recommendation acted upon, has meant a contribution to the well-being of mankind. But we should not be satisfied merely to regard with equanimity the results achieved. We must look to the future. We must consider whether the aims and purposes of the I.L.O. should now be restated in terms that take account of the experience of the past and the aspirations for the future.

THE SOCIAL OBJECTIVE

In Article V of the Atlantic Charter, the social objective of the United Nations has been epitomised in eight words: "Improved labour standards, economic advancement, and social security". Speaking in London, at the beginning of last year, our Foreign Secretary said, "We wish to see the I.L.O. become the main international instrument for giving effect to this social objective", and, when addressing the Governing Body later in the year, he further said, "Your Organisation will no doubt scrutinise plans for economic and financial reconstruction from the point of view of the social objectives at which you aim, and in doing this, you will help to make sure that we steadily pursue the road which the United Nations have chosen to travel".

In order to do this, it is not necessary for the I.L.O. to break with its past. Throughout its existence it has shown itself capable of adaptation to meet changing circumstances and to satisfy changing needs. It is a living organism, and like every living organism, it develops and evolves. It is in fact because of its resilience and vitality that it is desirable to examine its aims and purposes and to restate them in terms appropriate to the needs of the present day. I cannot refrain from recalling, when this is being considered, that the first draft of the Constitution of the I.L.O. was prepared in the British Ministry of Labour under the impul-

sion of George Barnes, and that a former Director of the I.L.O., Mr. Harold Butler, and our present Acting Director, Mr. Phelan, were on the headquarters staff at the time. That draft was submitted to the International Labour Commission of the Peace Conference in response to the demands of the delegates of the nations gathered at that Conference. The Commission met under the chairmanship of Samuel Gompers, and thus the I.L.O. was brought into being as a tripartite organisation, representative of Governments, employers and workers.

Looking over the general principles in Article 41 of the Constitution the other day, I was struck by the far-reaching nature of those principles and the clarity of vision revealed therein by their authors.

"That labour should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce" was laid down as the first guiding principle of special and urgent importance.

How fundamentally true was that statement has been more clearly demonstrated in my country during the past four years than at any other time in its history, and not, I venture to say, in my country alone. Had labour not been regarded as something other than a commodity to be bought and sold, it would never have been possible to harness it to the forging of a weapon by means of which the freedom of the world could be saved; and, on the other hand, had some nations not forgotten that it was something other than a commodity to be used for selfish and nationalistic ends, the world might have been saved or spared the travail of its soul. I am therefore glad that in the forefront of this Declaration comes the statement that labour is not a commodity. Equally, I think the necessity for emphasis upon the freedom of expression and of association being essential to sustained progress is well timed, for although we may sometimes cynically refer to committees of one as being the ideal arrangement, yet, in our bones, we know that in a multitude of counsellors there is wisdom, and only in the right of association, both of the employed and of the employers, can safety be found. But safety is not enough, and if the fight against poverty and want is to be won, not in one nation alone but internationally, then it can only be done, it seems to me, by the concerted action of representatives of workers, employers and Governments, enjoying equal status, meeting together for free discussion, and coming to democratic decisions.

No-one, I think, will quarrel with the Preamble to the Constitution of the I.L.O., that lasting peace can be established only if it is based on social justice; but even if this were not conceded, social justice in itself is surely a worthy objective, and therefore

the Conference will do well to affirm that all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity, and that the attainment of conditions in which this shall be possible must constitute the central aim of national and international policy.

It follows logically that it must be the responsibility of the I.L.O. to scrutinise international economic and financial policies, and in the light of its knowledge and experience, make representations thereon, when judgments have to be formed and decisions taken.

THE DECLARATION

In the forefront of the matters to which urgent attention should be given by the I.L.O., this new Declaration, I am pleased to see, asks the Conference to attach special importance to full employment and the raising of standards of living.

.....

If the I.L.O. had not existed, it would have been necessary to create it now, for the world needs more than ever it did an organisation which brings together the representatives of the employers and the workers of the freedom-loving peoples of the world, enjoying equal status with the representatives of Governments, to work for the promotion of the common welfare.

Not yet have we reached the end of the road along which, against our will, we have been compelled to travel, but, as and when we emerge again into the broad highway of peace, may the task of this diversion in human life and suffering remain in our hearts and minds, spurring us on to greater efforts in the cause of humanity.

As my Minister, Mr. Ernest Bevin, whose name is held in high regard in the circles of this Conference, said at the opening of the 91st Session of the Governing Body, "Victory, when it comes, will be a victory won by all the people and the peace that is made must be a peace for the peoples, one which has predominantly in mind the needs and hopes of the masses".

This Declaration which the Conference is asked to consider, the aims and purposes of the I.L.O., is in keeping with that statement. It restates in admirably chosen terms the fundamental principles on which the Organisation is based, and it records the developing responsibilities of the Organisation in working for the attainment of the social objectives.

I venture to express the hope this morning that the Conference will adopt that Declaration as it stands.

The Hon. John Albert BEASLEY, Member of the House of Representatives; Minister for Supply and Shipping; *Government delegate, Australia*

...I congratulate the Governing Body on the agenda for this Conference. It is important that the I.L.O. should now define clearly its future functions, and that it should take the initiative in having discussed some of the difficult problems associated with future international economic collaboration, including the employment problems of the post-war transition period.

.....

THE ELIMINATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT

I now come to what is really the first item on the agenda—that is, the future functions of the I.L.O. I wish to suggest that there could be no more appropriate organisation to help to carry out the tasks which an employment agreement would require to be performed.

Let me remind you that the stated objective of the Constitution of the I.L.O. is "the prevention of unemployment". In an address to the Overseas Press Club in New York in April 1943, the Australian Foreign Minister, Dr. Evatt, said there was little missing from the stated objectives of the I.L.O. "The only criticism I should like to make is that a negative attitude towards the problem of unemployment—namely, prevention of unemployment—is not adequate, and that this vital problem is better approached positively by emphasising the need for increased standards of living, better housing, increased production, and the like."

The report of the Acting Director of the I.L.O. made to the Conference of the I.L.O. in October 1941, states clearly what must be our primary objective. He observed that "the conclusion which has steadily emerged from nearly 20 years' experience is that labour legislation is not enough, that labour legislation in the old, narrow sense is only a very partial remedy for the social evils which the I.L.O. was created to combat". He then continued: "This then can be taken as the starting point, that future policy is to be directed to ensuring for the individual not only an improvement in conditions of labour, but economic security, without which it is now recognised there can be no fully effective implementation of social justice. Economic security, however, is not to be interpreted narrowly." Later, when stating more precisely a programme for the I.L.O., he placed at the top of the list the "elimination of unemployment". The very valuable reports prepared for this current

Conference make quite clear the interests of the I.L.O. in employment policies.

The Australian Government's attitude to the I.L.O. in relation to post-war economic collaboration has been clearly stated by our Foreign Minister. In an address in this country in April 1943 he said: "The acceptance and implementing of these obligations (principles of the Atlantic Charter) may require reconsideration of the forms of international organisation. I believe, however, that a valuable illustration of the organisation required is presented by the International Labour Organisation. Of that Organisation, most of the nations of the United Nations, including the United States, are still Members. In accepting the membership of the I.L.O., all the nations concerned undertook, as a matter of domestic policy, to pursue certain objectives relating to the conditions of labour. The Office set up the machinery by which the programme of the nations concerned towards the achievement of these objectives could be embodied in binding Conventions and provided machinery for international consultation and international law-making."

Having in mind the I.L.O., he went on to say: "I believe that some such form of organisation is capable of dealing with the type of problem I have outlined. If, for instance, the Governments of the major industrial countries undertook to maintain within their own sphere a high level of employment, an international body could be developed with power not merely to record the results of this policy in the various countries, but to provide the machinery required for the supervision of these international obligations."

The policy followed by the Australian delegates at the United Nations' Food Conference was stated as follows: "If it is ultimately decided that some additional international machinery is required, it is probably better to provide this by adding to existing bodies, such as the International Labour Organisation".

Following upon the recent Australian-New Zealand Conference, the Foreign Ministers of the two countries declared that the function of the proposed South Seas Regional Commission should include "presentation of a periodical report to an appropriate international body (for example, the International Labour Office) on labour questions".

THE ROLE OF THE I.L.O.

Our policy is, therefore, clear and of long standing. We wish to see the I.L.O. play a much greater role in the future in international economic collaboration, and, in particular, in maintaining high

levels of employment and consumption. We realise that the I.L.O. will have to be changed and extended, and we are prepared to assist to that end. Perhaps it should become directly associated or amalgamated with the Financial and Economic Section of the League, which has in the past done such valuable service in this wider field.

The I.L.O. has had considerable relevant experience. I have attached to this statement a summary of I.L.O. agreements on employment policy and employment statistics. This summary may not be complete, as it has not been checked by the I.L.O. officials, but, even as it stands, it presents an impressive history and one of which the I.L.O. can justly be proud.

If the I.L.O. were to accept these extra responsibilities, fundamental changes might have to be made in the basis of the Organisation. As you are aware, the I.L.O. owes its origin to Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles. Articles 387-427 contain the Constitution. This Labour Section was inserted in the Treaty largely as the result of the demands made by labour during the last war. Delegates of the workers of Allied countries met at Leeds in 1916, in Stockholm and London in 1917, and in Berne in 1918, and demanded that the terms of peace should "safeguard the working class of all countries from the attacks of international capitalist competition, and assure it a minimum guarantee of moral and material order as regards labour legislation, trade union rights, migration, social insurance, hours of work and industrial hygiene and safety".

The work the I.L.O. has been able to do in conjunction with the International Federation of Trade Unions and other international workers' organisations has been of great importance in the twenty-year period between the two wars. It would, in my view, be a great pity to do anything which would deny the opportunity the I.L.O. affords to employer and employee groups to put a point of view, or deny the Governments of the United Nations the opportunity to hear this point of view and seek advice and co-operation.

AN INTERGOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATION

At the same time, the tripartite basis of the I.L.O., which once was, and still is, appropriate and most beneficial in some fields, might be regarded by some as preventing the I.L.O. from performing just those tasks in the broader field which both employer and employee groups will find most beneficial. If the I.L.O. is to play its part along with other intergovernmental organisations now being set up, and to be an effective body in seeing that full employment policies are being followed, its status must be at the intergovernmental level. Mr. Valstar, the employers' delegate of the

Netherlands to the last Conference, observed: "It appears to me that the Governments, politically representing their people, cannot leave questions determining the future of their countries, their political relation with the other nations of the world, in the hands of tripartite sections of the International Labour Organisation".

What seems to be required is an intergovernmental organisation dealing with the broader problems. Employee and employer organisations should be closely associated with this intergovernmental body. The matter needs careful thought, but I believe that employer and employee organisations would welcome the setting up of an intergovernmental institution to carry out the purposes of an employment agreement.

Amendments to Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles must first be adopted by two thirds of the Conference, be ratified by the States whose representatives constitute the Council of the League, and by three quarters of the members of the League. It is unlikely that any significant amendments could be made by this cumbersome procedure in present world conditions.

In the circumstances, the only practical solution seems to be the creation of an International Labour Committee, having for its membership representatives of the Governments of the United Nations. To this Committee the I.L.O. would make recommendations, instead of to Governments, and decisions made by this Committee would be binding on Governments. Alternatively, the existing I.L.O. could be set aside by mutual consent, and recreated so that the Governing Body could be formed into an intergovernmental organisation. I have stated the problem and feel sure that the Conference is capable of finding the right solution.

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For this reason, I wish to put before the Conference a formal resolution:

That this Conference recommends to Governments that a conference of representatives of the Governments of the United, associated, and other Nations, willing to attend, be called at an early date, to consider an international agreement on domestic policies of employment and unemployment; and that this Conference pledges the full co-operation and assistance of the I.L.O. in calling such a conference on employment, and in helping to carry into effect any appropriate decisions it might make.

Colonel Pedro A. CHAPA, Adviser to the Confederation of Chambers of Industry; President of the Mexican Hygiene and Safety Association; *Employers' delegate, Mexico*

(*Interpretation*)

... A quarter of a century in the life of the International Labour Organisation proves not only its capacity to face the most serious problems which arise in the relations between capital and labour, but also the clear vision of its founders, who devoted themselves with enthusiasm to the creation of a vital and permanent organism. However, these twenty-five years of life have also proved that, like any human creation, it suffers from imperfections and deficiencies. These must be remedied, but of course only by those who have the legal power to do so, within the rules laid down by international law and the constitutional basis of the International Labour Organisation.

DISREGARD OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY

As a matter of fact, as the title of the first report shows, and as is corroborated by the text and the proposed resolutions, the report seeks to introduce fundamental changes, not only in the constitutional aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation, but also in its status in the international community, with an inadmissible disregard for the liberty and sovereignty of the States Members, thus creating a sort of super-State. And it tries to do this far-reaching task precisely at an unpropitious moment, previous to any peace conference, and, what is more serious, by the mere decision of an organisation whose powers and attributes are not those of a plenipotentiary body, but which was created strictly to bring about the establishment of fair standards in the relations between capital and labour, as a solid basis for social harmony and justice. No euphemistic mention of a social mandate, which has in fact no mandatory, will permit such action, since the International Labour Organisation is not and cannot be, actually or legally, a real State, much less a super-State.

This would seem to my mind to justify the amendment of the first item on the agenda, since the International Labour Office, let us remember, is still only an outgrowth of the League of Nations, resulting from an international treaty which can indeed be modified, but only by another treaty of like juridical nature, and entered into by the high contracting parties.

Therefore, I wish to recommend specifically the modification of the first point on the agenda, so that the Conference may take only decisions in accord with the Constitution of the Organisation.

.....

As for the proposed Declaration on the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation, I must say that exceeding as it does the sphere of competence of the Organisation, it attempts to place limitations on national sovereignty, not only with reference to relations between workers and employers, but also in the financial field. With regard to economic intervention, the tendency is clear in the reports which advocate control over financial and economic affairs, over the use of natural resources, the investment of savings, etc., and go so far as to ask for changes in the political constitution of the States Members of the Organisation so that they should admit as a matter of course resolutions approved by this institution. As a result, not only the texts but also the essential systems and bases of constitutional régimes would need to be changed, breaking down democratic traditions and systems in those countries which give the legislators the power to ratify or refrain from ratifying international conventions and treaties.

On the other hand, by attempting to impose on all nations those principles enumerated in the proposed resolutions, it sets aside Article 19, paragraph 3, of the Constitution, which takes into consideration factors of climate, imperfect development of industrial organisation, and other special circumstances affecting industrial conditions. The proposed text merely speaks of taking into account social and economic developments in each country, omitting the above-mentioned factors, and making an exception only in the case of dependent territories, about which much could be said.

.....

I do not wish to leave this platform without assuring the delegates of the high spirit of social progress which animates the employers of Mexico and which has inspired the above comments. I feel it is necessary to recall the profound words of President Roosevelt, speaking both of the present and of the future, when he said: "The United Nations are fighting to make a world in which tyranny and aggression cannot exist, a world based on freedom, equality and justice, a world in which all persons regardless of race, colour or creed, may live in peace, honour and dignity".

Mr. Robert J. WATT, International Representative, American Federation of Labor; Labor Member, National War Labor Board; Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office; *Workers' delegate, United States of America*

... Any hope of establishing an enduring peace depends on the courage and wisdom with which the United Nations initiate and operate economic policies for the attainment of social objectives.

It is, therefore, reassuring to read the many well-conceived recommendations submitted in the reports to this convention. It is encouraging to note the recognition of the need for co-ordinating the effort of the other international organisations which have been or may be established to operate in these specific economic, social and technical fields.

Of course, the I.L.O. should offer its services to any of the agencies established by the United Nations in order to help and stimulate full employment and the efficient balancing of supplies and services for the earliest possible rehabilitation of trade and industry, agriculture and finance.

At the same time, I think we must avoid making everyone's business our concern. If our efforts are spread over too wide an area of interest, our effectiveness would be likely to become quite remote. If too much scrutinising is done, the staffs of international agencies might become almost wholly occupied in mutual scrutiny.

Let us recognise that our first duty is to promote social justice, to improve the conditions of labour, to strengthen freedom of association, and freedom of expression, to reduce the causes of poverty and to enable people everywhere to improve their material well-being with both freedom and dignity.

It is true that the rehabilitation of agriculture, the fair distribution of oil, the establishment of international financing for reconstruction measures, the regulation of international transportation systems—all of them, each and every one of them, have an important influence upon the material well-being of all nations and all people. But I personally doubt whether such measures come within the scope of the primary concern of the organisations of labour and industry who are represented here. In fact, I am sure it will not be a primary concern if, as the American workers believe, the International Labour Organisation should become free and independent financially and not dependent in any way for its sustenance upon any other international agency.

I would suggest that the I.L.O. offer to make available to such international institutions the consultative services of this Organisation, and upon request, the appointment of a tripartite committee to advise upon questions involving conditions of labour, and to maintain co-operation with the International Labour Organisation.

If we seek to comment on and participate in the operations of other international institutions, we are quite likely to encounter reciprocal requests for participation in the International Labour Organisation. I believe the I.L.O. has grown in the respect of nations because it has concentrated on its own job and has not overreached itself. I believe that if each international institution has its own functions defined, its own responsibilities clearly marked out, its own staff occupied on its own work, that is the only feasible programme for the long-range development of the International Labour Organisation and other international institutions.

The reports we are discussing today contain many matters clearly within the immediate responsibility of the International Labour Organisation. The most important, in my opinion, is the recommendation that national policies be prepared on a tripartite basis within each nation, to lead towards full employment, social security, and rising standards of living. I wish greater space had been given to those matters along with an affirmative declaration that these measures should be undertaken now through tripartite advisory and operating agencies.

ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY

I do not believe that the International Labour Organisation would fulfil its function if no reference were made at so crucial a Conference as this one to the desirability of studying measures to promote full employment and social security. This is the time when the International Labour Organisation should be focussing attention on formulas, specific formulas for early enactment to ensure ourselves against the devastation of economic demoralisation after this war.

It is our job, our specific job, to remove the causes of economic injustice. It is up to us to remove the cruelty of exploitation. It is up to us to help create opportunity for men to live and work as self-respecting individuals. But we cannot create these opportunities by resolutions here in this Conference. We must concentrate our efforts on enlisting and guiding others to do this work, within every nation, within every community and within every industry.

I hesitate to subscribe without reservation to the opening paragraphs of section II on page 79 of Report II. I believe our primary concern should be with economic rather than with social repercussions, because our charter is fundamentally one which involves economic institutions. Trade unions are economic agencies first and social institutions second. It is my belief that an economic democracy inevitably and always will provide a sound foundation for social democracy.

A I understand the International Labour Organisation, we seek to attain social justice through economic democracy. If so, then we should concentrate on the attainment of economic democracy, confident that in its attainment we shall attain social justice. If we seek to reach our goal by any other route except economic democracy, I think we are out of character and acting without direction, road maps or equipment.

I suggest to those, and particularly to my friends from the Governments of the South Pacific, who recommend political machinery for economic problems, that they remember that out of the faded trappings of Versailles only the I.L.O. has endured. I believe it has endured only because it was conceived by the labour statesmen of that day and nurtured by the experience, the practical experience, of leaders of labour, industry and the State, and was not allowed to founder entirely and be bungled in the hands of politicians only.

As the United States workers' delegate and one of your elected members of the Workers' group on the Governing Body, I am confident that the ideals of Samuel Gompers, to whom the American labour movement and the I.L.O. owe so much, will continue to inspire the responsible leaders and members of trade unions represented at this Conference.

But none of us here can depend upon credentials for the fulfilment of our responsibilities. We are here as delegates to serve those whom we represent in our capacities as members of the International Labour Conference. The world of tomorrow will be the judge of our stewardship. It will not be the applause of today. The decisions we make today and the collaboration of tomorrow will determine how well we here have represented those whom we serve.

Workers of the United States seek to foist no ideology on other lands. We only seek to help to attain a just and enduring peace

through the removal of inequalities and injustices, through the removal of the hunger and desperation which breed wars. We propose economic democracy to this great International Labour Conference as the road to social justice because we believe that only through enlightened self-government can man attain justice, political, economic or social.

Prof. Bertil OHLIN, Member of the First Chamber of the Riksdag; *Government delegate, Sweden*

...It was inevitable that the second world war should put an end to much of the constructive work ... that had developed in the preceding decades. It is therefore all the more fortunate that the International Labour Organisation has managed to continue its work, with certain inescapable restrictions and limitations, and that owing to the hospitality of the Government of the United States, this Conference is able to meet. Some people might hold the opinion that it is premature to attempt so soon to undertake the work for which such a Conference is convened. I cannot share this view, for as the Chairman of the Governing Body, Mr. Carter Goodrich, said at the opening sitting, the questions and problems will not wait. They call for immediate attention and preparation, if action is to be taken in time.

The questions before us are nothing less than the following: What role shall the International Labour Organisation play when the war ends and thereafter? How can the Organisation be best adapted to the fulfilment of its tasks? Although the work of the International Labour Organisation has not been interrupted by the war, it is in a way a fresh start which has now to be made. It is natural, therefore, to look back on the development of the Organisation during the period between the two wars, and to try to learn from its achievements as well as from its short-comings.

Allow me to make a few brief observations about these lessons from experience. It must be obvious to any impartial observer that the International Labour Organisation has been highly successful in presenting the social point of view on problems of the day, and in making clear to a growing body of opinion in almost all countries the necessity for a progressive social policy. As an economist, I have long held the view that no policy which is socially unsound can be economically sound in the long run, if judged from

the standpoint of society as a whole. If this is now widely recognised, it is largely owing to the work of the International Labour Organisation. This institution has also through its staff been able to make the technical aspects of social policy the subject of expert examination. It has thus stimulated the work of this character in many countries and has lent valuable technical assistance to not a few of them. In my opinion, it is highly important that this work of the International Labour Organisation should continue and be further developed.

We cannot, however, fail to ask ourselves in what ways still better results than hitherto can be obtained by the Organisation. In the report by the Office on item I on the agenda, it is suggested that the International Labour Organisation should be free to study and scrutinise all international economic and financial questions and measures from a social point of view. I am in agreement with the general tendency of this statement. Indeed, I have long felt that it would be desirable that in the work of the International Labour Organisation more attention should be paid to the economic basis of social policy than has sometimes been the case. I therefore welcome the discussion of some aspects of economic policy that appear in the report on item II. I note with special satisfaction that the importance of an expansion of world trade for the policy of raising the standard of living is duly stressed. Nothing can be more true than the statement that each country in its own interests should take into account the probable repercussions of its actions in this field on conditions elsewhere.

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The delegate for the United States, the Honourable Frances Perkins, has suggested that some Recommendations could well be varied in accordance with the economic conditions in different regions. This question is as difficult as it is important and deserves the closest attention. For industrially backward countries, a progressive industrialisation in the wide sense of this term, and the establishment of good working conditions, are necessary conditions of higher standards of life. It is important, therefore, in the formulation and realisation of social policies to avoid measures that are out of line with the basic factors of production in such countries and which might thus hamper the process of industrialisation and economic development in general.

CONTACT WITH OTHER INTERNATIONAL BODIES

Some questions concerning the organisation and structure of the International Labour Organisation and its relation to other

international bodies have been raised in the report on item I. These questions are both far-reaching and difficult. One thing, however, is obvious. The I.L.O. has an important role to play in the international work of reconstruction after the war. Therefore, measures to guarantee sufficient contact with other international agencies are required. One way of doing this would be to let the International Labour Organisation have non-voting representatives on other international bodies or committees whose work might have social implications. It would be premature, however, to determine today in detail what the formal relations of the International Labour Organisation shall be to these other institutions, some of which have only recently been organised, while others are in a stage of preparation. Measures that would prejudice a rational solution of this problem are not desirable.

Another question of organisation that deserves attention is due to the tripartite principle on which the International Labour Organisation is based. This makes it impossible to provide formal representation for certain categories of employees, for instance, salaried employees and independent workers, and for large groups of the agricultural population. A day will come when a radical revision of the structure of the International Labour Organisation in this respect will have to be considered. In the meantime, it might be wise to study the advisability of giving to categories of employees other than those represented by the international trade unions an opportunity of having their problems analysed by special permanent commissions, and also, perhaps, by special conferences.

It is the opinion of the Government I represent that these and other related problems, relating to the structure and organisation of the I.L.O., should be the subject of careful study after the preliminary discussions at this Conference, and that the various Governments should have an opportunity of considering them before decisions are taken at a later date. Such a procedure would be in accordance with the traditions of the International Labour Organisation.

One little observation can perhaps be made concerning methods for giving to the Recommendations of the International Labour Organisation their maximum influence on social policy and social attitudes in the world at large. I cannot but feel that it would contribute to this result if efforts were made to limit to some extent the length of the Recommendations, avoiding anything that might by a critic be regarded as a repetition of self-evident statements. Sometimes the weight of each sentence in a resolution is in inverse proportion to the number of sentences.

Turning now to the technique used in the formulation of the international Conventions, I notice that, on the one hand, it has certain advantages if these Conventions are fairly explicit and contain detailed regulations; on the other hand, such a procedure makes it difficult for countries to ratify the Conventions, if they have adopted somewhat different methods of social policy, which may be regarded as equally satisfactory from a social point of view. To overcome this dilemma, one might consider the creation of an institution within the International Labour Organisation, which can judge whether social legislation along somewhat different lines from that embodied in a Convention, is on a comparable social level or not. If the answer is in the affirmative, the country in question would be able to ratify the Convention.

I have offered these suggestions in the conviction that everybody is anxious to preserve the many strong qualities of the International Labour Organisation while endeavouring to reform and revise wherever reform has proved desirable.

Before concluding, let me say a few words about a most important question that has been the subject this morning of a highly interesting statement by Mr. Beasley, the Government delegate from Australia, namely, the problem of the co-ordination of general economic policy in various countries...

While it is fairly obvious that the International Labour Organisation cannot act as such a co-ordinating agency, covering the whole financial, economic and social field, it seems to me to be equally clear that pending the creation of some other means of co-ordination, the International Labour Organisation would do well to make special efforts to keep in as close contact as possible with all the other international bodies in this field. Important studies of problems relating to employment are made, for instance, by the economic and financial organisation of the League of Nations.

Allow me to illustrate the need for such contact with other international agencies. Should the supply of raw materials after the war be the subject of regulation, through existing allied institutions or a new international organisation, it is important that the International Labour Organisation should have the opportunity of stressing that the execution of the employment programmes of the different countries will be impossible without an ample supply of raw materials. Availability of such materials after the period of transition is, as a rule, best guaranteed to every nation simply through the absence of restriction schemes. A policy of restriction with regard to raw materials is incompatible with a policy of expanding employment. The International Labour Organisation

should, as I have said already, have the opportunity of expressing its opinions on such questions effectively and at a sufficiently early stage. It is not through artificial chalk lines, limiting in detail the activity of each international institution, but through the co-ordination of the work of all these institutions, that the task of social and economic reconstruction can be fulfilled.

Mr. Adrien TIXIER, Commissioner for Social Affairs;
Government delegate, France

(Interpretation)

...What part will the International Labour Organisation be called upon to play in international action for world economic and social reconstruction? That part can be, and must be, very great if the Organisation possesses the necessary means of action.

In this respect the Office has presented to the Conference some very important plans and programmes which deserve close study.

First of all, I would like to point out that the Office has made no proposal which would tend to modify the tripartite structure of the Organisation. Agreement is unanimous that this tripartite structure—which was in the past, and will be in the future, the source of the extraordinary vitality which the Organisation has shown since 1920—must be maintained. Participation, side by side with representatives of Governments, of representatives of organisations of workers and of employers, brings home to the people the need for and the methods of international co-operation; it gives rise to frank and direct exchanges of views, and to the serious examination of the manifold aspects of social policy. This tripartite structure must be maintained.

With regard to the functions of the Organisation, the Office proposals deal, in particular, with the admission of States to membership, budgetary autonomy, and competence in the economic field. My experience of twenty years in the life of the International Labour Organisation enables me to say that the proposals on these three questions are not inspired by dogmatic or juridical considerations, but are based on long years of practical experience.

The autonomous admission of States to membership of the Organisation, through a vote of the Conference, is not a fundamental innovation. This procedure has already been applied.

Several countries have become Members of the Organisation through a decision of the Conference.

Budgetary autonomy seems to be mainly a matter of practical necessity for the Organisation. It is perfectly normal that the same authority which decides on the programme and activity of an international institution should be responsible for deciding on the amount of the financial resources required to carry out the programme. It is true that States which pay contributions to a number of international institutions show a legitimate desire to be able to foresee the total amount of the financial contribution which they will have to bear. This problem might easily be solved by a body for budgetary co-operation, consisting of representatives of the governing bodies of the various international institutions.

The definition of the competence of the Organisation in the economic sphere raises more complex problems which will have to be examined in the light of some obvious and fundamental considerations. It is indisputable that there is a close connection between the problems described as social and those described as economic. It is indisputable that social policies and regulations have important economic consequences. It is indisputable that economic regulations and policies exert a considerable influence on standards of living, employment opportunities, conditions of employment, and the social security of the masses of the workers.

Therefore, it seems clear that the International Labour Organisation should have the right and even the duty of examining, on the one hand, the economic aspects of social problems, and, on the other hand, the social aspects of economic problems.

Because of its tripartite constitution and its methods of operation, the International Labour Organisation seems to be particularly well suited to become the international centre for the discussion of the questions raised by the relation between economic and social matters, it being clearly understood that one of the essential purposes of economic organisation is of a social nature.

I am well aware that on these problems there may be various opinions and attitudes, and that controversies may arise. But I consider that the time has come to face these opinions and these attitudes frankly.

At a time when the prospects of victory are growing clearer and when the problems of economic and social reconstruction may arise at any moment, the International Labour Organisation must prepare itself to play the part which will be entrusted to it.

I hope that the general discussion will bring out the guiding principles which are to govern the work of the committees which

are to be set up to examine the reports of the Office on the first two questions on the agenda.

I hope that after a detailed and thorough examination of those proposals, the committees will submit to the Conference conclusions on these fundamental problems.

I hope that the Conference, manifesting its traditional spirit of decision, and conscious of its responsibility towards the expectant peoples, will adopt a substantial programme which will set forth the main lines of the fundamental principles of world economic and social reconstruction, and which will define the great part which the International Labour Organisation is to play in that work of reconstruction.

Mr. Mariano BUSTOS LAGOS, Minister of Labour;
Government delegate, Chile

(Interpretation)

I wish to reaffirm in the name of the Chilean Government our cordial attachment to the International Labour Organisation, and the great appreciation that we feel for its work in the interests of the social and economic improvement of the working classes.

In spite of all the difficult circumstances through which we are passing, the International Labour Organisation has succeeded in maintaining its activities, and has not only maintained the social conquests already achieved, but is also striving, as the present meeting shows, to bring about a post-war world built on the basis of social justice, to assure an adequate share for the workers in the enjoyment of the spiritual and material benefits that they have contributed in so large a measure to create.

This institution embodies one of the happiest conceptions of the democratic world. The Government of President Rios, which I have the honour to represent, is happy to be able to collaborate in this institution with other peoples who are engaged in a decisive struggle for the triumph of freedom and justice.

I fully share the point of view expressed by other delegations, that it would be useful for the International Labour Organisation to contribute, with its technical experience, to the framing of the great principles of social order that should figure in the making of the peace treaties that will terminate the present conflict. In this way we shall gain in efficiency, and we shall attach the importance that they deserve to those important matters, without the

effective consideration of which the future peace will lack all human significance, and will bear within it the seeds of social and political conflicts.

The principal statesmen of the Allied countries, among whom President Franklin Delano Roosevelt of the United States occupies a prominent place, have repeatedly manifested their intention of so doing, and it will be a satisfactory way of carrying out this delicate task to do it through the intermediary of the International Labour Organisation. The Atlantic Charter expresses the same ideals, and it has been a great pleasure for my Government to adhere to it.

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In regard to Report I, respecting the future policy, programme and status of the International Labour Organisation, apart from a few details which we shall mention in due course, the Government of Chile agrees that the Organisation should be given full political, legal and economic autonomy as regards its present links with the League of Nations, so that it can develop its important functions under its own authority and without hindrance.

The Chilean delegation notes with pleasure that the draft Declaration referring to the aims and objects of the International Labour Organisation, in enumerating the political and social matters which on account of their special importance should receive urgent attention, mentions expressly the problems relating to housing and nutrition. These are questions that vitally affect all peoples and, in particular, those of America; they have been and still are the object of deep preoccupation in the national and international field. Many countries on our continent have enacted legislation for the solution of these problems and have adopted economic and administrative means to this end.

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On these two points the Chilean delegation suggests that the Declaration concerning the aims and purposes of the Organisation should emphasise their predominant importance in any policy of raising the standard of living of the population.

Our delegation also considers that the paragraph relating to social security in the Declaration should incorporate the essential principles of Resolution I of the first Inter-American Conference on Social Security held in Santiago in 1942. That resolution brings into correlation economic and social policy, defines the functions of social security, and acclaims them as a continental programme and an object of world aspiration.

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Mr. Joseph HALLSWORTH, General Secretary, National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers; Member of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress; Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office; *Workers' delegate, British Empire*

... Those of us who spent a good deal of time between the two wars in connection with the Organisation, in Geneva, will remember that in the early days of the Organisation it was confronted with problems not of its creation, but problems which arose out of the last war and in the period immediately after the Organisation had got to work. In consequence of the position with which the Organisation was faced at that time, in the early 'twenties, it was found that a great portion of the work to be done was work that might properly be described as "ambulance" work—work which, though important and in some ways far-reaching in its application, fell far short of the programme outlined in its Constitution. Why was this so? I think most of us who can look back to those times will remember that it was inevitable, as long as political policies, national and international, were pursued with little or no real regard to their economic, industrial and social consequences.

Governments went their own way and scarcely ever took into consultation the organisations of workers and employers. Time and time again in Geneva, I myself, in the Conference, have drawn attention to the fact that as long as the organisation of workers and employers were ignored, or not taken fully into confidence, not only in the application of measures that had already been conceived but in the conception of those measures, then the work of the Organisation under whose auspices we are meeting today was bound to be frustrated and negatived at different points. Therefore the I.L.O., based on the tripartite principle, was submitted to the handicap imposed by proceedings elsewhere, which determined and deterred and slowed down the pace of social progress.

I would not like the Conference to infer from what I have said that the achievements of the International Labour Organisation are not significant; on the contrary, they are strikingly manifest. Indeed, not only has a fine labour code been built up over the twenty years or so between the two wars, but the direct implementation of that code, in large degree, and the indirect influence of the Organisation have made a vast difference in the lives of great numbers of people in many lands.

Having said that, I think we must realise that the results could have been greater had it not been for the handicap to which I have referred. It is because of that fact, because it is vital that the

mistakes of the past shall not be repeated in the further stages of the present war and in the post-war period that we, the workers in this Conference, welcome the Declaration in the text before the Conference.

Let us realise that this Declaration is not only the real basis upon which the work of this Conference entirely depends, but that the whole future of the I.L.O. will be determined by its wholehearted adoption and, what is more, the unequivocal application of its principles. I think it would be difficult to overemphasise the importance of the Declaration at this crucial stage in human affairs.

THE TRIPARTITE PRINCIPLE

This Declaration starts off by telling us that the principles embodied in it should inspire the policy of the Members of the Organisation, and, indeed, if the principles embodied in this Declaration did not inspire the Members of the Organisation and their policies, then our meeting here in Philadelphia would have been in vain. And I am glad that in the very forefront of this Declaration, emphasis is laid upon freedom of expression and freedom of association, which have been said to be essential to human progress.

Well, there are countries in the world today, some of them sailing dangerously, denying freedom of association and freedom of expression of opinion. I would ask them to take warning. There can be no real freedom in the world, this war would have no meaning at all, were it not a war for the right of the human being to assert himself in all the affairs of life that concern him. Freedom of association is the very rock upon which this Organisation has been built and on which it must stand. Therefore, we assert in this Declaration that freedom of expression and freedom of association are precious things without which this Organisation cannot function.

But, having said that, the Declaration also says that the war against want requires continued and concerted international effort, in which the representatives of workers and employers, enjoying equal status with those of Governments, join with them in free discussion and democratic decision, with a view to the promotion of the common welfare. I was dismayed this morning when I heard a representative of a Government, and a Labour Government, come to this rostrum and say, in effect, "Let us abandon the I.L.O. in its present form and set up some other organisation in its stead, which shall be an intergovernmental organisation", thus denying the virtue of the tripartite principle. I, for one, do not subscribe to that proposed change. In my opinion, it would lead us back to

the days between the two wars when those political policies of which I spoke were pursued without reference to the organisations of employers and of working people.

This Organisation cannot live, and, I predict that no other organisation that can be set up now can live, which denies the right of the workers to be in at the start of any measures which are designed to encompass this policy of peace and prosperity. Therefore, in contradiction to what Mr. Beasley had to say, I hope this Conference will reassert the vitality of the tripartite principle, extend the powers of the Organisation and give it the necessary staff and equipment, without which the increased work which falls upon it even today and which will fall upon it tomorrow cannot be effectively done.

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The Declaration also provides for the co-operation of the International Labour Organisation with other international bodies. Some of the international bodies that are being set up may have but a temporary life, and it is important for us that when we are considering our relationship with these other bodies we should keep in mind that ours is an enduring organisation. There is no term of life assigned to us except as individual human beings; to the life of the International Labour Organisation there is no limit. We shall therefore declare our competence in all these fields that concern us, not only in the war period and in the immediate post-war period, but also in so far as these organisations also affect the continuing life of the International Labour Organisation in the ultimate post-war period.

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I hope the Conference will wholeheartedly carry this Declaration and that then it will go on from the carrying of the Declaration to its implementation in the various ways that are set forth in this document in other places and in other documents before the Conference.

Colonel Aristide ANTOINE, Former Vice-President of the Association of Producers and Distributors of Electrical Power; *Employers' Delegate, France*

(*Interpretation*)

... French employers, who have never ceased to co-operate in the patient and effective work of the International Labour Office, will contribute to the best of their ability to the work of this Conference. For in order to accomplish successfully the great task with which it is faced, France needs a programme, a technique and an ideal.

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French employers . . . are counting upon the work of the committee or committees which will deal with general social problems and discuss the social aspect of economic problems in order to find new and constructive ideas.

This common task, these technical directives, this solemn affirmation of a high social ideal and of the will to carry it out, which constitutes the best message from Philadelphia, from the International Labour Conference of 1944, to the invaded peoples must bring to these peoples . . . a fresh proof of that international solidarity to which they are deeply attached.

Mr. Gunnar ANDERSSON, Joint President of the Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions; Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office; *Workers' delegate, Sweden*

...In my country, we have had, since 1927, an institution built on the same principles as the I.L.O. It is called, "Delegation for International Collaboration in Social Questions", and all questions relating to international collaboration in the social field are referred to this tripartite body. Is it not conceivable that similar institutions could be set up, in the different countries, and given a say in the application of social legislation? Thus, even where the workers' organisations are weak, their representatives would undoubtedly be given a certain authority...

...At the same time as the powers of the I.L.O. itself to supervise the observance of the Conventions are strengthened, concrete proposals should be made on the lines I have suggested. I am quite aware that the balance of power on the labour market of which I have spoken must be the creation of the parties themselves and not of the I.L.O., but, nevertheless, we here should stress how desirable it is.

I speak as a representative of the Swedish trade union movement, which in its own name, and in full agreement with the employers' organisations, rejects any intervention by the State in its particular field of work. But my reason for speaking is that the I.L.O. cannot ignore conditions in those countries where the trade union movement is weak. If a system can be introduced to promote due observance of legislation, it should also be possible, in framing international legislation, to pay more attention to principles and less to details which often result in the inclusion of clauses that later prevent ratification and make it more difficult to reach the desired uniformity.

Dr. J. van den TEMPEL, Minister of Social Affairs; Representative of the Netherlands Government on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office; *Government delegate, Netherlands*

...With the principles submitted in this respect in Report I, the Netherlands delegation, generally speaking, agrees. The conception of the future status of the International Labour Organisation and its policies is inspired by a broad vision of the subject. How these principles are to be applied is, naturally, a matter for further discussions.

In these years of functional approach to the problem of world order, as set forth in Report I (page 22), the way in which the I.L.O. adjusts its relations with the established and yet-to-be-established international organisations is of the utmost importance for the definite forms of international co-operation in the period of renovation which lies before us. It will be necessary in this respect to take into account that eventually the several international organisations will have to be brought under one roof; that there will be one integrated authority. The ultimate object should be "a comprehensive and integrated structure of the world institutions". In any event, the I.L.O. should from the beginning be acknowledged as the competent official international authority for social affairs in any international field of activity, a kind of international department for social affairs.

The aspiration of the I.L.O. and its Labour Office, as it is outlined in Report I, to create satisfactory forms of co-operation between the various existing international bodies and those still to be founded, in my opinion, far exceeds a simple effort to define and consolidate the sphere of influence of the I.L.O.

The Labour Office quite correctly feels that in this connection a fundamental question is at issue, namely, to what extent the free organisations existing in democratic communities, such as, in the first place, the organisations of workers and of employers, shall be integrated when executing the contemplated and unavoidable work of economic, financial and social international reconstruction. This problem is a fundamental one for the future of democracy and of the democracies.

In Report No. I, the matter is set forth as follows: ordinarily, the organisations of employers and workers will have no direct representation in the new instruments of international co-operation. Under these circumstances, this representation should be effected by the I.L.O. The I.L.O. is the only official international organisation of a purely tripartite character, and its natural aim is the promotion of social interests.

In this respect, we have to appreciate the significance which the Labour Office apparently attaches to the statement that it will be a "responsibility of the I.L.O. to scrutinise all international economic and financial policies and measures in the light of the fundamental objective of economic and social security".

This conception of the place of the I.L.O. in the field of international reconstruction is perhaps slightly different from the one which came to the fore at the Conference in New York. At any rate, this one is, in my opinion, a more correct one. In this many-sided work of reconstruction, a division of responsibilities and assignments will be necessary. Broadly speaking, therefore, the I.L.O. will have chiefly a threefold duty.

In the first place, it will have to discharge its own specific task in the field of social affairs, taken in a wide sense, thus to realise a social programme such as is outlined in chapter III of Report No. I. This is, in a literal sense, its own basic field of activity and responsibility.

In the second place, the I.L.O. will have to establish closer relations of mutual co-operation between the I.L.O. and other international bodies.

In the third place, the Conference will serve as the forum of representative world opinion on the whole of economic and social policy.

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Meanwhile, it is possible that among leading statesmen, financiers, economists and businessmen in the several countries, persons may be found who, while ready to accept the I.L.O. as a social institution, regard the many-sided activities of the I.L.O. in the field of economic and financial affairs, in the form in which they are now being drafted, with some misgivings. The remark which I now take leave to make is equally directed towards them.

The future many-sided activities of the I.L.O., outside the social field proper, are not only necessary to make certain that in all action in the economic and financial sphere by the designated international organs the ultimate social aims will not be lost sight of; contact and close co-operation is essential for the I.L.O. also to enable it to fulfil its important task in a practical manner.

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Sir Samuel RUNGANADHAN, High Commissioner for India, London; Representative of the Government of India on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office; *Government delegate, India*

... I welcome, and in this matter I speak with the authority of the Government of India, I welcome the proposal to reaffirm in the form of a solemn Declaration the fundamental principles on which the International Labour Organisation is based. Article 41 of the Constitution affirmed the principles which have been the guiding policy of the I.L.O. during the past quarter of a century and which have stood out in our respective countries as a goal to the attainment of which we all aspire. But with the lapse of time, it is necessary to reaffirm those principles, not only because by doing so we bring again into prominence a statement of policy which all must recognise as a means of establishing, in the words of the Atlantic Charter, "peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want", but we must reaffirm them also because it is necessary to specify those principles in greater detail, and to add, where necessary, matters which progress in our social thinking has shown must necessarily be included in any statement of social policy. It is right and proper that the reaffirmation of the principles should be in the form of a solemn Declaration, and that the Declaration should be accepted by all Governments as the goal at which they must aim. But just as in Article 41 it was recognised that "differences of climate, habits and customs, of economic opportunity and industrial tradition make strict uniformity in the conditions of labour difficult of immediate attainment", so it is necessary in our Declaration to make it clear that it is a target which it is desirable that all countries should reach as quickly as possible, but which, owing to those differences, some nations may take longer to attain than others. As I have said, the Government of India welcomes the framing of this Declaration and consider its adoption at this session most opportune.

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... The policies followed by the Asiatic countries, with their vast agricultural population, should be such as will ensure that the standards of living of those masses are raised, and that that large body of persons become, as they should be, large consumers of the world's productive capacity, which we know is fully adequate to meet all requirements.

It is only thus, in my opinion, that we shall be able to absorb the world's maximum production. If we are to succeed in raising the per capita income and standard of living of those large masses, we can only do so by increasing employment, and we shall need the assistance of men of goodwill throughout the world.

It is here that the I.L.O. has, to my mind, a definite duty. It has a duty to ensure that the principles which it enunciates are secured. It is its duty to ensure that at all international conferences, with whatever subject they may be dealing, the main ultimate objective of securing, in the words of the Atlantic Charter "improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security" is kept prominently before those responsible for settling the policy of those conferences.

That is, the I.L.O. must take on, as suggested by the British Foreign Secretary, the duties of an organisation responsible for the implementation of Article V of the Atlantic Charter. It must be the watchdog in the world of international policy in the interests of social policy and full employment.

It is, however, necessary, that the I.L.O. should be careful how it performs this duty. It has a right to ask to be present at all international conferences at which economic matters are discussed, as such matters must necessarily have a bearing on social policy and full employment.

The Governing Body has already secured for us representation along these lines in the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, and we must continue to press for further representation on other bodies.

But the I.L.O. should not ask to be allowed itself to make decisions on economic and monetary matters—to do so would be to go outside the field in which its unique structure makes it peculiarly competent to take decisions. The duty of the I.L.O. in relation to economic, monetary and cognate matters, is to point out through its representation at international conferences—and the nature of the representation would vary with the nature of the conference—the probable effects on social policy and full employment of the proposed decisions. It is the duty of the I.L.O. to point out those effects fearlessly, recognising its responsibility. It is its further duty to take cognisance of such decisions, whether in Governing Body or in full Conference, and to ask where necessary for a joint discussion in some form of subcommittee, where this seems necessary.

But it should go no further and should leave the final decisions to those who by their experience are fully competent to take them.

I have just referred to the unique structure of our Organisation. I mean, of course, its tripartite constitution. I regard this as the essence and the strength of our Organisation, and as the main reason why it has been able to hold its own through the years and perform work of such value to all peoples.

Therefore, while I agree with the Government delegate from Australia that full employment must be the cornerstone of any post-war policy, I would regard it as a step both retrograde and inadvisable that our Organisation should, in effect, as he proposes, abdicate its tripartite function and hand over a policy in regard to which it has already, as he has shown, done much in the past, to a body composed solely of Government delegates.

It remains for me to mention briefly two further proposals which it is hoped will increase the influence of the I.L.O., and help it in carrying out its objectives. I refer to the proposals for industrial committees and regional conferences. I welcome in principle the proposal for industrial committees, and I share the view of those who hold it important to enlist "that most powerful bond of unity between men and women which comes from working in the same industry or occupation". I cannot, however, see any advantage in discarding our tripartite organisation in the creation of such committees. There may be some technical matters which are better considered by employers and workers together, without the presence of Government representatives. But, if so, as the Office suggests, tripartite industrial committees should, in such matters, operate through bipartite subcommittees.

REGIONAL CONFERENCES

The Government of India also support in principle the proposals for regional conferences, and are in favour of holding an Asiatic regional conference as soon as conditions permit, though details will need careful consideration. They believe that such a conference will be of value in co-ordinating progress, in pooling experience and in mutual discussion of difficulties...

...Our present Viceroy, Field Marshal Lord Wavell, has already, in one of his recent speeches, stated that he places the task of social reconstruction as one of the immediate aims of his policy. India, therefore, recognises the problem it has to face, is thinking for itself and making plans under the guidance of the general policy laid down by the I.L.O. But the Government of India support the proposal for regional conferences because they believe that such conferences of Asiatic peoples (whose importance to the whole future of the world, as I have stressed in the earlier part of my speech, is so very

great)—these conferences of Asiatic peoples must be useful in giving guidance as to the manner in which those parts of the policy of the I.L.O., which cannot at once be carried out in their entirety in Asiatic countries, can be so adapted as to secure the maximum progress towards the end which we all desire—the provision and maintenance of full employment and full security for the whole population of all countries of the world.

I conclude, therefore, with the hope that in spite of minor differences of opinion, the present Conference will unanimously accept the solemn Declaration which has been placed before it, as one embodying the future policy of this great Organisation, and one which might well be regarded as a world charter of social rights for the peoples of all countries.

Mr. Paul van ZEELAND, former Prime Minister;
Government delegate, Belgium

(*Interpretation*)

...The I.L.O. has given proof of its value. It has twenty-five years of experience behind it. It has gone through many difficulties, including a serious crisis at the beginning of this war, and it has come out of them honourably. The results of its work are to be found in the laws, in the customs and in the institutions of every corner of the world.

Now the time has come to strengthen its means of action and broaden the part it has to play. This broadening can be done in three ways. First of all, its activities will have to be extended to cover all workers—factory workers, agricultural workers, commercial workers, intellectual workers, independent workers.

Secondly, its competence will have to be extended not only to questions directly related to labour, but to the whole network of social problems which directly or indirectly influence the welfare of the working masses. And, thirdly, it will have to be recognised that social problems cannot be solved fully and enduringly unless account is taken of their causes and effects in the economic and even in the political field.

There is no question of making the I.L.O. leave its proper field, nor of loading it with duties which it would be unable to perform. Political problems and specifically economic questions will always remain outside the field of the Organisation. They must continue

to be handled by special institutions with the appropriate means of action. The necessary distinctions, of course, are not always easy to make. That is not surprising; the phenomena which reflect the life of human communities are part of a single reality, but they have different aspects, which must be distinguished. The International Labour Organisation is competent in the social field, but it must take into account actions and reactions in other fields, particularly in the economic field.

We must therefore envisage an expansion of the role of the International Labour Organisation. One practical conclusion to be drawn is that the Organisation should be given the necessary means to carry out its expanded duties. It must have all the privileges and priorities necessary, and any suggestions made to that effect should be adopted without demur.

It is strange that after twenty-five years we should have to insist on such obvious matters. That an institution in which delegates of Governments, employers and workers discuss and settle the problems which affect the masses throughout the world should not have all the material facilities possible is not only strange but contrary to common sense.

The same comment might be made on the financial resources of the Office. Between the budget of the Organisation, even adjusted to the wishes of its most ardent champions, and the activities which the Organisation ought to carry out there is an enormous disproportion.

AUTONOMY OF THE I.L.O.

But behind these questions, the answers to which are obvious, there is one of vital importance: should the Organisation be autonomous or independent, should it be isolated? Or, if not, what should be its place in the whole complex of international institutions?

The International Labour Organisation has always been an autonomous institution. It was attached to the League of Nations by close and organic links, but it had its own Constitution and its own methods, adapted to its particular purposes. Experience has shown that it has a vitality which has enabled it to pursue its work, to act and to assert itself while the League remained in the shadows. This autonomy has proved its worth, and it must at all costs be maintained. There might even be serious arguments for increasing it, in budget matters in particular, and it would be desirable for the I.L.O. budget to have a fixed basis, whether in the form of a definite figure or of a percentage, so as to avoid uncertainty and

useless discussion. But neither isolation nor absolute independence or detachment are desirable; on the contrary.

I should like here to extend the range of my remarks and make something of a general survey.

Anxiety about the post-war period is, after the determination to attain victory, the chief preoccupation of both peoples and Governments. The studies, the hopes and the suggestions in which this anxiety is reflected still show some confusion of ideas and dispersal of effort. But a certain number of ideas have ripened and some guiding principles have been laid down on which there is growing agreement between various groups.

Moreover, important and solemn acts have been accomplished by the United Nations which are so many landmarks on the path of the future. I see some indication of the tendencies which are being shaped towards a new conception of international relations. As the basis, the national States will be maintained. Their domestic role will not be diminished. At the apex, a central organism will carry on the grouping of the United Nations and will take up again the universal tasks which were those of the League of Nations. But between the two, a whole series of intermediary organisations will be set up to carry out tasks more limited in their scope or object.

Among these some will be functional and will be organised in vertical form. These will deal with certain definite subjects, broad but precise, and they will cut across all frontiers. Some have been set up already, such as the U.N.R.R.A., or the Permanent Organisation on Food and Agriculture, and others are in preparation, such as the proposed monetary organisation.

But aside from these vertical bodies, there will be other bodies which will be regional groups, whatever may be the nature or the type of cohesion between them. Many tasks which are too much for national States might be carried out by varied and flexible regional groups at various levels, before having recourse to a central body.

But if this is the case, and if intermediate groups are formed, the need for a central organisation will be urgently felt, and one of its chief tasks will be to ensure co-ordination. Personally, I would not insist on any of the details of the system I have sketched briefly, but I hope that some such system will become a reality in the near future.

In such a system, the place of the International Labour Organisation is obvious. It will have the social task which I have described. Special institutions will deal with specifically economic, financial,

intellectual and other aspects of community life, national and international. There will be co-ordination at various levels.

In the first place, the I.L.O. will bring out the social consequences of all important measures planned in other fields. Secondly, it would be wise to develop an idea which is already in process of becoming a custom. The I.L.O. has sent representatives as observers or advisers to other organisations—for instance to U.N.R.R.A. and the Santiago Conference. This practice should be made general. Reciprocity should be established on the widest possible scale, and, in this way, the viewpoint of others will be expressed at the very inception of the measures for which the different organs are responsible.

And, finally, the central organisation will be responsible for the political aspects of general problems and, particularly, for the protection of peace, and will ensure co-ordination in essentials.

I should like to say one more word in this connection. In the past, the International Labour Organisation has always held a special and an eminent place. This will be the case tomorrow, even more than it was in the past, because the purpose of the Organisation—the improvement of the conditions of life of the masses—is close to the final purpose of human activity: fulfilment in the greatest possible measure of the physical and spiritual aspirations of mankind.

Mr. Walter Richard SKEELES, Vice-Chairman of the Association of Chambers of Commerce; *Employers' delegate, Union of South Africa*

...The failure of the I.L.O. is proved not only by the terrible suffering of this present war, but by the worse suffering of the unemployment before the war that was the cause of this great calamity. There is the proof of failure. And I say that the failure is not due to the incompetence of the officers or of the organisation of the I.L.O., but because the scope of the I.L.O. was restricted to such an extent that it could not possibly function to the limit demanded by the needs of humanity.

We are now asked to extend the scope of the I.L.O.; and I say that if we fail to do so we fail humanity. If the spirit of the Atlantic Charter means anything at all, it means that nations shall meet together in a spirit of mutual helpfulness, and not in the spirit of getting the better of each other, and in an atmosphere of destructive competition.

.....

...We have never yet attempted to work out a technique for full employment under free enterprise, combined with the necessary wide area of Government employment. And I say that it should be the task of the I.L.O. to work out that technique, as we are doing in our separate nations, trying to do so ourselves, and that we should contribute the result of our efforts to the I.L.O., so that it could pool all the knowledge available upon this important subject and give guidance to each Member State upon this all-important matter.

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I am pleased to see that the I.L.O. now wishes to be, and intends to be, the watchdog over international finance. But I ask for more—I ask for much more. I ask that it should also give advice and guidance to the Treasuries of every Member State, that it may let the Ministers of Finance in every Member State know what financial measures are necessary to achieve the full development of their resources and the full employment of their peoples.

I do not say this from any academic point of view, but because I myself have run up against the difficulty that proposals have been made to effect employment or to develop resources, and the department concerned with that development and with that employment has been frustrated by the ignorance of Treasury officials and Ministers of Finance, who have refused the financial facilities necessary for the carrying out of those important and necessary schemes.

I say that it is essential that the I.L.O. should be the watchdog of international finance, which does not mean, indeed, that the I.L.O. should control international finance; but it means that it should carefully scrutinise every measure for control of international finance, and do it from the point of view, not of an institution out for gain and greed, but from the point of view of an institution whose purpose it is to serve humanity, to achieve full employment, and to increase the standard of living in every country.

I consider that the I.L.O. is ideally constituted to serve that task; and I ask that this Conference affirm the proposals in Reports I and II.

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Mr. Jan STANCZYK, Minister of Labour and Social Welfare; Representative of the Government of Poland on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office; *Government delegate, Poland*

...For the International Labour Organisation to continue to exist as a living and creative organisation, its adherence to a system of international co-operation based on the tried and tested principles of democracy is vital. Within such a framework, all nations, great and small, would have equal rights, and all would conform to the first three points of the Atlantic Charter:

Their countries seek no aggrandisement, territorial or other.

They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.

They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live, and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

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THE I.L.O. AND ECONOMIC PLANNING

If the International Labour Organisation is to achieve these aims, it must avoid the error made at the time of its inception, namely, the elimination of general economic problems from the scope of its research and activities. For the problems of labour are indissolubly linked with general economic policy. Social

progress cannot be realised against a background of depression. Full employment, on the other hand, cannot be considered an essentially economic problem, nor can its achievement be deemed an essentially economic success. It is also a social aim towards which we must strive, if need be, at the expense of certain narrow and shortsighted group or class interests.

The founders of the I.L.O. unfortunately denied it the right and the means to operate in the field of general economy. What, then, can the I.L.O. do to promote social progress when it has neither the right nor the power to plan and help organise the wealth and means of production of the nations which it represents?

I am firmly convinced that the problem of full employment, a decent standard of living and adequate social security will evade solution without the backing of an international economic policy inspired by social motives. The I.L.O. should not be limited to the role of an auxiliary agency devoted solely to the promotion of labour legislation. It must become a vital factor in an economic democracy of world-wide dimensions, animated by social and humanitarian ideals.

The co-operation of the I.L.O. in the elaboration and execution of international policy is not enough. The extension of its activities to all matters of economic policy must be achieved. The I.L.O. must participate in general economic planning while it prepares its own economic plans, in order to ensure its influence on the problems of labour, social security and general social progress.

The only international organisation representative of Government, management and labour, the I.L.O., is well tooled for such an undertaking. Along with such organisations as the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, the United Nations Organisation on Food and Agriculture, there is certainly a place for the I.L.O., which might well be that of a central planning and co-ordinative agency for economic projects. The I.L.O. could easily play such a role, for its goal has always been social progress, which, with cultural progress, is the only worthy aim of contemporary human society.

The I.L.O. must broaden its scope sufficiently to enable it, as a result of this Conference, to assume its rightful place in the discussion of social and economic problems at the peace table. Thus, we should avoid the pitfalls of the Treaty of Versailles, which separated economic questions not only from problems of international security but from social problems as well.

We here take it for granted that the international organisation of the world and the sum total of its economic and social problems are closely bound together. We should therefore have little diffi-

culty in accepting the fact that economic and social security are similarly bound. The international labour charter which will be included with the peace treaty can be secured only if it is part of an international economic charter.

In these times of hitherto unforeseen technical progress, the coexistence of economically developed areas with backward areas, of rich lands with poor lands, is approaching obsolescence. Although economic collaboration and exchange of goods is vital to a poor and backward country, both rich and poor nations, developed and undeveloped areas stand to profit from such co-operation.

The general proposals contained in the reports of the International Labour Office are a good beginning towards broadening the base of the I.L.O. They will have to be discussed in committees which will translate them into more concrete terms. They will provide the basis for the contribution of the I.L.O. to the construction of the new world.

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It is our duty today to formulate the scope of the future activities of the International Labour Organisation and to outline its role in the preservation of lasting peace. We can do little to alleviate the suffering of those who perish to secure victory and freedom for us all, but let us remember their words, recently transmitted to us from a prisoner in one of the most terrible concentration camps in Poland:

We shall not get out of here alive. We shall never see the happy world, the vision of which has been drafted by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill in the Atlantic Charter. We shall die here in humiliation on these rotten litters which serve as our couches. But we shall die quietly with firm faith in the better future of mankind. We are convinced that our sufferings have not been in vain and that the new world towards which mankind advances, not only through bloody struggles and battles but also through the tortures of a concentration camp, will be a world of liberty for all and of social justice for all.

Mr. Vicente LOMBARDO TOLEDANO, President of the Confederation of Latin American Workers (C.T.A.L.);
Workers' delegate, Mexico

(Interpretation)

This is perhaps the most important meeting of the International Labour Organisation, for in the gravest crisis in mankind's history it looks to the future as no other gathering has done. Therefore, the decisions of this Conference must take their inspiration not only from the experience of the last quarter century, but also from the pressing needs of all the people and all the peoples of the world.

We know well that there are not and cannot be uniform solutions for the problems of all countries, because not all have reached the same level of economic and political development. But we hold forth the hope that there shall be for all minimum guarantees for their material and social progress which will constitute the historical outline for the post-war world, broadening and enriching the democratic way of life as the universal standard of government.

The workers of Mexico and of the other Latin American countries have a paramount interest in the principles of an international political order based on universal liberties, on social justice, and on the progress of all peoples, because without these norms as the basis for the future world, no-one can aspire as a person or as a nation to solve his own important problems satisfactorily. But since we are convinced that these universal norms not only have already been formulated but will have to be lived up to, we wish to use the floor of this important gathering to explain, in the most schematic manner, the desires and the demands of the Latin American workers and also the demands and the desires of our peoples, because, more than ever before, the interests of the working class are intimately linked to the interests of the other social groups of our countries, to such a degree that for us there exists no difference between the solution for the workers' problems and the solution for the problems of our nation as a whole.

It is for this reason that we speak, thinking only of the great unsolved problems of our fatherlands, thinking exclusively of the progress of our peoples as indivisible entities; thinking of the future of the new generations of Latin America and of the complete realisation of the ideals which inspired the founding fathers who won the independence of our nation.

We do not aspire to anything extraordinary, to anything new, or to anything approaching the establishment of Utopia. We wish nothing more than to emerge from these historically backward

periods in which we live and to become a part of modern society, to enjoy the benefits of civilisation within a plan of continental and world harmony in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter, which exemplify the ideals which have inspired the struggles of our peoples for their economic and cultural well-being and for the emancipation of their countries.

We wholeheartedly subscribe to the proposals concerning the reorganisation of international economic policy and the social norms for the establishment of peace which the International Labour Office has drafted for this Conference. To prepare and propose a better world order, directed towards the realisation of the social objectives which the United Nations have proclaimed in the Atlantic Charter and through the International Labour Office, is the supreme objective of this assembly, and that is as it should be.

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Mr. D. G. MULHERKAR, Secretary, Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry; Secretary, All-India Organisation of Industrial Employers; Employers' adviser, India

Let me begin my remarks by complimenting the International Labour Office, which has, under the able direction of its Director, presented to us a large number of very full and informative reports on questions of vital importance to the progress of the world.

It is really a matter of deep satisfaction to me that the I.L.O. is quite alive to the changing conditions of the world, and wants to reformulate its future policy, programme, and status, in the new perspective of a rapidly changing universe. In formulating that policy, the report presented by the Office on item I lays emphasis on the Four Freedoms proclaimed by President Roosevelt in January 1941. It deals prominently with the principles enunciated in the Atlantic Charter.

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History has unfortunately provided ample proof that unless exploitation of weaker nations is put to an end by concerted international action, wars will continue to prevail among the great Powers, with the resultant destruction of which this generation

has had sufficient experience. It is in the recognition of this truth, that the cessation of the exploitation of the weaker people is a prime factor in the perpetuation of peace, that our great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, the great apostle of universal brotherhood, has put forward his pacific creed for the settlement of all disputes between the "haves" and the "have-nots". Unless the I.L.O. is rooted in the principle of freedom from exploitation, all its efforts, I am afraid, are doomed to disappointment.

With reference to the Mutual Aid Agreement, which the I.L.O. has invoked in this connection, I would like to point out that Article VII of that master agreement deals with the "elimination of all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce, and the reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers". The Agreement, unfortunately, does not take note of the special circumstances under which a country like India, for instance, has developed or hopes to develop its own economy. In India, we have not made any appreciable progress—compared to the progress in the United Kingdom or in the United States of America—towards the industrialisation of the country, despite the fact that nature in its bounty has given us enormous resources in raw materials—both agricultural and mineral—unlimited manpower, and considerable finance; and in spite of the fact that there is an ardent desire for intensified industrialisation among the public. I do not want to refer here to the factors that have been responsible for this position, which you all know. Besides, this is not the forum to discuss those things.

Having regard to these limitations in the Mutual Aid Agreement, I cannot understand how the I.L.O. can expect its Member States to maintain full employment and a rising standard of living. We have a population of 400 million. Out of this, scarcely 3 million were industrial workers in the pre-war period. During the war, the number has no doubt nearly doubled itself, largely as the result of the establishment of munitions and armament factories. Some new industries have also come into existence to meet other war requirements.

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Mr. Carl Joachim HAMBRO, President of the Storting;
Government delegate, Norway

... The Norwegian Government, from the very inception of the I.L.O., has given it its warmest support and fullest collaboration; and the Norwegian Government is prepared to extend this collaboration and to give to the International Labour Organisation every opportunity of extending and broadening its organisation.

So I have no hesitation in declaring that when the United States Government's representatives in the International Labour Organisation put before the Conference the recommendation outlined in the carefully scrutinised and exquisitely worded address by their eminent Secretary of Labor, they will have our wholehearted support. My Government also shares the views so appealingly set forth in the message from the President of the United States to this Conference. It is mentioned here that the Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, has already publicly announced that the Government of the United States is now working on plans for an international organisation to maintain peace. He has also referred to the "economic and other co-operative arrangements" which must be made in order that the peoples of the world may "have the opportunity through their own efforts to improve their material condition". As part of these plans and international arrangements, the President sees in the I.L.O. "a permanent instrument of representative character for the formulation of international policy on matters directly affecting the welfare of labour and for international collaboration in this field".

The Norwegian Government gladly welcomed the President's initiative in calling the conferences at Hot Springs and Atlantic City. And I feel, with Sir Frederick Leggett at the London session of the Governing Body, that it is natural for the Governing Body to congratulate itself on the fact that all the countries which are fighting the war together have united their efforts to solve the problems of reconstruction.

But entirely natural as it is that the International Labour Organisation should be willing to give all assistance to these efforts, it is even more necessary that the new bodies created should want to benefit from the vast experience of the existing international agencies.

May I add in this connection that some delegates seem to be under the misunderstanding that the League of Nations has ceased to function. There is no factual background for any such misunderstanding. The Governments of all the United Nations have appealed to the League during the last few years as eagerly as ever before; just now, all those Governments have appealed

to the Health Organisation and to the Economic Organisation of the League to do the work which they alone can do and which at the present time is needed in all the occupied and liberated territories, both in the East, in Africa, and in Europe.

The enormous problems confronting us call for co-ordination and not for fragmentation in the international field. That is one of the reasons why it is particularly fortunate that the Labour Conference should have met at this time.

My Government regrets that it did not seem feasible to hold this Conference at an earlier date. It attaches great importance to a speedy return to the constitutional practice, that there should be a conference at least once a year and regular sessions of the Governing Body. It is fully prepared to pay its share in the increase of expenditure which will result, just as we are prepared to pay for the increase which will follow the adoption of the resolutions and Recommendations put before the Conference.

THE I.L.O.'s STAFF

For a number of years too grave a responsibility has been weighing on the Acting Director and his collaborators. It is thanks to his energy and the loyalty of his staff that it has been possible to carry the International Labour Organisation through this long crisis. But the future of the I.L.O. will depend upon its usefulness to nations and its standing with Governments. The importance of such an organisation is measured, not by the output of documents, but by the quality of its work, and to ensure that quality, a certain procedure has been laid down in the Constitution and in the Standing Orders.

It has always been felt that if the Recommendations of the I.L.O. are to have any real effect, they must not only be carefully prepared and well considered, but must also reflect the general opinion of the States Members. But during these years, it has been very difficult and sometimes impossible to circulate to Governments the summary reports required in Article 6 of the Standing Orders of the Conference and the questionnaires that should collect the raw material needed for Conventions and Recommendations; so this Conference finds itself in some difficulty when it has to pronounce on matters which have not been subjected to that careful national scrutiny and discussion which should give direction and guidance to national delegations.

The very lifeblood of the International Labour Organisation is the constant interchange of ideas and opinions between workers, employers and Governments and the fresh impulses coming from the men and women experienced in practical life and taught in

the school of hard reality. For too long a period, the staff of the I.L.O. have not had free access to their sources of incitement and information. The work they have been able to accomplish under these conditions and have put before this Conference gives evidence not only of ability and of hard work but also of an enthusiasm that has overcome great difficulties.

The Director and his collaborators have not hesitated to discuss even questions so difficult and complicated that Governments, with all their machinery to aid them, have been reluctant to take decisions. In some cases, we are invited to express a clear opinion on problems which have been studied by the Governments of all the United Nations, who have at their disposal all the documentation which we miss. While admiring the political and financial intrepidity of the brilliant writers of reports, I cannot help feeling that it has been unfair to give them a task which neither they nor we have had the time or the factual information to accomplish to our full satisfaction.

In the building up of all the new organisations, there may be a danger of establishing an international bureaucracy, aloof from the turmoil of practical problems and safely enthroned behind walls of paper, running the risk of constantly falling a victim to the occupational disease of all bureaucracies, a slowly developing, fact-proof mental arteriosclerosis. I mention this because the Director of the International Labour Office, when he is going to extend his staff, will be faced with a grave difficulty. He will be in need of new functionaries, and at the same time, he, more than any other administrator, will be under an obligation to keep open the posts of the men whose contracts have been suspended because they have gone into the armed forces of their countries.

The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and the Permanent Administration for Food and Agriculture also want new international functionaries, a few thousands of them. Where can they be found? Let us beware lest we fill our ranks with those who have not suffered, who have not sacrificed, who have not been through the hell of war, of blitz and occupation. If we hope to solve the problems of the years to come, we cannot build only on those who have been privileged, secure, and at a safe distance. We need those who have felt the highest tension of life and death, who know ruined homes, starving mothers, tortured brothers.

My Government feels that some of the documents put before us seem to indicate that they have not been prepared by people to whom the war is a daily exposure to death at every moment, that something is lacking that is vital to us...

His Excellency Dr. Ivan V. SOUBBOTITCH, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary; Permanent Delegate of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia accredited to the International Labour Organisation; *Government delegate, Yugoslavia*

(Interpretation)

The position which Yugoslavia has taken on the two questions on the agenda which are under discussion is not an accident. This attitude is merely the continuation in the Conference of the attitude of confidence which my country adopted towards the International Labour Organisation from the beginning, and which it has maintained throughout a quarter of a century of the Organisation's existence.

We are among those who believe that social and political institutions, both national and international, should secure the well-being, the liberty and the happiness of the vast masses of the people. We have always followed this principle, and we have considered that the International Labour Organisation is not only a technical instrument for the settlement on the international level of certain questions arising in the labour field between workers and employers, but we have seen something very much greater in this Organisation. We have regarded it as an institution through which the social conscience of the world is given expression, and which must formulate the principles of social justice and secure their application. We are therefore very happy to find here that this view is shared by the various speakers who have spoken in this meeting. The discussions which we have heard here yesterday and today have demonstrated that this view of the fundamental role of our organisation is shared by the other delegations present here.

This, in itself, is a very positive result of our meeting. The fundamental question which is the heart of our discussion—what is to be the future role of our Organisation?—is now receiving a clear answer. I think therefore that I am in agreement with the other speakers if I say that the function of our Organisation must be a double one: first, the Organisation must remain the machinery for the study of labour problems in the international field, and, secondly, it must be the authorised collaborator with other international economic and political institutions, with the responsibility for watching over the interests of the workers, and thus becoming the voice of the social conscience of the world.

In this general discussion, we are not discussing details and examining texts, but we are considering fundamental ideas. I

declare that the Government I represent associates itself with these ideas. In particular, I am ready to accept the Declaration concerning the role of the Organisation, which is the first draft resolution in Report I.

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Mr. Jamnadas MEHTA, President, Indian Federation of Labour; President, All-India Railwaymen's Federation; *Workers' delegate, India*

I rise to support the solemn Declaration that has been under discussion for the last two days, and I hope the Conference will adopt it unanimously. But first I wish to pay my tribute to the I.L.O. for the excellent, learned, studious reports which they have written and which speak as if the voice of reason were speaking to us. Their literary merit is also an additional recommendation.

All of us, I take it, have studied this solemn Declaration. It is nothing more nor less than a happy blending of the Four Freedoms of President Roosevelt, of the main articles of the Atlantic Charter, of the decisions of the New York Conference of 1941 and the hard-learned lessons of the depression period between the two wars. It reflects the determination and the resolution of the working class of the world, as also of the statesmen of different nations, within the last four years, about social policy.

There is therefore nothing that need deter us from accepting it. If it is accepted, it will constitute not merely a solemn Declaration, but also a solemn covenant between the free nations and it will besides represent the social conscience of this Organisation. After its acceptance and implementation, this Organisation can claim to be the moral sovereign of the world.

But while great is the merit of this document, and confident as I am that we shall accept it, I am appalled by the magnitude of the responsibilities which devolve upon us in implementing it. Let not our actions belie our words. Let us be as good as this solemn Declaration that we are going to pass.

Without it, disappointment will stare us in the face, and the success of the I.L.O. will not be greater than it has been in the past. A third world war will be a distinct possibility if this solemn Declaration remains on paper only and if it is merely a pious declaration of hopes and aspirations, unsupported by serious and tireless energy in implementing its various paragraphs and articles.

It was not for want of an excellent and inspiring preamble or Article 41, that the world had to face another war. And if the implementation of this Declaration is going to be as anaemic, as weak, as halting, I am sad to confess that I at least believe that a third world war cannot be avoided.

It is therefore not merely a solemn Declaration, but one which entails very solemn obligations on all of us both in this hall and outside, upon all free nations, and upon the Members of this Organisation, to see that we follow it up with actual results in our respective countries, helping each other in carrying out whatever may be requisite under the conditions prevailing in our respective countries.

The many Conventions of this Organisation have not eased the situation. Even the United States and the United Kingdom have still not carried out many of the obligations resting on them. The position of other countries in the Western Hemisphere is weaker still, but in the continents of Asia and Africa, even the beginnings of the application of the main principles of the I.L.O. are still to be made. Remember that every three men out of four in this world are Asiatics. You have fifteen hundred millions of the population of the world whom the benefits of this Organisation have reached only very meagrely, if at all. You have, therefore, to extend your arm and your hand of assistance to these countries of India and China and to many more in the East and in the African continent.

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Mr. Luiz Augusto de REGO MONTEIRO, Director-General of the National Department of Labour;
Government delegate, Brazil

(Interpretation)

Once more the International Labour Organisation revives constructive ideas of social peace. A quarter of a century has already passed since the pioneers in the great crusade met on the hospitable soil of the American Republic. Today, in an epoch no less anxious, when the brutal force of tyrannical fury is hardly beginning to decline, when the defenders of justice spill their blood on the fields of battle, to ensure a more humane and a happier civilisation, humanity, overwhelmed by terrible sufferings, sees again the eternal light of the spirit.

By a happy coincidence, encouraged by the hope of ensuring the victory of right, we meet in this city where, in times gone by, there resounded the call of American liberty. In Philadelphia the modern world received its heritage of a new democratic conception of society and of a political constitution which inaugurated an epoch and which crystallised the century-old aspirations towards civic liberty and participation of the people in government. New roads were thus opened to political evolution.

This Constitution, the solemn declaration of which was formulated under the influence of an atmosphere similar to that which we breathe today, and under the inspiration of disinterested conceptions of justice, has, according to Tocqueville and Boutmy, introduced among the legal creations of our civilisation one of the most original, unexpected and admirable innovations in the history of public law—the Supreme Court, set up as interpreter of the political charter and defender of the constitutionality of law. It is not only a symbol but an institution of the highest intellectual significance, guaranteeing to the people the predominance of legal order over arbitrary rule and affirming the supremacy of law over secondary and ephemeral interests.

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Attentive to the call of social justice, we all aim at raising the working classes out of the undeserved misery in which they have been plunged, owing to the disequilibrium between capital and labour. Since the beginning of the International Labour Organisation, Brazil has given its support to the task of redemption in which it is engaged.

Of the institutions designed for international understanding, and whose origin goes back to the end of the first world war, the

International Labour Organisation is the only one that has survived and offers possibilities of objective and efficient action. The secret of the vitality of this Organisation in the face of so many failures consists, I think, in the fidelity with which the International Labour Organisation has defended principles and has not served changing interests. Devoting itself to the application of ethical legal standards for the protection of the human element—the creator of wealth—the International Labour Organisation has ensured its survival and its universality. Its prestige and range will be the greater the more it keeps to this line in its social and international activities.

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We agree, indeed we demand, that the International Labour Organisation should remain faithful to the ideals that have inspired it, and recognise the moral value attached to human labour, individual liberty and equality of the sexes. We ask the I.L.O. to add all the other principles which give value to our Christian civilisation and which are the basis of the dignity of the human person, without distinction of race or belief—principles which offer to all the indispensable means for the realisation of their aspirations and their full moral and material development. We must also, as a consequence of this affirmation, approve the extension of the competence of the International Labour Organisation to economic and financial problems. As expressly admitted by the Conference in New York in 1941, this extension constitutes an essential condition for the solution of the social problem, as it is determined by the intimate relationship that has been instituted between the two positive values which form its essence—justice and labour.

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The new studies of international economic phenomena proposed by the International Labour Organisation can only bring the most fortunate results. The Organisation would thus usefully expand its activities by extending its functions in a manner all the more efficacious and practical because it would take greater account of the reality of social facts. What is, in fact, co-operation? It is only the result of conscious efforts centred on a common idea, but with each contributor keeping his own independence—hence the necessity of not diminishing the creative role bound up with the existence of independent political units. It must also be remembered that great social efficacy results from national idiosyncracies and from their preservation.

In conclusion, I agree with the apt phrase of the eminent Belgian statesman, Mr. van Zeeland, who declared with profound objectivity that while it is true that the reconstruction of the world

will be based on international collaboration, it is none the less true that national States are and will continue to be the basis of all international organisation. Convinced of the rightness of the social tendencies of modern international law as opposed to the isolationism of the autarchic empires, we affirm our favourable attitude to the draft Declaration on the policy, programme and status of the International Labour Organisation.

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Dr. Jorge FERNÁNDEZ STOLL, Director-General of Labour, Ministry of Justice and Labour; *Government delegate, Peru*

(*Interpretation*)

...Peru ... believes that, simultaneously with the continued adoption of all nations of the social security measures to be recommended by the I.L.O., it behooves us all to study and practise ways and means of fostering that type of international trade which, by broadening the markets for raw materials, as well as manufactured goods, will give rise to a high level of production, with better nutrition, better housing, better clothing, more leisure and better education for all the peoples of the world.

.....

As regards the future status of the I.L.O., and the respective positions of Governments, employers, and workers, we are entirely in agreement with the views advanced yesterday by the workers' delegate for the United States, Mr. Watt, since the tripartite organisation is our best guarantee of social progress.

I cannot close these remarks without expressing my emotion upon finding myself in this Conference room, in the presence of this notable assembly, which includes men and women to whom humanity owes so much because of the selflessness with which they have devoted their lives to the ideal of improving the conditions of working men and women throughout the world. Peru, which is devotedly doing its share in this great movement, deems it an honour to pledge to this Conference its fullest support.

Mr. Ervin HEXNER, Professor at the University of North Carolina; former Executive Director of the Union of Czechoslovak Steelworks; former Member of the Executive Board of the Czechoslovak State Railways; *Employers' adviser, Czechoslovakia*

The privilege of participating in the work of the International Labour Organisation and thus taking part in the promotion of universal social progress is a great honour for the entrepreneurs of invaded Czechoslovakia.

There is little doubt about the reasons which prompted the International Labour Organisation to reconsider the fundamental principles on which its organisation and operation are founded. The social functions which it is the task of the economic process to perform are now better realised and more emphasised than ever before. An additional reason for that reconsideration of aims and implements is the fact that there is no universally recognised agency which has comprehensive jurisdiction over international economic policies. It will command general assent that, even without a reinterpretation and extension of the present jurisdiction of the International Labour Organisation, fruitful work on social policies implies investigation of underlying economic problems. Otherwise, all pertinent efforts would be doomed to failure. However, many who are deeply interested in the efficient and harmonious operation of the International Labour Organisation will ask themselves whether or not the suggested extension of the jurisdiction of the International Labour Organisation may cause the introduction of many highly controversial economic issues into its sphere and whether such an extension may deflect this Organisation from its primary objectives, determined by its Charter.

No specific assurance is necessary that the prevailing part of the entrepreneurs of Czechoslovakia will wholeheartedly co-operate in economic measures serving social progress. For them, the designation "private entrepreneur" will more than ever imply social responsibility to their nation and to the international community as well.

Mr. Salvador OCAMPO PASTENE, Assistant General Secretary of the Chilean Confederation of Labour; South Pacific Section, Latin American Labour Federation (C.T.A.L.); Member of the Chamber of Deputies; *Workers' adviser, Chile*

(Interpretation)

... An effective solution of the problems discussed by the I.L.O. can only be achieved by the closest possible union between all countries engaged in the present war against fascism, and I should like to see all the United Nations take part in future meetings of the I.L.O., including the U.S.S.R.

Mr. Francisco TRUJILLO GURRÍA, Secretary of Labour and Social Welfare; *Government delegate, Mexico*

(Interpretation)

... The Office has described very fully and admirably the various ideas which have been germinating around the Organisation since before the Conference held in New York in 1941, and I do not think that the drafts it proposes can be substantially altered. There is no doubt that the events resulting from this most terrible of all wars point to the need of amplifying the general principles of our Organisation in future and giving it a structure which will enable it to exert its action more effectively during the immediate post-war period and after the peace, which we all hope will be a permanent one.

My country is in agreement with the revised declaration of principles proposed by the Office. We consider it indispensable that this should be incorporated in the provisions of any general peace settlement, and we also think that, just as it is proposed to recommend to States which are about to reform their constitutions that they should take into consideration the Conventions and Recommendations of the International Labour Organisation, the necessary reforms should also be introduced so that the revised principles of the Organisation may be embodied in the constitutions of all countries. In this way, the peoples will have a firmer guarantee and a better possibility of defending those principles against any danger.

Generally, therefore, the proposals put forward by the Office ought to be approved, since they embody a noble and generous vision of the world of the future. My Government, for its own part, wishes to see the structure of the Organisation improved and its independence increased, and also desires that it shall derive greater strength from greater universality, that is to say, from the presence of all the nations of the earth with equal representation and equal political status, whether they be great or small. We want all, absolutely all, nations to be independent in their sovereignty on the one hand, and universally interdependent on the other.

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We should impress on the consciousness of the masses that no man living, in whatever part of the world, should feel satisfied unless he is contributing consciously, definitely and effectively to the conquest of the supreme liberties: freedom of conscience, freedom of thought, economic freedom, and the right to social well-being, which is the ideological basis of the International Labour Organisation.

Mr. LI Ping-heng, Permanent Delegate of the Chinese Government on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office; *Government delegate, China*

(*Interpretation*)

Speaking for my Government I endorse the general principles set forth in Reports I and II. Aiming at the attainment of social justice, these lofty principles, if carried out in full, will no doubt implement the Atlantic Charter for which we, members of the United Nations, are all struggling. It should be the obligation of every country represented at the Conference not only to endorse these principles but also to carry them out as far as possible.

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With regard to the proposal made in the report for extending to Asia the activities of the International Labour Organisation, I wish to express my complete agreement. For a number of years, it has been observed with regret that in spite of our wholehearted and loyal support of the ideals and operations of the International Labour Organisation, this Organisation has not yet produced its fullest effect in most parts of Asia. One of the chief reasons, I may say, lies in the fact that insufficient attention has been given to the social and economic background and special circumstances prevailing in that part of the world. Consequently, any regional study and specific solution of the regional problem which tends to reinforce the principle of universality of the Organisation, instead of weakening it, would doubtless satisfy the deep aspirations of the millions of people of Asia, as well as enhance the spiritual and practical value of the International Labour Organisation. In accepting the principle of regional organisation, I should like to add that in view of the wide extent of the war in that part of the world, it is not opportune to hold any such regional conferences during the progress of the war. However, it is not undesirable to make factual studies of those problems and the manner in which they may be satisfactorily solved at an early date; so that when an appropriate moment presents itself, we may call an Asiatic conference without further delay.

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We are now gathered to deliberate on the principles and proposals which will be looked upon by many people with aspirations. May I say that the final aims of all the proposals and policies, social or economic, national or international, must be the attainment of social justice and welfare for all mankind. Failing this, all our deliberations here will be fruitless. At this crucial moment,

when the Axis is declining and the Allies are on the offensive, it is all the more important that we all should understand one another and join our forces. Let us all contribute whatever we have. Then our victory will be surer and sooner, and the International Labour Organisation will attain its aim and purpose the sooner.

Mr. Percy R. BENGOUGH, President, Trades and Labor Congress of Canada; *Workers' delegate, Canada*

The future policy, programme and status of the International Labour Organisation is, in our opinion, the most important question for consideration and decision that is before this Twenty-sixth Session. One section of the Constitution of the I.L.O. states that universal peace can be established only if based upon social justice, and that conditions of labour exist, involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people, as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled, and an improvement of these conditions is urgently needed. This statement, made in 1919, is even more significant in 1944, and the ideas expressed must be fully recognised now, if permanent peace is to be attained.

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The International Labour Organisation has the confidence of the people of the world, to a greater extent than any other international agency that has been, or can be, devised. The I.L.O. has demonstrated its possibilities—there is no time, nor is it necessary, to experiment now in the endeavour to form another international organisation to do the great work that has to be done. But, if we are sincere and determined to rid this world of fear and want, we can give to the International Labour Organisation the finances and authority it needs for its successful operation and for the achievement of the greatest and finest objective of mankind—the establishment of universal peace, based on social justice and economic security.

The workers of Canada wholeheartedly endorse the proposed Declaration concerning the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation, as these are set out in the report now under discussion.

Sir John Ballingall FORBES WATSON, Director of the British Employers' Confederation; Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office; *Employers' delegate, British Empire*

This is the twenty-first consecutive International Labour Conference at which I have had the honour and privilege of representing the employers of Great Britain. I do not claim for one moment that length of service is a certificate of being able to give the best advice. On the contrary, I never felt more than now that those who come to this Conference for the first time, unbegged by all that procedure we have built round about us, see things more clearly than the old-stagers do. But no-one can have been here the length of time I have been, and no-one can have been in the centre of all the controversies all these years, as I have been, without having at least some ideas and some convictions.

I would therefore like this morning, if I may, frankly, sincerely, and, I hope, briefly, to make my contribution to this important Conference by passing on from my experience the thoughts that are in my mind.

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Meanwhile, with regard to the other eight resolutions, I will confine myself to saying that, although there are certain points and principles in these long documents which I think this Conference ought to deal with, the great bulk of these proposals are more appropriate for being dealt with by the Governing Body. There is only one other thing I would like to say before I come to our Declaration. It is about finance. There is no resolution about finance; but there is in chapter VI of the first book, what I would like to describe as a most brilliant exposition by the Secretary-General of this Conference, upon the principles which have in the past guided, and the proposals he has for guiding in future, the finance of this Organisation.

But there are no figures about finance in the book and I want to say here and now that I have always felt all these years that we should have had at each annual meeting of this Organisation some clear and concise statement of what our financial position is. I don't agree with all the Secretary-General proposes about finance for the future, but I do agree that it is essential that from now on, when we meet in this Conference, we should know how we stand financially.

Money doesn't grow on trees. And I believe with the Minister of Labour of Canada that "money isn't money unless it is hard to get". But so long as we go on here as if money didn't matter, what

happens? Year after year I find this Conference passing resolutions calling upon the Office to undertake new enquiries, to call together new meetings, and to issue new publications; and when you go away home, you leave the Secretary-General in his capacity as Director of the International Labour Office wondering where the money is to be found.

I do think that from now on there should be presented to this annual Conference a clear and concise statement of our financial position.

THE DECLARATION

I come now to the Declaration. That Declaration hangs upon the word "status", and it was Miss Frieda Miller, the United States Government representative on the Governing Body, to whom belongs the honour of that word being there. Without that word, I think this Conference isn't worth holding. It is that word that gives us the right and the duty now to examine the objectives of our Organisation for the future and the machinery by which we shall reach these objectives.

Many delegates here have stood at this platform and have said this is an historic occasion. It will be an historic occasion; but to me, meanwhile, it is a solemn occasion.

Twenty-five years ago there was drawn up the Preamble of Part XIII of the Peace Treaty, and the essence of that Preamble is that there should be, for the first time in this world, a tripartite organisation, in which Governments, employers and workers would have an equal status. Although we may not have realised it then, we realise today that by that Preamble we were appointed trustees for international democracy. I agree with my friend, Mr. Hallsworth, when he said yesterday that this Organisation will never be what it ought to be until there is in each country that tripartite co-operation and consultation which we have in our country. I am sure that you must have this tripartite consultation nationally before you can hope to have it internationally.

I come now to the future objectives of this Organisation. Some people think that the present Preamble is good enough. I am not one of those. Democracy is a living thing. The war has given to this Organisation a new meaning, and our new objectives must take account of that experience.

To me, the Declaration of this Organisation's objectives which we are now considering is a creed, and it must be unanimous. It must not have in it subjects of controversy which will prevent anyone here from embracing it with a clear conscience. It must

also be such as to cover widely different views so far as concerns the methods of attaining these objectives. For example, I am not ashamed to stand here and say I believe in private enterprise, and that you will only get full employment if those who are giving employment are able to carry on their business with a reasonable profit. There is nothing contrary to that in the Declaration, so far as I can see, and that is what I believe.

CONVENTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

I come now to the question of machinery. I will try to be as brief as I can. The machinery of this Organisation consists of two activities, both legitimate—the one is propagandist and the other legislative. The propagandist activity is done 100 per cent. Sometimes I think it is overdone. The legislative activity isn't quite so satisfactory. That is where we pass Conventions and Recommendations by two thirds votes of delegates, all with an equal value, and countries can ratify them or not, as they like, whether they voted for them or not.

In the past twenty-five years we have passed 66 Recommendations, and I know that these Recommendations are not much taken account of. No-one knows what has happened to them. And I think that is wrong. They have a definite place and sanction under the Treaty of Peace. In so far therefore as we play about with these, we bring discredit on the whole Organisation and what it stands for. We are asked to pass many more Recommendations at this Conference and I ask that we should treat them seriously before we vote for them.

Let us now come to the subject of Conventions, which are the things that most matter, because a country undertakes, if it ratifies a Convention, to change its law accordingly. I have these last few days looked up the list of ratifications of Conventions. I don't know how many delegates take an interest in this; but you will find copies outside in the central hall. You will find the name of the ratifying countries arranged alphabetically. It struck me I might arrange them in order of merit, and I had an agreeable surprise. I find that of the 67 Conventions passed to date the order of merit is that 34 have been ratified by Spain—which is no longer a Member of the Organisation—and that 33 have been ratified by my country, Belgium and Chile. It is something to be rather proud of. I have, I fancy, voted against more Conventions than any man in this hall. But I can tell you this—that of these 33 Conventions ratified by my country, all of them, with one

exception, have been ratified with the full consent and approval of the employers of Great Britain.

I ask you to look at this list for yourself and you will find there are 11 countries who have ratified less than 9 Conventions. I won't worry you with figures, but they are important. Mr. Tomlinson told you in somewhat rosy terms that there had been 67 Conventions passed and 900 ratifications. But he didn't tell you that if all the countries had ratified all the Conventions, there would be more than 3,500 ratifications.

The general average of ratification is therefore 25 per cent. and that is not very bad. But there is another side to the story, and I want to bring your attention to it, because we are now engaged in remodelling and re-equipping our Organisation machinery. If you take the first 11 years, 1919 to 1930, you will find that this Organisation passed 30 Conventions, and that the average of ratification was 50 per cent. It was as if all the States had ratified half of the Conventions passed—a really wonderful achievement. But if you take the Conventions passed between 1931 and 1937 (when we passed 32 Conventions), you get an entirely different story. You will find that the 50 per cent. figure of average ratification has fallen to 10 per cent. You will also find that of these 32 Conventions, 18 are dead letters because two have been ratified by no country; six by only one country; three by only two countries; and seven by only three countries.

Someone will say: "Oh yes, but if you give them plenty of time, this will all come right". Not at all. Take the Conventions passed between 1931 and 1933—more than ten years ago; you will find that in these three years we passed ten Conventions. What is the position today about these ten Conventions? There are seven of them dead letters. There have been three of them ratified by only one country, and four of them by only three countries.

Now, it is only fair to point out that all Conventions are not of the same importance or weight, that some Conventions are easier for some countries to ratify than for others; and behind it all, there is the position of the federal States, which are not able to ratify, even if they wanted to, and which under the Treaty are entitled to treat all Conventions as if they were merely Recommendations.

CAUSES OF FAILURE

But making due allowance for all that, it is manifest that since 1930 there has been something seriously wrong with the present machinery, and in revising our Constitution, we should look into it, because it is no good going on putting on the sales market products that people won't buy.

I want, therefore, to give my views as to how, since 1930, our machine has got out of gear. I will tell you frankly what I think and how I think it can be cured.

To my mind, the chief cause of our failure has been that we have since 1930 been dealing with more difficult questions than we did in the first eleven years, and have been doing so without regard to economic facts. Those who came here to vote from Governments were not skilled in economic affairs and had no regard for them. When they went home, they found that it was not possible to carry out what they had voted for. That, I think, was the chief cause; and, I think, we will in this Declaration do a good deal to put things right if we start scrutinising the economic side.

But the Office, in its proposals to this Conference, has gone too far when it gives the impression that we are going to make economic decisions. That is not our job. I do not think we can initiate economic policy. That is for others to do. All we can do is scrutinise these economic decisions. And don't let us forget, that if we are going to scrutinise the economic decisions of other bodies, those who take these economic decisions must have the right to scrutinise our labour decisions. In that way I think we shall make considerable progress.

But there are other reasons why things have gone wrong with the machine. I will give you just what is in my mind. I think we have often aimed too high and missed the target. I was impressed by the fact that Miss Perkins, speaking for the United States Government, used the word "minimum" ten times in her speech, and always at the right place. I have always maintained that we should concentrate on minimum standards, leaving it for those who can go higher to do so on their own. The day you get Conventions laying down high maximum standards, what happens? An Act of Parliament comes into my country and voluntary agreements between employers' organisations and trade unions go out of the window because there is little left for them to do. When it comes to choosing between the voluntary agreement system in my country and international Conventions, you can have all the international Conventions to yourselves, because this collective agreement system is the whole basis of our industrial life, and it has played no small part in enabling our country to stand together shoulder to shoulder in this war.

I would just like to say here, incidentally, that great as is the understanding between the employers and workers of Great Britain—in the emotion of war it has grown and developed, and I, for one, hope it will always be with us—the real seeds of that understanding were sown at Geneva meetings, where we spent all day

voting against each other, but all the time learning to have respect for one another.

Another thing which in these past fifteen years has put the machine wrong is that we have worked with overcrowded agendas and passed Conventions for propaganda purposes, and these Conventions have secured the necessary two thirds majority votes, often by the votes of States which had little interest or concern in the subject in hand. I would like to see some arrangement by which the voting was confined to those with direct interest in the subject.

There is also the federal State question, as federal States are relieved of any obligation to ratify Conventions. We cannot ask federal States like the United States of America to change their constitutions. We may have to change our ways to meet them, but I will not be satisfied until every Member of this Organisation has an equal obligation and is able to take its proper place in this chart of ratifications.

I also think we should change the name of the Organisation. It is called the International Labour Organisation. There are people who think this is just a socialist body. I spend a lot of my time telling people it isn't so, and I don't have much success. It is worth thinking about.

But by and large, what I suggest is that we should all introduce a more sincere sense of responsibility when casting our votes.

Just two other points which I think need alteration. I do not think any State should be allowed to ratify a Convention until it has beforehand put its law into accordance with it. There are cases where years and years have elapsed since ratification and nothing has been done. I don't blame a country for not ratifying a Convention, more especially if it has not voted for it. But I say a country which has ratified a Convention has undertaken an obligation to carry it out, and if it does not carry out the obligation, it brings discredit on the whole of the work we do.

I also think we have to come to a stage when there will have to be some international control to ensure that Acts passed to give effect to Conventions are being enforced. It is only in this way that you get that loyalty and common faith which is the basis of international progress.

One last observation and I have finished. There is a most important speech which I ask you all to read. It was the first speech delivered at this Conference by Miss Perkins, the Secretary of Labor and delegate of the United States Government. I wish to read the portions that have struck me, because I had the feeling that that great industrial country has an idea that, after all, the

ratification of Conventions is perhaps not the best index of social progress, and perhaps Miss Perkins is right. This is what she said:

As in the past, Member States should be free to ratify these Conventions or not, as they see fit. Only thus can we preserve the influence of the economic groups here represented, and avoid an insistence upon the rule of unanimity which has been so generally the practice in diplomatic conferences, and which has so often handicapped final results and action.

There is a good deal of truth in that; and then she went on to say:

The United Nations and such others as are willing to join us should agree to give information annually to the I.L.O. Conference in regard to the degree of achievement of the social goals they agree to set themselves.

That is a somewhat different conception of how to measure progress from that generally accepted up till now. I am not saying it is wrong—indeed there is much to be said for it—but on the other hand, don't think I am running away from the test of ratified Conventions. Surely, I need not be afraid of continuing to accept the ratifying of Conventions as the test of progress when my country has come in first in the race with all countries, with the solitary exception of Spain. Therefore, you can take me as having a free mind on this matter. But I do suggest that we have got to a stage when the views of the United States should be carefully considered.

I finish where I began. This Organisation is, to my mind, in view of what we have gone through in this war, the international trustee of democracy, and ours is a very sacred trust. There are men and women and children who are sacrificing their lives, and others in occupied countries who suffer torture, while we sit here talking. There are young men in the air, on the land and on the sea who, for this liberty, are learning to die before they have learned how to live. Surely, we are not going to fail all these and their memories. Surely, we are going to realise that ours is a very sacred trust to preserve the liberty of this world.

Mr. Alfred FALTER, Chairman of the Industrial Union of Poland; *Employers' delegate, Poland*

...I believe that, although general economic problems should not be included in the field of activities of the I.L.O., a separate section for economic research should be created within the I.L.O., whereby, after a detailed study of the inter-relation of social and economic problems, it could present more practical recommendations.

Fr. Benjamin NUÑEZ VARGAS, Director, "Central Sindical Rerum Novarum", of Costa Rica; *Government delegate, Costa Rica*

(Interpretation)

...This war is more than a war—it is a revolution. Three classes of soldiers are engaged in the struggle—the soldier on the battlefield, the soldier on the domestic front of war production, and those who are planning the world peace, among whom is the I.L.O. The combined action of all these must ensure a total victory—which means that we must both win the war and win the peace. We owe this to the world, and in particular to the workers. The new universal order must be based on the dignity of the human person, the freedom of the individual, social justice and complete democracy.

...The Costa Rican delegation considers that the tripartite structure of the I.L.O. must be maintained as the best guarantee for the permanence of the Organisation and the accomplishment of its mission. The delegation also supports the declaration that work must be found for all who can work...

The field of work of the I.L.O. is enormous. We believe that there must be collaboration and close co-ordination between the I.L.O. and the organisations which already exist and which work exclusively for Latin American interests.

...In agreement with our own Constitution, we would suggest to this Conference the necessity of developing a special labour jurisdiction to deal with disputes between capital and labour. This

is necessary to help us to attain those ideals of social policy which we propose.

...The task which the I.L.O. is facing is so large that we think it is necessary to call to our aid all the spiritual forces of the world which are capable of giving and ready to give any kind of assistance of a social character to suffering humanity.

Dr. Guillermo NANNETTI, Senator; former Minister of Education; Counsellor, Colombian Embassy, Washington, D.C.; *Government delegate, Colombia*

(Interpretation)

...The Colombian delegation not only approves the Declaration of principles of items I and II on the agenda, but also accepts the logical consequence of this, namely, amplification of the functions of the International Labour Organisation so that it may collaborate in the organisation of post-war economy.

...In . . . aiming at conciliating liberty and planning, the International Labour Organisation, which has deserved the confidence of all peoples, has a tremendous part to play. It must not only seek the development of labour law and of institutions for social progress, but must go to the economic roots of the social problem. We also look towards simplification of the Declaration where it demands equality of access to education and vocational opportunities, for we have faith in man as the source of his own redemption.

On this basis and in the performance of my duty, I offer the wholehearted co-operation of Colombia in the new phase of the life and work of the International Labour Organisation...

Mr. Carlos FERNÁNDEZ R., Director of the National Transport Workers' Federation; Workers' Member on the Supreme Labour Council; *Workers' delegate, Cuba*

(*Interpretation*)

... Everything that can be done to enable the International Labour Organisation to accomplish its task is useful, but it becomes increasingly necessary to simplify its mechanism and make its decisions more effective. There is no point in adopting innumerable Recommendations and Conventions if they are not ratified and applied by the countries which are Members of the International Labour Organisation. There is no point in the workers' delegates insisting at one Conference after another on the adoption of agreements on matters of vital importance if they are to wait three, four or five or even ten years for their adoption.

The methods, the procedures, the machinery in the new stage which lies before the Organisation cannot be the same as in the past twenty-five years. The changes that have taken place in international relations and in the conscience of mankind are so profound that they demand more rapid and decisive action.

In this connection, there are three problems which I should like to stress: first, the representation of workers and employers under equal conditions with Governments, since there is no reason why Governments should have a preponderant representation which puts the other two groups in a position of inferiority; secondly, the draft Declaration referring to the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation should be made more precise and exact in regard to freedom of association, so that the democratic right of association for the workers can be adequately safeguarded and not hampered by the State or interfered with by the employers; and, thirdly, the text of the Declaration itself should stress that in all bodies set up for the study and execution of economic and social plans, the participation of representatives of workers and employers, democratically elected by the representative organisations, should be provided for, since such organisations are basic factors in the life of any modern State.

Both reports, from the economic and social angle, express mainly the standpoint of the big industrial countries concerning the policy to be followed in the present and the post-war period. They do not deal with the situation of the countries which are economically less developed, whose problems are of a special character and have so many consequences which cannot be considered by this Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labour Conference.

SUBJECTS FOR THE I.L.O.'s ATTENTION

There are other points in these reports to which I should like to refer, but my time is limited: points of special interest to Cuban workers and to all the workers of Latin America.

In the first place, it is vitally important that the International Labour Organisation should give special attention to the problem of raising the standard of living of the agricultural population and should declare itself against the discriminatory practices which have been followed in social legislation, and which exclude agricultural workers arbitrarily and systematically from their benefits, especially in my country in which the majority of the population is engaged in rural work. Against this practice, we feel that the Conference should adopt some decisions which would prevent the social injustice of the exclusion of a great majority of the workers of agricultural nations.

Secondly, another problem which cannot be postponed for very long is the limitation of the load which may be carried by workers on their backs. In some countries, as in Cuba, the limit of weight is three hundred pounds, requiring an effort of physical strength which is more than the worker is able to stand. This question was raised by the Cuban delegates at the 1938 Conference in Geneva and at the Inter-American Conference in 1939 in Havana, without any action having been taken on the matter. To humanise conditions of labour by limiting the worker's load—this is a responsibility of the Organisation which it should face without any further delay.

Thirdly, with regard to the meeting of the Joint Maritime Commission which is referred to in the first item on the agenda, a world conference of workers, employers and Government representatives should be held, in order to maintain and improve the present high standards of seamen and to standardise conditions of labour and pay, rest periods, social insurance, indemnities and so on, at reasonable and proper levels which will assure them a decent living, a living to which they are entitled by the heroic and constructive part they have taken in the war.

.....

Dr. John ZARRAS, Director-General of the Ministry of Labour of Greece, Cairo; *Government delegate, Greece*

...The proposed redefinition of the functions and programme of the International Labour Organisation and of the principles which should guide the social policy of the States Members marks as a whole an important and constructive step forward.

It is generally recognised today that the problems of labour protection cannot be detached from the problems of economic policy, with which they are inseparably interwoven. It ought to be recognised just as clearly that, without an international economic policy inspired by social aims and motives, the problems of dealing with mass unemployment, raising the standard of living of the peoples, and generalising social security cannot be properly solved.

These are the realities of today which are shaping the functions of the International Labour Organisation, and which require not only that its competence should be extended in the economic and financial fields, but also that it should collaborate with other international bodies in the planning and execution of the various schemes of international economic policy.

To organise this co-operation in systematic form would mean to give the two basic factors in production—employers and workers—direct access to the policy making bodies of the international public organisations dealing with economic matters for the purpose of helping them to frame an economic policy ensuring full employment and higher standards of living for all peoples.

.....

I believe that in its proposals concerning the status of the Organisation, the Office has rightly tried to solve a series of legal questions which hitherto have been in dispute, including, among others, the rights and obligations of the States Members of the International Labour Organisation. It was in any case imperative to clarify the provisions governing the obligations of States withdrawing from the Organisation, because in the past political and other considerations have prevented the application of the correct solution that such States should continue, even after their withdrawal from the Organisation, to be legally bound both by the Conventions which they have ratified and by the provisions of the Constitution concerning international supervision and sanctions.

The proposed provisions for a system of mutual international supervision in the case of the non-ratification of international labour Conventions or of failure to apply international Recommendations would facilitate the more general and complete appli-

cation of the decisions of the Conference and prevent any possibility of evasion.

The proposals also provide for the possibility of regional activities and of action in respect of special branches of industry within the framework of the International Labour Organisation. The Office rightly points out that Europe itself, or certain parts of Europe which have been ravaged and destroyed by the invader, may be among the areas which call for regional action. The significance of this proposal is especially obvious in the case of the Balkans.

The proposal to confer on the Director of the International Labour Office certain executive functions in connection with international labour Conventions which have hitherto belonged to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations should not meet with any objections. To make the International Labour Office more independent of the Secretariat of the League of Nations might well help to strengthen the executive machinery of the Office and to make it more efficient. At the same time, the Office should be assured of the necessary funds to carry out its programme by establishing the principle of its financial autonomy.

A suggestion which needs to be approached more cautiously, however, is that which contemplates broadening the competence of the Governing Body of the Office, and especially granting it the right to delegate all or part of its powers to an executive committee. It should at least be specifically stated in the text of the proposal that this procedure should be permitted only in rare and exceptional circumstances, such as the present emergency.

It is further proposed that the Director of the Office should be given certain other rights which are essential for the more effective discharge of his duties, and that various privileges, exemptions and immunities should be conferred on the International Labour Office and on its staff. Perhaps it might also be wise to take this opportunity of formulating the right of the States Members, whether members of the Governing Body or not, and of employers' and workers' organisations, with regard to the supervision of the activities of the Office's staff. The Office should, of course, be granted all the facilities and privileges for which it asks in order to be able to carry out its great task. But it is precisely in the interests of the success of the Office's work that some provision should be made for the control of the activities of the staff, both of its headquarters and of its branch offices, in order to ensure that their duties are discharged in accordance with the principle of the international character of the staff and the objectives of the Organisation. The officials of the I.L.O. are servants of the world

community, and the activities of the international officials should at all times be as impeccable as though they were carried on within a dome of glass.

In any case, the need for strengthening and building up the services of the Office as quickly as possible should be especially stressed. Neither should the establishment of branch offices, not only in the big countries but in small ones as well, be delayed any longer than is absolutely necessary. An expert body of Office staff should be made responsible for advising each country and helping it to give wider application to the measures decided upon by the Conference.

The success of our work also depends on one basic factor which should never be forgotten in working out and adopting our decisions. This factor is the universality of the Organisation, which we ought to pursue steadfastly so that the International Labour Organisation may embrace all the countries of the world, both great and small.

.....

Mr. Pedro HIDALGO GONZÁLES, Senator; Director of the Social Insurance Fund; *Government delegate, Ecuador*

(*Interpretation*)

...In general, Ecuador gives its approval to the proposals concerning items I and II. However, it might be possible to amplify some of the concepts, which we have only been able to read quickly, since we received the document only after our arrival here. One of the proposed texts says that labour must not be considered as a commodity, and our delegation considers that this negative concept must be amplified. Not only must labour not be a commodity, but it must mean a permanent dignified relation between workers and employers. The definition must be made in a positive form, that is to say, the I.L.O. must establish a new and positive standard from this standpoint.

Another point is that the right of expression and of association is an indispensable condition for constant social progress. Ecuador, which is a country of liberty and of social legislation, would require something more. It would say that freedom of association, in so far as it touches the bettering of conditions, is one of the inalienable rights of the workers. We therefore wish to have it understood that this is not only an aspiration but a right which cannot be ignored by Governments.

.....

Mr. Paul MARTIN, M.P.; Parliamentary Assistant to the Ministry of Labour, Ottawa; *Government delegate, Canada*

...This Conference must keep in mind that, simultaneously with the formulation of the future policy and programme of the Organisation, other international economic and social institutions are being set up, or have been set up, and are now making plans for their own future activity. The pattern which is beginning to take shape suggests that there will be a number of separate organisations, each of which will cover a particular phase of international economic or social relations. These separate international organisations are projected in the sphere of monetary and exchange policy, commercial policy, international collaboration to permit full employment, commodity policy, international investment, food and agriculture. It seems probable that there will be others.

In the view of the Canadian Government, these international organisations must eventually be brought together in an international framework. It is important that the functions of each should be clear-cut and definite. Any tendency for one organisation to take on vague general purposes which would encompass an excessive range of activities must be avoided if we are to avoid overlapping and confusion.

I cannot, therefore, until it has been more specifically defined, subscribe to the statement contained in the proposed Declaration of aims and purposes, that it is the responsibility of the Organisation to "scrutinise all international economic and financial policies and measures" and "consider all relevant economic and financial factors and include in its decisions and recommendations any provisions which it considers appropriate". Neither can I subscribe to the statement that the Organisation claims "a primary interest in the achievement of harmonious working relationships between all the constituent functional parts of the body of social and economic institutions which the world's needs require".

In saying this, I mean that the Declaration as phrased is not sufficiently precise as a definition of the scope and function of the International Labour Organisation. Such a definition is required. There should be no room for doubt on such a vital declaration, particularly as it is recommended to the United Nations that it be repeated in affirmative terms in the peace settlement. I should want answers to the following questions, which the wording of the draft resolution raises in my mind:

First, is the International Labour Organisation to discharge this responsibility of scrutiny over Governments and over spe-

cialised international bodies by way of seeking knowledge of their plans and tendering advice to them as to the social implications of their proceedings or measures?

Second, is it to seek membership in international bodies?

Third, is it to use its duty of scrutiny to acquire a primacy over other international bodies with equal functional importance in related spheres?

Fourth, is it to share in responsibility for the decisions of such bodies?

The form and phrasing of the Declaration can well give rise to these and similar questions, and accordingly, I suggest that the Conference make certain as to their import, so as to be sure of the path which it proposes the Organisation shall tread.

The I.L.O. should be in a position to give advice where international financial policy may affect wages or working conditions. Similarly, the Food and Agricultural Organisation should be in a position to give advice where measures proposed by the I.L.O. may affect agricultural production. Eventually, this may be achieved at the top through a new co-ordinating agency. In the meantime, the mechanism of mutual exchange between the international organisations must be improvised on a basis of equality.

Much stress is laid in Report I upon the tripartite character of the Organisation, and on the consequent "representation of highly important elements of organised public opinion", to co-ordinate the work of other international agencies. I agree with the view that the tripartite character of the International Labour Organisation must be considered in planning its future.

The representation of employers and workers gives the Organisation exceptional authority in the field of employer-employee relations, working conditions, hours, wages, industrial safety, and so on. But I think that it must be recognised that the tripartite representation is also a limiting factor, as limiting the peculiar competence of the Organisation to those matters which are of special importance and direct relation to the sections of the national communities—employers and workers—represented in it.

We must not weaken the position of the Organisation in its rightful field by overreaching in an attempt to extend its authority into fields where other groups of the community are more directly concerned. As an example of this danger, I draw the attention of this Conference to the passage of the Office's report dealing with the Permanent Agricultural Committee. The Organisation has, of course, a legitimate interest in agricultural questions; but we cannot pretend that the employer-worker representa-

tion in the I.L.O. is a representation of the agricultural community, or of the community of consumers.

Further, the United Nations have established a new permanent organisation on food and agriculture. I think that we should, therefore, recognise that the claim of the International Labour Organisation to authority in this field extends only to those questions which are specifically questions of wages, hours, working conditions, and so on; and to support the Organisation's claims here, we should endeavour to secure within the I.L.O. representation of agricultural employers and of agricultural workers.

I have found chapter VI of the first report an interesting and stimulating document. No proposals for submission to the Conference are included, but it is indicated that the suggestions contained would be submitted to the Governing Body. Unfortunately, it has not been possible for the Governing Body to give consideration, before this debate, to the financial questions raised in this chapter.

It is unquestionable that the financial relations between the I.L.O. and the League are complicated and difficult and should at some time be simplified. With the growth of the number of States belonging to the I.L.O. which are not Members of the League, these difficulties have increased. The questions now are whether this is the time to make changes, and whether the changes proposed are desired.

I do not believe that this is the time to change. The present machinery, with some improvisation, has worked satisfactorily through four years of war. Temporary and *ad hoc* measures can be taken to meet new difficulties as they arise; but here again, before tearing down and rebuilding, we must have a clearer view of the new world organisation which is taking shape.

In so far as we can consider the future, I believe that the emphasis in this discussion should be on the possibility and means of reaching as soon as possible a single international budget. As the Office report rightly points out, such an international budget cannot be established at this stage. The principle, however, should be recognised, and we should avoid taking the step in the direction of separate budgets, which, I believe all would agree, would be in the opposite direction to that in which we would wish to go.

Moreover, I have noted that the proposal to divorce the I.L.O. budget from that of the League is taken in some quarters to mean that the Organisation is prepared to cut itself adrift from the League. Many of you will have noted an item which appeared recently in the press referring to the International Labour Organisation, in which it is stated: "The Governing Body is slated to consider decisions capable of driving another nail into the coffin of the

League". And, a little further on: "Some delegates look for a decision which would sever the last practical tie between the I.L.O. and the League".

I should like to see this idea scotched, and effectively scotched. I could not in this Conference give support to any proposal which, rightly or wrongly, may be interpreted as "driving another nail into the coffin of the League".

While considering the external relations of the Organisation, we should not neglect to examine the internal constitution of the Organisation itself, with a view to possible improvement. The relations between the Conference, the Governing Body, and the Office might bear examination, especially to bring the Conference into closer contact with the Office, and to provide for more continuity in the Conference itself and in its committees. Again, the whole subject of regional organisation is deserving of study. Would it be wise or otherwise, for example, to authorise the establishment of permanent regional committees to work with regional branches of the Office in Asia, South America, the Far East, or elsewhere?

A small change in the Conference rules which might be valuable to federal States would be a provision for the attendance at the Conference, as part of national delegations, of two classes of observers—namely: (1) representatives of the constituent States or provinces of the federal State; (2) representatives of important national bodies which have a direct and legitimate interest in the work of the I.L.O., but cannot properly be fitted into the existing composition of delegations as governmental advisers. Such a provision might well be subject to a proviso limiting such observers to a stated number or to a number bearing a stated relation to the total number of Government advisers in attendance.

PROPOSALS SUBMITTED TO THE CONFERENCE

In summary and in conclusion, I should like to make the following proposals to the Conference:

First, we should look at the first two items on the agenda with a view to dividing them according to the action which this Conference should take. I find that we have in Report I a Declaration of the aims and purposes of the Organisation which is reproduced in the proposed resolution concerning social provisions in the peace settlement, contained in Report II. I believe that such a declaration should be made by this Conference, but I should like to see this Declaration contain a specific statement of the sphere of authority of the Organisation in terms of its tripartite constitution, as I have indicated. I believe that such a definition of our field of

activity would save troublesome rivalries in the future between the International Labour Organisation and other international organisations.

Second, I do not think that we can hope to settle at this Conference questions as to the relationship of the Organisation to other international bodies and to its future programme generally. The necessary result of the expressions of opinion given to the Conference should be the appointment by the Conference, or by the Governing Body, of a committee empowered to deal with resolutions or declarations affecting the future of the Organisation. Such a committee should meet as frequently as necessary, preferably in Montreal, and should, in active collaboration with the Office, discuss and revise the Office reports in the light of the discussion in this Conference. The committee should have as its great task the fitting of the Organisation into its proper and rightful place in the new international framework now beginning to emerge. Arrangements for collaboration between the International Labour Organisation and other existing or projected organisations should be regarded as of a tentative and interim character, pending the establishment of a world council or the restoration of the League, or the creation of another central control agency.

Third, the work of the committee would crystallise in a report for submission to Governments with a view to action thereon at the next Conference, by which time the pattern of the new world organisation may be expected to have taken such shape that, with the aid of considered opinions from Governments, the Conference may well be able to take further steps towards completing the structure. Canada would expect to be represented on this committee, and would co-operate fully with it.

Fourth, the same or another committee should consider the internal constitution of the Organisation: whether or not the relation between the Conference and the Office should be strengthened; whether more continuity might be given the Conference and its committees; whether permanent regional organisations should be developed with regional committees and branches of the Office. The working of the Standing Orders might be examined and consideration given to the admission of observers on Government delegations to meet one of the problems of the federal States.

And, fifth, when the proposals of the first committee have begun to take shape, the Governing Body should refer to Governments the financial questions. We should be moving forward towards an international budget, and not away from it.

Sixth, and last, there are questions of an urgent character raised in Report II which we should discuss in so far as they affect

the I.L.O., and submit to a committee of the Conference for further consideration. All the recommendations in Report II, of course, are not within the competence of the I.L.O. to achieve; but I see no reason why the Conference should not make general recommendations as to the social objectives of the group of international organisations in existence and which will come into being. Too much of our time, however, should not be spent in dealing with principles and with generalities. I believe that the time will soon be here for action, and I think that the committee dealing with this item on the agenda should devote most of its time to problems such as the reintroduction into liberated territories of codes, practices and policies of the I.L.O. which were in effect until they were destroyed by the aggressor. While not neglecting the more distant future, let us be sure that we deal fully with the problems which may confront the United Nations in the immediate future.

Mr. Napoléon MOLINA, Member of Congress; President,
Colombian Confederation of Workers; *Workers' delegate,*
Colombia

(Interpretation)

... It would be childish to separate the study of social questions from the study of economic questions, whether from the international or from the national standpoint. Accordingly, it is reasonable that the International Labour Organisation should decide to include in its agenda questions of an economic and financial nature.

I consider that the existing inequality between the representation of employers and workers on the one hand, and of Governments on the other hand, should be abolished. The International Labour Organisation has given efficient service in the past, but I consider that in the future we shall need an organisation and a system which could act with greater rapidity and vigour, and that we should enable it to perform a task corresponding to the necessities of the present time. I applaud the initiative taken by the Office suggesting reforms in constitutions and recommending endeavours to make the ratification of Conventions compulsory, and also to fix a shorter time limit for ratification. Naturally the existence of this international Organisation will be subject to the conditions of peace. But it is in the interest of all to maintain and perfect the Organisation, since, after rectifying certain defects and ensuring a better balanced and more democratic system of representation on the Governing Body, the Organisation will provide an even more useful instrument for the social reconstruction of the world. The representatives of the Latin American workers will put forward these objections in the various committees and will suggest certain other amendments which might be made in the text of the resolutions.

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His Excellency Ali JAWDAT, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Washington, D.C.; *Government delegate, Iraq*

...It is my Government's wish to see the I.L.O. expand in all fields which will realise the improvement of labour conditions, and especially in those which will improve agricultural labour's conditions. We read with great interest the decision to revive and expand the Agricultural Committee of the I.L.O.; but we doubt if the Committee alone could be a sufficient organ to offer advice and assistance to national authorities in the development of agricultural labour standards and methods of administration.

Each country of the Near and Middle East has its peculiar conditions, and particular factors influencing them. Therefore, the study of such factors and conditions must be made on the spot. Investigators of high qualifications and technical competence are necessary. These technical investigators should have ample time to devote to the study of the problems and to suggest solutions. To put such a policy into practice, a regional conference will have to be convened, and a regional office will have to be established to satisfy the needs of our region, which have been so long forgotten and so much neglected.

.....

Dr. Rodolfo GARCÍA ARIAS, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Washington, D.C.; Principal Delegate to the Wheat Council and to the Inter-American Economic and Financial Consultative Committee; *Government delegate, Argentine Republic*

(*Interpretation*)

...The Argentine delegation supports, except in some matters of detail, the principles and contents of the Declaration concerning the aims of the International Labour Organisation, not only because they are in conformity with the organic principles of the Organisation, but because they are in harmony with the principles of our own national Constitution. This delegation supports the statements made by the majority of the preceding speakers to the effect that the principles of this Declaration are essential to the promotion of social well-being. Experience has shown that social justice, respect for human dignity and equality of opportunity are fundamental principles for securing a stable and lasting peace.

.....

Mr. Jef RENS, Assistant General Secretary of the Belgian General Confederation of Labour; *Workers' delegate, Belgium*

(*Interpretation*)

...For the first time to my knowledge, the I.L.O. has set aside its specialised work and has condensed in a complete summary the main, if not all, the trends of current social demands, indicating reasonable objectives and the methods by which they can be reached.

I will not go so far as to say that the draft Declaration which is submitted to us as a conclusion to Report I comes up to our expectations entirely in the matter of style. I should have preferred a more striking document, more direct, with a clearer appeal to the masses of the workers. The text, as it is presented to us, meets these requirements less well than the famous declaration of President Roosevelt about the Four Freedoms. But in substance, this text deserves our support, because we think it meets very closely the needs and hopes and the social aspirations of the workers in my country.

.....

The draft Declaration I am speaking of, while it may not exercise an immediate magical attraction on the workers of the world, will still be a very useful instrument, of which Governments and workers' organisations can make use in the reconstruction policy that they will have to follow in the future.

But it is not enough to state in a document the needs and hopes of the workers of the world. The I.L.O. must also plan some action which will translate into reality the principles implicit in its social mandate, and must prepare itself by adapting its internal structure to the new task before it, and by establishing with other international organisations firm and organic relations.

In this connection, I have read the suggestions in Report I with real interest. For my part, I can assent to most of the proposals which are contained in it. Those concerning regional decentralisation and industrial decentralisation seem to me to be a practical and fruitful beginning. We have all, in the course of the past twenty-five years, felt the need of a more flexible organisation, closer to geographical and industrial facts. If we follow the suggestions in the Report, I am sure the usefulness of the I.L.O. will be greatly increased, to the advantage of all the States Members.

We must now go forward to deeds. That is why I hope that this general discussion, which has enabled the various delegations

to define their position, will be followed by some hard work in committee, so that precise and clear proposals for the internal reconstruction of the Organisation can be formulated. But let the States Members not lose sight of the fact that if practical results are obtained in this field, the International Labour Organisation must be given adequate financial means.

This leads me to the question of the autonomy of the Office. The Report contains a long passage on this subject. Like most of my worker colleagues, I believe that the old financial dependency of the I.L.O. on the League of Nations no longer corresponds to present facts. The I.L.O.'s budget should be adequate to cover all the expenditures required by its many functions.

But this does not mean, in my view, that the I.L.O. should become a totally independent organisation. The Office has indeed a clearly defined field of activity, which is that of social problems. But these, we have already pointed out, are closely linked to other problems and particularly to economic problems. The United Nations, which I believe and hope already form the nucleus of a future world organisation, are now engaged in creating new bodies to regulate their economic relations. Between these bodies and the I.L.O., organic relations must be established; if we want to make the I.L.O. independent of the League of Nations, it must be said clearly that this is because the League was unable to fulfil its mission.

I think that we all hope that a new international institution, better planned, more practicable, which will extend the present collaboration between the United Nations into the times of peace, will take up the succession of the League. There is no reason why we should not plan to establish the necessary relations with this international institution of tomorrow. I want to insist on this point, because I think it is necessary to warn certain delegates against a tendency towards isolationism which I consider to be disastrous for the future of the Office.

THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT'S PROPOSAL

I also wish to express my agreement with the proposal made by the Australian Government delegate to set up an intergovernmental organisation to frame and apply a policy of full employment. Some opposition seems to have been raised by this suggestion, and that surprised me. I do not think this opposition is justified. In my opinion, there is no reason to fear any interference from any such intergovernmental institution in the internal life of the Organisation. Neither need we fear any competition between such

an intergovernmental body and the International Labour Organisation.

The I.L.O., as I understand it—and I think that on this point, I am in agreement with the authors of Reports I and II—is, in the first place, a body for study and for the collection of information on social problems. But still more, through the International Labour Conferences, it is a genuine international parliament for social questions. As such, it carries on legislative, or perhaps I should say, pre-legislative activity. It is not, and it cannot be, an executive body. The executive function belongs and must belong to Governments. So far, international social action has been confined, through the I.L.O., to the legislative or pre-legislative sphere. The I.L.O. has no organ for executive action or for application. Such a body could only be set up by common action between Governments. And for this reason, I think that the Australian Government delegate's proposal is timely, that it meets a real need, and that it deserves our serious consideration.

THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM AND THE WORKERS

There has been some opposition, especially in the Employers' group, to the responsibility which the social mandate proposes to confer on the I.L.O. in connection with the scrutiny of all international measures of an economic and financial nature. Having often followed the debates of the International Labour Conference in the past, I know the employers regard the economic sphere as their own sacred domain. To this I would reply that the rights of a minority—and in the society of today, the employers are a minority—especially when such rights are in conflict with those of the majority, often look like privileges. The role of the International Labour Organisation is to formulate the rights of the masses of the workers, to make them prevail over the privileges, whatever those privileges may be, of the minority, and to have them inscribed in the laws of the States Members. We must state clearly that the economic system, as it operated in nearly all countries until the outbreak of war, and for which the employers had sole responsibility, was unable to meet the claims and needs of the working classes; and when I say the working classes, I mean very much wider classes than industrial workers only. In the past, the I.L.O. has confined itself too exclusively to industrial workers, and, once again, I am in agreement with the report that in future our Organisation should concern itself equally with other types of workers who live on the fruits of their labour in the same way as industrial workers.

We have thus come to regard the I.L.O. as the institution which should concern itself with all the workers. In modern States, these

workers are the great majority in every nation. In fact, they are practically synonymous with the nation. Their needs, in so far as they can be met, are legitimate, and the economic system must adjust itself in its structure and operation to their needs and their desires. Economic and financial problems, therefore, must be as much the responsibility of the working classes as of the employers. I do not think—and here I agree with the spokesmen of the Employers' group on this subject—that the I.L.O. should have economic functions as wide as its present social functions, but it must have the power to examine economic and financial problems which affect the social sphere.

The employers must understand that the future and the success of collaboration between them and the workers, and therefore of the tripartite principle itself, which is the basis of this Organisation, depends on social progress and on the perfecting of social justice. If the economic system under the exclusive responsibility of the employers cannot assure social progress and this advance in social justice, the workers must be associated with the responsibility for and control of the economic system. Suitable bodies must be set up, nationally and internationally, to secure the participation of the workers in the economic field.

PROCEDURE DELAYS

And now, I should like to close with a few remarks on procedure. Whereas in Reports I and II useful suggestions have been made with a view to speeding up the cumbersome and slow procedure of the Organisation, we have heard voices raised here in favour of eliminating the single-discussion procedure in favour of double discussions exclusively. I do not want to force any premature and hasty decision here, but I want to give a word of warning to those who think they can evade difficulties by clinging to a form of procedure which I think is now out of date.

If the liberation of Europe comes about soon, let us say before the end of the year, you must expect very soon afterwards to see a veritable explosion of demands, those very demands which are formulated in the social mandate, and which this Conference is inclined to regard as justified and legitimate. Woe to us all if the I.L.O. is not ready at that time. The suffering which the workers of the occupied countries can endure has limits. They will not be satisfied with statements and declarations; they want deeds. And they will not wait to claim their rights until the International Labour Organisation has had a double discussion of its Recommendations and Conventions. We should not forget that we are

running the risk of arriving too late if we have not the courage at this Conference to take the necessary decisions, decisions which the working masses are expecting of us.

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This Organisation, which was founded on the basis of collaboration and freedom, must now give proof that it can bring to the workers who are suffering and struggling the satisfaction of their needs and their human desires. It is for this Organisation to take a great and bold step forward in freedom, that precious gain of our Western civilisation, on the path of social progress and social justice.

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Dr. Manuel PÉREZ GUERRERO, Chief of the Office of
the Commission for the Study of Post-War Problems;
Government delegate, Venezuela

(Interpretation)

The Venezuelan Government delegation wishes to join those many speakers who have firmly supported the extension of the traditional functions of the I.L.O. with a view to meeting post-war conditions and the economic and social aspirations for the future.

This extension is really implicit in the Constitution of the Organisation. The accumulated experience of the inter-war period has affirmed the necessity for associating labour policy with economic policy. However admirable the results of the action exercised by the International Labour Organisation in the international field may have been, its scope was limited by the economic upheavals which have disturbed the world. In the post-war period we not only wish to organise a world free from such economic disturbances, but we are persuaded that the integral economic development of all resources in constant order and progress will promote the welfare of the people. It is idle to distinguish, in this respect, between the economic and the social field. In reality, it is necessary to base a social economy on a firm foundation. The world has arrived at a stage when there is only one guide for economic action, and that guide is social justice.

In the national field, it is necessary to protect, in particular, the weakest members of the community. In the international field, action is needed to favour the gradual development of undeveloped

countries, because this is the only way of enabling these people to enjoy the same economic levels as the highly industrialised countries. It is obvious that the International Labour Organisation, by its experience and its fortunate tripartite constitution, is particularly well qualified to help the peoples to reach these objectives.

The International Labour Organisation does not ask for exclusiveness in this domain; nor will it take autonomous decisions in the economic field. We do not know the scope of the economic questions that will come up in the international field, nor do we know the number of international organisations of a functional character which will possess competence in this sphere. But we are already on the eve of setting up a permanent organisation for food and agriculture and we envisage an international monetary organisation. Other bodies, like the U.N.R.R.A., though temporary, will have an important role to fill. It is imperative that all these international organisations should be co-ordinated, so as to give the necessary flexibility to the machinery that will act in intimately related spheres. The need for these lateral relations will exist, even if, later, each one is separately linked with the proposed political organisation for the maintenance of peace.

The International Labour Organisation should enjoy its traditional autonomy, which will facilitate the discharge of its function; but in proportion as the new international organisation is set up, the I.L.O. will be integrated into the general system.

The International Labour Organisation is a live organisation which has given proof of its value. It is natural that people should reaffirm their confidence in it, entrusting it with important functions in the post-war world. It seems simple and normal that an existing institution should prepare for its future. It is more normal than simple. We should be grateful to the International Labour Organisation for having overcome all the difficulties inherent in a war situation, and for having preserved the vitality of the Organisation intact, as evidenced by this historic Conference, meeting on the hospitable soil of the great American nation. From this Conference, I am sure that the International Labour Organisation will emerge strengthened and prepared for the new task it is already beginning.

The Government of Venezuela in this decisive moment, decisive not only for the International Labour Organisation but for the whole world, is very glad to reaffirm its firm support of the International Labour Organisation, and it hopes that the Conference will adopt the resolutions proposed by the Office on the aims and objectives of the Organisation...

Mr. Alojzy ADAMCZYK, Vice-President of the Polish Trade Union Delegation and Member of the Polish National Council in London; *Workers' delegate, Poland*

... We must see to it that the Recommendations of the International Labour Conference become effective as soon as possible in all the countries. The co-operation of the I.L.O. with other international organisations will lead to a quicker realisation of this aim. We must also remember the International Federation of Trade Unions, which is safeguarding the independence of the free trade union movement. We know well that without a free trade union movement the existence of the I.L.O. would not have been possible.

.....

In the firm conviction that the plans of the I.L.O. are unfolding in the right direction so as to make possible their realisation in the post-war world, a world founded upon principles of freedom and justice for all nations, we endorse the basic ideas of the first and second items on our agenda.

Mr. Eduardo FAJARDO, Patino Mines and Enterprises Consolidated, Inc.; *Employers' delegate, Bolivia*

... The Bolivian producers have an interest in the work of this International Labour Conference ...

.....

Governments, employers and workers here, far from their own countries, must concern themselves with the social problems in a broad spirit, aiming at the collective welfare and not at that of their respective groups ... we ... must attack the problems of the times and of the post-war period in a realistic spirit and not simply theoretically.

Mr. Jacobus Hendrik OLDENBROEK, Chairman of the Contact Committee of Organisations of Employees of the Netherlands Merchant Navy; *Workers' delegate, Netherlands*

... I am second to none in admiring the work of the International Labour Office. Considering its limited possibilities and seeing that its path was not strewn with roses, it has done remarkably well. But let us not bury our heads in the sand. The International Labour Organisation has not fulfilled the high expectations which were aroused in 1919. Already, then, the High Contracting Parties were aware of the necessity of preventing unemployment, but they did not grant the International Labour Organisation the powers to realise its programme. We were still living in the age when the arts of politics ranked higher than the sciences of economics and sociology.

Since then, however, the International Labour Organisation has come of age, and the Ministries of Labour are coming of age too in the different countries. The question is not whether the League of Nations is or is not defunct. It has also done some good work, but it has been unable to prevent aggression and to maintain peace. The time has now come to give the I.L.O. the powers which it needs. It must become independent, but it must co-operate with other international organisations. All these international institutions which are being set up are of course of the utmost importance; but for the workers—and they represent no small part of the world population—the I.L.O. is the most important, because it has to deal with the fundamental and vital problems of social and economic policy to which all other functions must be subordinated.

The tripartite character of the I.L.O. has certainly contributed to its vitality, but I believe even more so the nature of the I.L.O.'s work. In other national and international institutions dealing with economic questions, the workers must also demand direct representation.

I do not agree with Mr. Beasley, who wants to transform the I.L.O. into an intergovernmental institution. The I.L.O. must have the backing of public opinion and that backing can only be obtained if the workers, through their trade unions, take an active part in the work. Moreover, peace must be maintained by the peoples, by the common people in all lands, and here again the trade unions come in.

AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION

We have to make a new start. If that is so, I cannot possibly see why the Constitution of the I.L.O. cannot be altered. Why should the members of the Council of the League of Nations have to sanction an alteration of the Constitution as provided for in Article 36? Why cannot we decide to alter the Constitution? Should we wait another twelve years before we are allowed to change an article in the Constitution? Is that Constitution such a sacred document? Has the time not come to enlarge the Governing Body and to set up an executive committee? Is it not highly necessary to lay down the conditions for admission and expulsion? We are always stressing the democratic character of our Organisation, but does not that imply that we must refuse to admit or expel countries which do not adhere to democratic principles? Cannot we thereby influence democratic development? Why should we recognise a Government set up by a couple of mutinying generals or admirals or corporals whose first act always has been to restrict or suppress the free right of association? Have we forgotten our sad experiences with Italy, Germany and other countries? Only where there is democratic government can the decisions of this Organisation be effectively applied.

The right of free association and the existence of free trade unions are the very foundations of this Organisation. Free trade unions means no interference by Governments or employers or others. The conclusion which we must have drawn is that the system of government in other countries is not immaterial, because the maintenance of peace depends upon the form of government. The trade unions will support the work of this Organisation, but they must remain free agents and have their own task and their own responsibility...

.....

In the report, the question of sovereignty of the countries is dwelt on at some length. I have the feeling that the author of this part has overstated his case. The Mexican employer has even gone farther. He is afraid that the I.L.O., by making suggestions, is transgressing sovereign rights.

I have the greatest respect for the sovereignty of nations, but it really goes too far to pretend that if a country is forced to introduce social legislation, her sovereign rights are jeopardised. It is about time that we began to think in world terms and to realise that absolute sovereignty is out of date. My suggestion at the New York Conference was not to abolish sovereignty, but to make Conventions binding after a certain number, be it one half or two

thirds, of the Member States have ratified. By refusing to ratify, countries hold up the improvement of conditions in other countries. The seamen, in particular, because of the international character of their profession, found that out to their disadvantage between the two wars.

In another report, the I.L.O. suggests that when granting credits, minimum conditions of labour should be required. Does not that mean the violation of sovereign rights of countries that want credits? You cannot have it both ways, and I think that this question of sovereignty should be studied further.

Now, with regard to the solemn Declaration, I want to say that I am all in favour, except that I find, in agreement with my friend Rens, that the present form of this declaration is not suitable. When I think of a solemn declaration, I think of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, of the Declaration of Independence, and of the Atlantic Charter. I would like our solemn Declaration to be written in such a form that it can be posted in hundreds of thousands of places, and that people will never tire of reading it.

I need hardly say that I agree with the setting up of industrial committees within the framework of the I.L.O. It will be possible through these committees to obtain quicker understanding between people who know their business, and we could avoid the so-called second reading, because all of the preparatory work could be done by the industrial committees. It would not be necessary for the Conference to sit for days to examine texts. Naturally the Conference will have the last word, but its main task will be to deal with the general policy of the Organisation and with Conventions of a general character, and during the three weeks it will be possible to do much more work.

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Mr. Radi Abouseif RADI, Director-General, Department of Labour, Cairo; *Government delegate, Egypt*

... The second point which I would like to refer to at this juncture concerns the relations of agricultural countries, especially those of the Near and Middle East, to the work and the machinery of the I.L.O. As we all know, the eight permanent seats on the Governing Body are allocated to the countries of chief industrial importance; but vast regions of the world where agriculture is predominant can secure no permanent representation under the narrow interpretation hitherto given to the term "industry".

I should like, then, to stress the importance of making it more and more possible for the particular problems relating to the welfare of the great masses of agricultural workers, whether independent, semi-independent or salaried, to be brought to the attention of the Governing Body and of the Conference.

Another question which I should like to take the opportunity of laying before you is that of forming regional conferences for countries which have similar social and labour conditions. I admit that when I speak on this topic, I am not putting forward a new idea, as regional conferences have already been held by the I.L.O. in the past, and especially for the South Americas. But it would be of great help in studying improvement of labour conditions in the Middle East if a similar body could be set up. I know that when I venture to make this suggestion, I am supported in it by my colleagues, the delegates of Turkey, Iraq and Iran.

The deliberations resulting from such a meeting would not only benefit the Middle and Near East countries represented here but also those unrepresented peoples, such as the Syrians and the Arabs, while the whole result would no doubt be of great benefit to the great masses of workers in the Middle East.

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Mr. Diógenes de la Rosa, Secretary of the Provincial Council of Panama; Secretary of the Board for the Study of National Problems; *Government delegate, Panama*

(*Interpretation*)

...Once its powers have been renovated and expanded, will the I.L.O. be able to meet the needs and satisfy the hopes of the peoples of the world? It is not sufficient to recognise that the world is an interdependent unity, and to proclaim that poverty anywhere is a danger to prosperity everywhere. It is wise also to take into account that world labour and production are integrated in one structure, in one economic and social system, which must be reformed and adjusted, without which it would not be possible to accomplish the aims of this Organisation. It will be necessary to convert into permanent controls, institutional controls, those which are considered temporary at present; otherwise it will not be possible to ensure the well-being and liberty of the working masses of the world. If the full powers of action, intervention and co-ordination which it is here proposed to give the I.L.O. come up, in practice, against insuperable obstacles, what will be the reaction of the people who are suffering and hoping? It is evident that the world needs a new order and new fundamental bases, much more vast and deep than those which are envisaged at this Conference.

.....

Mr. CHU Hsueh-fan, President, Chinese Association of Labour; *Workers' delegate, China*

...The proposed draft of a Declaration concerning the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation represents a restatement of the social objectives of the common men the world over. We strove, but failed, to achieve these objectives in the period following the last war. The consequence is the present conflagration. The truism is proven that "peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice". I therefore wholeheartedly endorse the inclusion, in substance, of the said Declaration in the forthcoming peace settlement.

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The universality of application is explicit in the proposed Declaration concerning the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation. "The Conference affirms", so it stipulates, "that all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity...". The last paragraph further "affirms that the principles set forth in this Declaration are fully applicable to all peoples everywhere".

To this motion of universality, I should think it appropriate to add the principle of equality—and by that I mean, more especially, equality in the conditions of employment. This principle has been recognised with regard to woman labour.

The seventh point of Article 41 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation establishes "the principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value". If there should be equality between men and women, undoubtedly there should be equality among men as well.

Yet the unpleasant duty falls to me of pointing out that such is not always the case. Indian, African and Chinese seamen, for instance, engaged in similar trades and working in ships under the same registry are paid far lower wages as compared with other members of the crew of the same ship. The Joint Maritime Commission, at its last session in June 1942, took note of this situation and adopted a resolution which asserted that "in the conditions of employment and general treatment of Chinese, Indian and all other seamen from Asia, Africa and the East and West Indies, there shall be no unfavourable comparison with crews of vessels in similar trades and under the same registry". Obviously, this resolution had not been implemented. Report I, on page 61, states that "the problem of the equality of treatment of seafarers

will clearly constitute a continuing responsibility of the Organisation".

This "continuing responsibility of the Organisation" may best be defined by adding the right of equal treatment to the right of equal opportunity of all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex.

REGIONAL ACTIVITIES

The question of the development of the regional activities of the I.L.O., dealt with in Chapter IV of Report I, is also worthy of note. The Report proposes the convocation of an Asiatic advisory conference of the I.L.O., to be attended by India, China, the Philippine Commonwealth, as well as other countries of South-east Asia. While welcoming in principle such regional co-operation, I must add the reservation that such a conference as envisaged is premature, inasmuch as prevailing conditions of war would render advance planning impossible in that region at this juncture.

Regional conferences of the International Labour Organisation, moreover, must primarily serve as an instrumentality for arriving at collective agreements, as mentioned on page 10.

The purpose of such agreements should be to achieve the objectives set forth in Conventions and Recommendations adopted at the full Conference—first, by the elimination of competition among countries with comparable conditions; and, second, by the gradual improvement of regional standards to reach the world level.

The widening of the horizon of the International Labour Organisation into the economic field is but a logical step in the attainment of the social objectives. Clearly, without economic security, there can be no social justice. I am not prepared to concede offhand the competence of the I.L.O. in handling such matters as the monetary system, the international movement of capital, international trade, the supply of raw materials, oil, or patents and cartels.

I do believe, nevertheless, that the I.L.O. should be in a position, to quote paragraph 4 of the proposed Declaration, "to scrutinise all international economic and financial policies and measures in the light of this fundamental objective". This fundamental objective is social justice. The attainment of the conditions in which this shall be possible must constitute the central aim of national and international policy, and all policies and measures, in particular those of an economic and financial character, must be judged in this light and accepted only in so far as they may be held to promote and not to hinder the achievement of this fundamental objective.

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Mr. José Enrique de SANDOVAL, Chief Adviser and Chief of the International Labour Organisation Service of the Ministry of Labour; *Government delegate, Chile*

(Interpretation)

... If we let slip this occasion to repair the errors of the past, we shall have lost a great opportunity of winning the peace.

I bring the full support of a small Republic, but a Republic which is a democratic unity, to the draft Declaration proposed for our approval.

There is a manifest desire to improve labour standards, but far more effective measures are needed to secure this improvement in the immediate future.

There is no intention of creating a super-State; a procedure must be found which can be applied by the States Members themselves under the auspices of this Organisation.

I should like to make a few specific suggestions. First, it might well be stated in the Declaration that any nation which does not apply minimum standards of social justice, consisting in the observance, with or without ratification, of the international labour Conventions, or at least those of a fundamental character, is an impediment to social progress throughout the world.

Secondly, it should be added to the text on page 80 of Report II that the United Nations undertake to observe the Conventions both in their own territories and in dependent territories, within certain limits, and that they undertake to exclude from all the benefits of economic collaboration those countries which fail to observe this undertaking.

This may seem rather a drastic proposal, but how can we advance and work out new treaties or recommendations unless we begin by seeing that those which already exist, and which represent minimum standards, are applied?

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Dr. Ernest KÜHN TALAY, Consul in Montreal; *Government delegate, Uruguay*

(*Interpretation*)

...I am glad to repeat to the International Labour Organisation the high opinion that Uruguay has of its activities, and the confidence that we feel in the discharge of the serious duties that this Conference will entrust to it. We also, in the name of the Government of Uruguay, approve generally the draft that the Office presents on items I and II on the agenda. Our Government accordingly suggests that the International Labour Organisation should not only maintain its present organisation but should develop its services in the social field, and naturally in the related fields of investigation, but should not interfere in the political field.

As a first suggestion towards the extension of the activities of the Organisation, the Uruguayan delegation has deposited a motion to the effect that the International Labour Organisation should, as soon as possible, establish centres of regional investigation.

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Mr. Arturo SABROSO, Secretary-General of the Peruvian Textile Workers' Federation; Technical Secretary of the Peruvian Workers' National Committee; *Workers' adviser and substitute delegate, Peru*

(*Interpretation*)

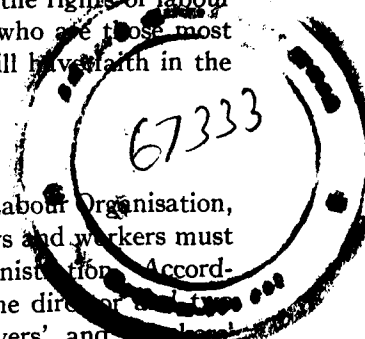
...We all know the resolution which has been drafted by the Office and we realise that it will strengthen the Organisation, but we ask these questions: How is this Organisation going to work? What part will our countries, the small countries of Latin America, play in its administration? Will the workers continue to be a third group in the Organisation? The answer to all these questions will be given by this Conference.

In insisting on the importance of the International Labour Organisation, we must express complete disagreement with the idea expressed by Mr. Beasley, the Australian delegate, when he said that in his opinion the International Labour Organisation should be reorganised as an intergovernmental organisation. We cannot affirm that the International Labour Organisation has achieved all its objectives, but modern labour law has undoubtedly been developed and strengthened by its 25 years of activity. If anyone is to speak of the slowness with which the rights of labour have been achieved, it should be the workers who are those most affected thereby. But, as we have said, we still have faith in the future of the Organisation.

.....

As to the future action of the International Labour Organisation, we believe that representatives of the employers and workers must take a more direct and effective part in its administration. According to the tripartite system, we could have one director and two assistant directors, belonging to the Employers' and Workers' groups, who would alternate regularly in such a way as to permit the participation of representatives of all countries in turn. We also believe that the same tripartite principle should be applied in all the agencies and branch offices which the Organisation maintains in various countries, since it would enable them to do much more useful work.

Referring to items I and II, we should like to draw attention only to the need for completing the fourth paragraph of the proposed Declaration. The effective recognition of the right to collective bargaining, seems to us somewhat vague, without the complementary assertion of the right to freedom of association.



The following paragraph satisfies us completely—to extend to the whole population the right to social security. This is of great importance, if we stop to consider that in most countries of Latin America, social security scarcely reaches a few sections of the population.

Finally, for the better future of the Americas, we request that the International Labour Organisation should recommend to the Governments of the more industrialised nations, such as Great Britain and the United States, that enterprises belonging to those nations which exploit mines, oilfields, agricultural undertakings and factories, should extend to the workers the same treatment as is customary in their own countries.

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Dr. Lourival FONTES, Envoy Extraordinary and
Minister Plenipotentiary; Permanent Representative
of the Brazilian Government on the Governing Body of
the International Labour Office; *Government delegate,*
Brazil

(Interpretation)

My Government is ready to put into practice the concrete solutions and principles established for the post-war period, whether in the form of the domestic measures necessary to attain these social objectives, or of international co-operation.

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Discussion of the Director's Report

(12th, 13th and 14th Sitzings of the Conference,
8 and 10 May 1944)

Mr. Isaac COWLEY HERNÁNDEZ, Cuban Planters' Association; *Employers' delegate, Cuba*

(*Interpretation*)

...I should like to urge the Director in his reports which deal with recent economic and social progress, to give special attention to industrial phenomena, especially when, as in the case of sugar, the product is of such great importance for war and peace and for the basic nutrition of all peoples.

Mr. LI Ming, Chairman of the Board of Directors, Chekiang Industrial Bank; Chairman, Shanghai Bankers' Association; *Employers' delegate, China*

...I have noted, too, with considerable interest that the International Labour Organisation is considering the calling of an Asiatic regional conference. I hope that a preliminary conference will be held as soon as the military situation permits, because the question of how to raise the standard of living should be discussed at an early stage. Modern Chinese industrialists realise the necessity of better working conditions and livelihood of the workers, in order to increase their efficiency, as well as to improve social standards. The holding of such a conference will foster the realisation of these aims.

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Dr. Carlos TINOCO RODIL, Member of Congress; *Government delegate, Venezuela*

(*Interpretation*)

...The Venezuelan delegation wishes to congratulate the Acting Director on his brilliant report. In spite of all unfavourable circumstances, it clearly expresses the proved efficiency of the Office and its irreproachable technique. We can learn very much from it.

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Venezuela has in the past received very great benefits from the I.L.O. and we are confident that in the future it will continue to do so. I repeat my enthusiasm and admiration for this Organisation, in which we will all collaborate enthusiastically.

Mrs. Cora CASSELMAN, M.P., Ottawa; *Government adviser, Canada*

... It is fortunate that, in his chapter on the work of the Organisation, the Director records the technical assistance afforded by the Office to Canada and to other countries during the period under review. This gives me an opportunity of publicly thanking the Director and the members of his staff, on behalf of the Canadian Government, for their ready response to my country's request for assistance, when the programme for social security and labour relations was under review.

In making this call, Canada expressed confidence in the Office to which she gave sanctuary when it was forced by events to move from its seat in Switzerland. She was glad of having this opportunity, when the future of the Organisation was at stake. She is likewise proud that *The International Labour Code, 1939*, was published in a Canadian city. This corpus of social legislation is, perhaps, the most valuable legacy which the inter-war period has made to civilisation.

.....

Mr. Arturo VELÁSQUEZ QUIROGA, Member of the National Council of the Chilean Confederation of Labour; *Workers' delegate, Chile*

(*Interpretation*)

... We hope... that all Governments, employers and workers in the world, through the International Labour Organisation, will be able to adopt the generous and far-sighted attitude called for in this critical period of history, if we are to succeed in reaching a higher level in the progressive development of human society.

Mr. STANCZYK, *Government delegate, Poland*

... I believe that the economic and social questions of countries of prevailing agricultural structure are one of the most important problems to which the I.L.O. should devote its particular attention. I have already submitted a proposal on this subject to the Committee on items I and II on the agenda. I should now like to devote a few minutes to it.

When the I.L.O. was first set up, it was of necessity conceived against a pre-war background of economic liberalism and as an antidote against its social evils. The beginnings of a body of protective labour legislation were thus continually held in check by the real or imagined handicap they imposed in international competition upon industrial countries more progressive in social legislation than others. For this reason one of the principal functions of the I.L.O. was to make possible an internationally co-ordinated social advance in industrial communities.

As Mr. Bevin stated in a speech delivered to the Emergency Committee of the I.L.O. in London in April 1942, "it was inevitable that, in the starting of the Organisation, by far most attention was paid to what might be regarded as industrialised areas of the world". But as the Organisation has already recognised, the great task now is to pay more and more attention to the primary producer. You cannot have a decent civilisation if you leave the farmer of the world underpaid, and, in spite of the fact that he grows the food of the world, underfed and in poverty. You cannot afford to allow the industrialist to have his cartel, his price-fixing arrangements and all the other devices, while leaving the primary producer unprotected; it just means suicide for the industrialist himself.

THE SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF AGRICULTURE

If we consider a question as important as the one to which we have devoted so much time at the Conference, namely, full employment, we cannot imagine that full employment is possible in industry, particularly in highly industrialised countries, unless we guarantee a market for industrial commodities in agricultural countries. This can also be achieved to a certain extent by regulating prices for agricultural products at a level that will correspond to those for manufactured goods.

A mere glance at the latest statistics proves that of the total working world population, only about 22 per cent. are industrial workers, whereas agricultural workers constitute about 60 per cent. It shows clearly that the problem of arriving at some balance between the countries which are essentially producers of food-

stuffs and raw materials and the industrial communities is basic as well from the economic as from the social point of view.

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It must be said that from the very beginning the I.L.O. never considered its efforts complete when dealing only with industrial undertakings, and that it was steadily dominated by the idea of obtaining, whenever possible, the same conditions for agricultural labour as for industrial workers; but its efforts in this respect met with very little success.

It soon became apparent that agriculture could not be identified with industry as regards measures of social protection, and that the same solutions were not always practicable. In fact, agriculture presents little of the uniformity of conditions which characterises industry. Whereas the industrial population is mainly divided into employers and wage earners, the farmer, the peasant, the share-tenant and share-cropper and other classes of land workers represent different social outlooks and requirements according to the size of their holdings and the tenure under which they work them. Climate, soil and usage constitute factors making for more diversity, which hardly exists in relation to the factory or the workshop. That is why attempts to apply industrial methods of labour protection to agriculture have so often proved unsuccessful, and this will prevail until some sort of economic equality between industrial and agricultural countries can be realised.

And yet, for many countries, the social advancement of the rural population is a far bigger and more urgent problem than that of the urban communities.

It is, of course, not suggested that the I.L.O. is expected to bring about by its own efforts such enormous changes as these which obviously require the background of large-scale international action in the economic field.

What the I.L.O. might be able to do is to ensure the social problems of agriculture a place corresponding to their growing importance in the world's economy, and in order to obtain this result the interests of rural labour must be represented in the very structure of the Organisation, thus gradually attaining an equal footing with those of industrial labour.

For this purpose, special agricultural sessions of the Conference for the consideration of particular questions related to agriculture should be held, in addition to the statutory annual sessions provided for in the Constitution.

Dr. JÁN MASARYK, Deputy Prime Minister; Minister of Foreign Affairs; *Government delegate, Czechoslovakia*

... May I, almost in conclusion, throw out a couple of thoughts for your friendly attention? The budget of the International Labour Office is definitely insufficient. In these days when we willingly spend millions or billions on war, we should certainly be more generous with the necessary institutions which are helping to plan the peace.

Naturally, we are all vitally interested in the welfare of the manual worker. We want to make his lot better, his social security greater, and his children red-cheeked, and, believe me, there are millions of very pale children in Europe and in Asia.

Here, I would like to say a word for the white-collar worker—the teacher, the professor, the poet, the musician, the clergyman, the priest, whose lot in the occupied countries has been too horrible for words. They also must be safeguarded in the future. When we made an honest survey of the Nazi beastliness in Czechoslovakia, the labourers of the mind showed the highest percentage of victims.

The Czechoslovak delegation considers the close collaboration between the I.L.O. and other agencies working for the same goal as highly advisable—nay, necessary. I have been a delegate to the U.N.R.R.A. Conference, and I know well there are many points of contact between us here and the U.N.R.R.A. These contacts should be strengthened. The same applies to other institutions, as, for instance, the Food and Agriculture Committee.

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I wish the International Labour Office success in its future activities. I hope that the next time we meet that Soviet Russia, conspicuous by its absence, will have joined our deliberations. Social security for all is our aim and is our prayer. Security—permanent security from aggression—is an integral part of social security. We expect the International Labour Office to have an important voice in the preparing of peace and of social peace.

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Mr. LI Ping-heng, *Government delegate, China*

(*Interpretation*)

... There can be no doubt that all international collaboration ensuring the restoration of the international movement of capital for economic development must have as its object the improvement of standards of living throughout the world. I am therefore entirely in agreement with the principles and programme laid down by the International Labour Organisation. I hope we can give to the International Labour Office a formal mandate to apply the principles which it has itself proposed.

I also wish to take this opportunity of drawing the attention of the Organisation to the fact that industrial development throughout the world is still in a state of disequilibrium, and that there are very marked differences in the economic opportunities and social and industrial traditions of different regions. While maintaining the universal character of the International Labour Organisation, the principle of regional conferences should be developed to solve the special problems of each region. China has been a Member of the International Labour Organisation since its origin, and is particularly desirous of collaborating in that great democratic institution. The branch office in China is operating effectively, in spite of all difficulties due to existing circumstances. This Office will have to be enlarged as soon as economic reconstruction starts on a large scale.

Before I leave this platform, I would like to add that to establish a real peace between the nations, we must prepare for the future now, and answer the demand of the workers of the world for peace and justice. Nearly 100 million Asiatic workers have placed their hopes in the International Labour Organisation.

Mr. Victor ANDRADE, Minister of Labour, Health and Social Welfare; *Government delegate, Bolivia*

(*Interpretation*)

... When the springs of human hope are released, the desire for a better life must be satisfied, or it may be turned into a delirium of destruction and of frustration.

The I.L.O. must fix its eyes upon these truths; otherwise, the result may be a sterile bureaucracy. It must raise a standard of freedom and dignity under which workers can live as men and not as slaves. It must establish principles of work which will make labour a binding tie of brotherhood between man and man, rather than a chain of misery, grief, exhaustion and futility. In the name of one of the countries which has placed its faith in the results of your deliberations, I express the fervent hope that we may attain these ideals.

Mr. Henry Carlos PRIOR, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of India in Department of
Labour; *Government delegate, India*

There are just three points which I wish to make on matters arising from the Director's Report. The first is a point to which I have already briefly referred in committee, but it is of such importance to us that I must mention it again here. That is the manner of ensuring that Government delegates from countries whose headquarters are far away from the site of the Conference are able to take their proper place in the proceedings.

Government delegates are expected to speak with the full authority of their Governments, and they cannot take their proper place unless they are able to do so. This time we received some reports one or two days before I left India; some reports so far as I know have not even yet reached India. I have no evidence to show that they have.

Now, the strength of this Conference depends on its international and tripartite character, but if there are some delegates whose Governments have had time to study the documentation prepared by the Office and others whose Governments have not had that time, either the value of that internationalism must be lost or those who have been unable to get full instructions must delay their decisions until they can get instructions from their Governments.

It seems to us that where, as at this Conference, amendments are likely to be put forward altering materially the Office's suggestions, it is essential that the Office should consult Governments in some form of questionnaire before their proposals are prepared. In our view, this will lead to quicker results.

The second point I wish to refer to is the position of Asiatic countries. India is, I believe, the third largest contributor to the funds of the Conference, and is, I think, a fairly good payer. But there are some in my country who are wondering and who have expressed a doubt as to whether we are getting value for the money paid to the League of Nations.

We, from the Government point of view, feel that we do get value, and we agree with the views expressed by our spokesman in the Legislative Assembly debate some years ago that we cannot hope to evaluate exactly the benefits we get in relation to the subscriptions we pay.

We are, however, most anxious that the Asiatic side of the Organisation should be strengthened, and for that reason, as my leader has already said, we welcome the proposal for an Asiatic

regional conference when conditions are suitable and the war situation allows.

But there is, I think, one other manner in which the International Labour Organisation can help us in Asiatic countries, and that is in regard to their views and their reports. We would like to see them carrying out a careful scrutiny of the reports of all kinds received from Asiatic countries, a scrutiny done in their local office and done quickly, and circulated to us in Asiatic countries. We would like them to prepare memoranda based on new improvements taking place in other countries and to send us a report telling us which of those particular new improvements in other countries might be suitable to us in Asiatic countries. I do not think they do that at the present time. They send us a lot of paper. We may not have time to study it all and we cannot ourselves always pick out that part of it which is of most value to us. We would welcome the help of the I.L.O. in doing that for us.

.....

I do not want to say more, but I did just want to make it clear that we are fully prepared to develop and are doing what we can to develop a forward labour policy, and to reach a stage at which we shall be able to ratify more and more Conventions and follow more and more Recommendations. But we do ask that those Conventions and Recommendations be framed for Asiatic countries to give us a target which is possible of attainment, a target perhaps well in advance, but a target which takes into account differences of national conditions. Conventions and Recommendations framed otherwise lose for us realism, and cease to be the spur for achievement that they should be.

Mr. CHU Hsueh-fan, *Workers' delegate, China*

Reading the Report of the Acting Director, one has the impression that the International Labour Office is gradually widening its horizon in the appraisal of the economic background and social developments. One discerns in particular increasing cognisance being taken of conditions such as prevail in China.

This is a gratifying phenomenon. The International Labour Organisation is founded upon the conception that the improvement of the conditions of labour is a matter of international concern. This can be achieved only through concerted international effort. No improvement in the conditions of labour anywhere can be long sustained if it is denied to one quarter of the human race.

It is for this reason that organised labour in China consistently upholds the ideals which inspire the International Labour Organisation. It is for the same reason that the I.L.O. should increase its attention to and expand its work for China. For Chinese labour to lend its support to the I.L.O., its rank and file must have a clear understanding of the operations of the Organisation. To this end, the Chinese Association of Labour is already conducting educational campaigns among the masses. On the part of the International Labour Office, in order that it may adequately perform its functions with regard to China, it should, besides expanding its branch office, have competent personnel in the head Office.

I recall that in his Report in 1939, the former Director, Mr. Winant, pointed with pride to the staff of the International Labour Office as the "nucleus of an international civil service". For the accomplishments of this staff, especially in view of the difficulties and perils which beset the Office, I have unbounded admiration.

Reference is made in the present Report to the technical assistance rendered by members of the staff of the Office to various Governments in the planning and administration of social security and other social measures. It is to be hoped that the Chinese Government will not fail to draw upon the experience and technique of the Office as soon as possible to map out such comprehensive projects as social security, housing, employment, and an enlightened wage policy.

In anticipation of these increasing demands on the staff of the International Labour Office, I think it may be well for the Office to strengthen the section of its staff which has charge of Chinese affairs. These officers must, as a minimum standard of competence, possess a thorough knowledge of conditions in China and of the Chinese language, and should have a sound understanding of the aspirations of Chinese labour and of the Chinese people in general.

The growing and enormous importance of the East has been manifest in this war. As early as 1938 Mr. Butler, the former Director, recognised that "the International Labour Organisation has a special task to perform in this area, in which more than half the population of the world work and live". Gone are the days when the International Labour Organisation could rely for its support and concentrate its attention upon Europe. The centre of gravity of the I.L.O. has been slowly shifting to extra-European countries.

As the work of rehabilitation and reconstruction unfolds itself in the post-war period in Asia, it would not be surprising if the International Labour Office finds itself engaged in much expanded endeavours in the East—in China, in India, and elsewhere.

.....

Apart from the technical services which it is peculiarly fitted to render, the principal function of the International Labour Organisation, as laid down in its Constitution, is the building up of an International Labour Code. But Conventions and Recommendations adopted by this Conference are no more than prescriptions. They require implementation by the national Governments. Having the prescription, one has yet to procure the medicine and find the nurse to administer it. The Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions should therefore resume its normal functions.

.....

This year marks the silver jubilee of the International Labour Organisation. Were it not for its predicament in the war, our Conference could have provided occasion for celebration. But it was in the vicissitudes of a world at war that the International Labour Organisation proved its strength, under the stewardship of the Acting Director. To him, as well as to all members of the staff of the Office, we all have reason to be thankful.

We have aimed high and worked hard during these weeks of deliberations. Our labours will be well recompensed if, through our endeavours, the International Labour Organisation could celebrate its golden jubilee amidst universal peace and greater prosperity for all men.

Mr. Pierre KRIER, Minister of Labour; *Government delegate, Luxembourg*

...The Director's Report is all the more remarkable in view of the shortage of personnel and resources of the Office. If, in spite of all, the Office has been able to continue its work and to accomplish so much, it is thanks to the devotion of the officials who were encouraged by the belief that their work and their suggestions and their reports will make for the welfare of the working classes, and the satisfaction of their just claims. These reports contain ideas and principles that may bring about profound changes in the social situation of different countries.

However, the workers of the world are those who are most interested in our deliberations, and for this reason I should like to see texts that are clearer, shorter and more precise. It is not complicated declarations that are expected of us, but something that is comprehensible to the ordinary people. Our resolutions should not be adopted in order to supply communiqués to the press or to serve as source material for future conferences. They should be adopted with a full realisation of their implications, and they should be carried out.

We are entering into commitments towards the workers of all countries, and all the peoples of the world will ask us to carry out our commitments. Too often the working masses of the world have been betrayed and deceived by promises which were forgotten the moment they had been given. The famous Fourteen Points of President Wilson, whereby he wished to assure a minimum of welfare and security to the peoples, have remained a dead letter. The Atlantic Charter will suffer the same fate if all those here do not realise that it is we who have to ensure its application by the guarantee of elementary rights to all those who work. These rights have been acquired by those who are suffering, who are fighting, and who are sacrificing themselves. Woe to those who try to lessen those rights.

I am convinced that after this war the people will find means of satisfying their just claims. It is not in vain that they have learned to fight with all weapons, and if in Europe today they fight the enemy with rudimentary weapons, but with savage conviction, they will not in the future shrink from fresh battles, so as to annihilate, once and for all, social reaction—the source of all evil.

The International Labour Organisation is based on social principles. These principles are not a matter for bargaining. You may accept them or reject them, but they cannot be whittled down, either in spirit or in scope. It is by its attitude towards these

principles that the International Labour Organisation will be judged. It is in the light of the application of these principles that the Governments of the different countries will be judged. It is on this that the confidence of the masses depends, a confidence which cannot be created by artificial means, but must be nourished by deeds. These deeds are imposed on Governments not only by the decisions of our Conference, but also by the programmes and the schemes that will be put forward when the occupied countries are liberated. Who will be bold enough to deny to these peoples the right to make demands and even to fight for their achievement? ...

COMPOSITION OF THE GOVERNING BODY

Is it not a contradiction . . . of the social ideal of the International Labour Organisation to make the composition of the Governing Body depend upon the industrial importance of the different countries? Is it the production of a country that is the most important, or is it the material and social situation of those who create this production—that is to say, the workers? If it is only production that counts, who would dare deny that Germany has today an enormous output? But she owes it to the most shameful and criminal exploitation of the workers.

...

In the past, at different conferences, we have objected to the presence of delegations from fascist countries, such as Italy; but we have too often accepted, without protest, delegations of semi-fascist countries. I think that we owe it to those who suffer now under the fascist yoke not to tolerate semi-fascist and pseudo-democratic delegations that are prejudicial to the International Labour Organisation, which can only live and flourish in a truly democratic régime.

This democracy cannot be defined by the extent of a country or the extent of its productive capacities, but only by the social situation and the civil liberties of the people. I will go so far as to say that countries like New Zealand, so worthily represented here by our President, or like Luxembourg, two countries small in area and in population, but great in social achievements, certainly merit the qualification of democratic countries.

I therefore ask the Director to consider whether it would not be to the interests of the International Labour Organisation to have the Governing Body composed in the future of the countries which are most advanced socially; for it is the Governing Body that should encourage social progress and watch over the applica-

tion of social principles and the satisfaction of social claims. These countries may not be the largest or the most productive. During the war the Allied countries have made gigantic efforts in the economic domain, in order to attain their end, which is the destruction of the enemy war machine. Everything has been subordinated to production. It is for us to see now that production shall be subordinated to the needs of humanity, which should enjoy essential rights—the right to work, fair wages, social security, the right to leisure, to education, to culture, social peace and co-operation in economic life. These words constitute the whole future programme with which we are concerned, and the realisation of which will establish what has been called the century of the common man.

I have full confidence in this realisation, for I have confidence in the common sense and the goodwill of the people, and their determination to ensure world peace and social justice.

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Mr. HALLSWORTH, *Workers' delegate, British Empire*

The 1941 Conference marked a new stage in the development of this Organisation, and this Conference, if it is to be successful, must link its conclusions with those of 1941 in regard to the role which the I.L.O. must play in world affairs.

In his Report, the Director has sketched, briefly but sufficiently, the chief events since the 1941 Conference, and in doing so, he has shown what has been attempted to give shape and substance to what was decided at that time. The 1941 Conference, however, was not the usual kind of I.L.O. gathering, for it was not a regular session of the Conference, and for that reason, the decisions of the present regular session should reaffirm authoritatively the principles proclaimed at New York and should apply them in the light of developments in the intervening period between the two Conferences.

But it must do more than that. It must show to the whole world, friend and foe alike and particularly the stricken peoples who are impatiently awaiting deliverance from their bonds of oppression, even as the pace of war is quickened, that the paths to economic and social progress are clearly marked out, and what is more important still, that the Members of this Organisation are determined to tread those paths. This is necessary because whatever other international organisations may be found necessary to deal with specific matters, it cannot be too often or too strongly emphasised that the I.L.O. is the only organisation that rests on a tripartite basis of representation and endeavour and of active collaboration.

It is clear even now, before the Conference has concluded its session, that there is much agreement on effective action that can be taken in the immediate future. It is equally clear that continuing discussion will be necessary to work out longer-term policies.

Now, in all this effort, the Director and his staff will have a great deal of work to do. It is vital that this work shall not be skimmed. Its prosecution will be regarded as a trial of democratic faith and the test of the sincerity of the Organisation. We may be quite sure that the hopes of millions of people will be falsified if the I.L.O. fails to do everything that it is possible for it to do. If a substantial measure of agreement is reached by this Conference, it will be very largely due to the way in which the Office, by its various studies and reports and particularly the Report of the Director and the other reports presented to this Conference, have prepared the ground. This task has been an arduous one. I marvel

at the amount of work done by the Office since the Governing Body meeting in London in December last.

There are some people, of course, who may think that the reports have covered too much ground. I heard that excuse made—it isn't a reason, it is only an excuse—for some people not having been able to read the reports. Well, if delegates and their advisers received the reports before they left their countries, I think they should have read them. If they did not receive them before they left their countries, they should have made some effort to read them when they arrived in Philadelphia. But I do not think that the reports are too full or that they cover too much ground. Nobody can tell how the pace of events in the war situation will carry us. It may be that we shall be carried along more quickly than we yet know to be possible.

On the other hand, there may be more time for deliberation, but I think it was an excellent thing for the Director and his staff to get into the Report now before us and in the other reports presented to this Conference as much material as possible, for we don't know when the next occasion will arise for us to meet, and therefore we ought to have the opportunity of measuring everything that is possible to measure right up to the date and during the period of the Conference.

I think, too, that the clear expositions afforded by the Director's Report and the associated reports to this Conference have greatly facilitated the work we have been able to do, both in the Conference and more in the committees of the Conference. This brings me to a very important point, namely, what are the financial resources that are going to be placed at the disposal of the Organisation to enable it to guarantee adequate staff and equipment and funds for the holding of meetings of the Governing Body and of technical and other committees?

THE I.L.O.'S BUDGET

Obviously, we require an expenditure budget which shall take a realistic view of the tasks imposed upon the Organisation, both by previous Conferences and by what may emerge from this Conference, and what is equally important, if the expenditure budget to be voted by Governments—out of the taxation of their peoples, be it remembered—is to be a real budget, then the full amount of revenue must be raised by the Governments to finance that budget.

It is no use, for example, granting so many millions of Swiss francs for an expenditure budget if we are going to realise only 60 or 70 or 80 per cent. of that budget, because it creates an uncer-

tain situation for the Governing Body and the Director of the Organisation. On the Director's part, he can neither plan nor perform the obligations laid upon the Office unless his budget is guaranteed and is adequate, nor can the representatives of the three elements in this Organisation do their work effectively.

I don't want to stress this matter more than is necessary, but it is a fact that if we want this Organisation to live—really to live, not merely to exist—if it is to be something more than a mutual admiration society, if it is going to be really effective, then it must have a shining light before it—the work which the great trade unions of our countries are doing. For they, in addition to raising the necessary revenue to finance their budgets during a very troublous time like that of the war period, have made up their minds to raise additional budgets in order to assist their comrades in the stricken countries to re-establish their trade unions in those lands; and if working men and women, out of the humble coppers that we pay week by week, can carry on their side of the work which is so vital to this Organisation as well as to their own, then Governments, out of the same resources in their countries, can also find the means by which this Organisation can go forward, upholding strongly the torch of a declared democracy.

Mr. Tomás HERNÁNDEZ FRANCO, Member of Congress; *Government adviser, Dominican Republic*

(*Interpretation*)

... To define the policies, programme and future position of the International Labour Organisation, the only surviving organisation of all those created by the Treaty of Peace, with twenty-five years of work to its credit in the application of social justice, to recommend the social policy that should be carried on after the war, to deal with employment during the transition period, and to work out a plan of social security—all these are matters that require the special attention of Government, employers' and workers' delegates of all the countries of the world, and we support them with all our heart, confident that we are moving towards a better world...

Mr. Clarence G. McDAVITT, former Vice-President, New England Telephone and Telegraph Company, Boston, Mass.; *Employers' adviser, United States of America*

I should say at the outset that I am speaking for Mr. Harri-
man, and am going to read his paper.

.....

This Conference of the I.L.O. has very wisely been convened before the actual defeat of the Axis Powers, in order that the I.L.O. may plan its contribution to the establishment of the better world order for which we are all fighting.

The basic need of the world after the close of the war will be the development of a civilisation in which men and women can be assured of continuous work at fair rates of pay, and in which they will have a reasonable assurance against the three great tragedies of life: unemployment, sickness, and old age. Such a civilisation can be developed only in an atmosphere of world peace and world co-operation. To this end the I.L.O. has most important functions to perform, first, in the establishment of cordial relations between management and labour; secondly, in advancing the equalisation of labour standards throughout the world; and thirdly, in spreading the gospel of social security.

But the I.L.O. must also remember that great reforms can only endure if they come gradually, and with the hearty approval of those who are affected. The Chamber of Commerce of the United States, which suggested my name to the President as employers' representative at this I.L.O. Conference, has recently adopted a set of principles on international post-war problems, which I think are most enlightening and which I am sure represent the thoughtful conclusions of the businessmen of America.

.....

It recognises the valuable work which has been done by the International Labour Office and hopes to see its functions and powers extended and enlarged. It particularly believes in its tripartite organisation, and it hopes that other similar organisations may be set up to consider such problems as youth and education, agriculture, food and health, and finance and foreign trade, all of them autonomous and yet closely affiliated with the new "society of nations". Like the I.L.O., such other organisations should have their own building, staff, and director, and their own governing bodies and research organisations. The United States Chamber of Commerce can think of no more effective instrument for world peace than a strong society of nations, surrounded by groups of autonomous organisations dealing with basic economic and social problems.

AN INTERNATIONAL BUDGET BUREAU

If there is to be set up a society of nations and an affiliated group of autonomous organisations dealing with basic economic and social problems, it is most essential that the budgets of these organisations, which must be met by assessments from the member nations, be most carefully worked out.

In the past, the I.L.O. has prepared its own budget and submitted it to the League of Nations; and through the League, funds have been collected for the I.L.O.'s support, the League, of course, reserving the right to limit or vary the amount asked for by the I.L.O. It is perfectly possible that in the future a serious question may arise as to the amount of money required by the "society of nations" and by its associate and economic organisations, and it is hardly fair that the society itself should be the judge of the needs of these other organisations. As it is most desirable that a single budget be worked out for the entire group, in order that a single request may be made of each of the member nations for its total contributions, I would suggest that there be established in Geneva an international budget bureau, entirely independent of the society of nations, which will pass upon the financial requirements of the society itself and of each of its affiliates, and submit a combined budget to the member nations.

This international budget bureau should be made up of representatives of the eight or ten largest industrial nations of the world, plus fair representation from the smaller nations. Such a bureau should be independent of each of the organisations requiring support, and would, therefore, be in a position to judge impartially of their needs.

THE TITLE OF THE ORGANISATION

The Acting Director has outlined five major problems which are coming up for consideration by this Conference. Under either item I or II on this agenda, this Conference may well consider whether it would not be wise for the I.L.O. to change its name. Recently, Otis E. Mulliken, Acting Chief of the Division of Labor Relations, United States Department of State, said:

The name "International Labour Organisation" has led to many misconceptions as to its nature and activities. This is especially true in the United States, where, because of the relatively short period of our membership, the I.L.O. is less well known than in other parts of the world. The name suggests a labour union of international dimensions. This is quite misleading, for although

the Organisation does concern itself with the problems of labour, it is not a trade union organisation. Trade unions are represented in it, but so are employers' organisations and Governments. Furthermore, it is an official organisation whose funds are provided by governmental appropriations, and in which Governments exercise a predominant influence.

I have long sympathised with the views so well expressed by Mr. Mulliken, and I hope this convention will give most serious consideration to the suggestion. Many names suggest themselves, among a few of which are: International Organisation of Labour and Management; International Organisation of Labour and Industry; International Organisation of Labour Problems. Management in the United States does not urge the acceptance of any particular name, but it does feel that the name of this Organisation should be one which is in entire accord with the fact that its organisation is tripartite in nature, and it is not an organisation of labour.

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Mr. Nicasio SILVERIO y SAINZ., Director-General of the Department of Naturalisation and Migration; Cuban Delegate on the Inter-American Permanent Committee on Social Security; *Government delegate, Cuba*

(Interpretation)

...The commercial treaties between Cuba and other countries enable us to devote all our energies to war production, and, in particular, the production of agricultural products such as sugar, alcohol, tobacco, coffee, fruits and vegetables. But what has saved Cuba today may be very dangerous in the post-war period. Although the development of the sugar industry has not necessitated additional machinery and equipment for the mills, it has meant that the peasants have had to develop new lands and make improvements at a considerable cost, in particular for labour.

I assume that the United Nations, and the International Labour Organisation in particular, are taking these conditions into account and do not wish to bring us to a financial catastrophe—and not only us, but other exporting countries that really rely on one single article—in our case, sugar. We have invested a great deal of money in the development of our industries. If this money is lost, we shall be in a serious situation.

.....

Mr. MULHERKAR, *Employers' adviser, India*

...I fully endorse the suggestion made by my colleague representing the Government of India that the Asiatic section of the I.L.O. Secretariat should be further strengthened. I go further and suggest that an Asiatic should be appointed to the newly proposed post of Assistant Director so that Asiatic questions may be examined in their true perspective.

Dr. William Anstey WYNES, First Secretary, Department of External Affairs; Official Secretary, High Commissioner in Canada; *Government adviser, Australia*

I am reading the following statement on behalf of the leader of the Australian Government delegation, Hon. J. A. Beasley.

"I have read with interest the Report of the Director. The review he has made in his chapters on the economic background and social developments makes a valuable record, and the chapter on the work of the I.L.O. shows us that much has been accomplished by the Office in spite of wartime difficulties.

"Without in any way wishing to detract from the value of this Report, I should like to express the opinion that the Director's Report to the Conference should include more details regarding the day-to-day work and administration of the International Labour Office. There are many of us who make our contributions to this Organisation with regularity. For that reason alone we feel an obligation to be interested in the administration of the Office. But some of us are also suggesting that the I.L.O. should carry out increased functions of a most important kind in relation to world economic collaboration. We in Australia are never content to allocate duties or formulate plans; we always regard the carrying into effect of proposals as the essential factor. But we have no opportunity of learning about the administration which will have the task of carrying out these proposed functions, or commenting upon it, other than during discussions on the Director's Report. We should like to know more about the staff, their qualifications, their duties, plans for additional staff, the budget and many such details, and I feel it should be the duty of the Director to give that information to the members at each session of the Conference.

"A second matter I should like to mention is the procedure of this Conference. At this particular session we have been working under difficulties. Accommodation has not been entirely suitable, and there were also difficulties experienced in the preparation of material. But even allowing for these special wartime circumstances, the procedure of the Conference leaves a lot to be desired. I suggest that the Governing Body should give this matter particular attention and should try to develop a procedure more nearly like that of a parliamentary system, in which debates take an orderly course and are governed by definite standing orders. The number of items on the agenda has made necessary on this occasion simultaneous meetings of committees. Small delegations should not be expected to undertake the strenuous and concentrated work which conscientious attendance at many committees together involves. An orderly procedure, and less time wasted on the determination of procedure at the Conference itself, would make possible a parliamentary system in which each item on the agenda would be debated separately.

"The third matter I wish to mention is the question of staff. The I.L.O. has been given at this Conference many additional functions. It is quite apparent that it cannot carry out these functions with its present staff. It is equally certain that the mere provision of a larger budget cannot provide increased staff of the type required. If well-equipped people were available, Governments, all of which are today urgently in need of highly-trained economists, political scientists and administrators, would be employing them. There seems to be only one solution, and that is that Member Governments agree to second to the I.L.O. for periods of two or three years certain selected officials who, for that period, would work as permanent members of the Office. Such a scheme would have the additional advantage of keeping the International Labour Office in touch with Governments. One of the problems of international secretariats is that the permanent members so easily become out of touch with the thought of Governments and the political problems Governments face, and their work and recommendations, while perhaps technically sound, become unreal and politically unacceptable.

"The Australian Foreign Minister, Dr. Evatt, wishes me to say that if such a proposal is acceptable to the Conference and the Governing Body, the Australian Government would undertake to provide some suitable officials at all levels, though possibly on a limited scale while the war lasts."

Mr. AFTAB ALI, Vice-President, Indian Federation of Labour; President, Indian Seamen's Union; *Workers' adviser, India*

...I wish particularly to refer to Report I and say that by stressing the necessity of holding an Asiatic conference under the auspices of the I.L.O., the Director has done a great service, not only to the Asiatic countries, but also to all other countries connected with the I.L.O., and even to those countries which are outside at the moment. As the Director himself has pointed out, we have repeatedly asked for an Asiatic conference in the past, and I again maintain that the necessity for holding such a conference was never before more great and more urgent than it is today.

The Director has also informed us in his Report I that the holding of such a conference during the inter-war period was actually proposed by the Office, but the proposal did not meet with sufficient favour from the Governments of the countries concerned. We are also informed that subsequently a "more modest" proposal, namely, for the establishment of Asiatic committees, was also put forward, and that too has been shelved indefinitely owing to Japan's withdrawal from the I.L.O. I wish that the Director had named the Governments which did not agree to the holding of such a conference in Asia by the I.L.O. so that we might have also known them in their true colours.

I must also say here that I am not at all happy in knowing of this "more modest" proposal on the part of the I.L.O. I do feel that the I.L.O. has already become too modest and too shy in its dealings with these Governments and further modesty might even undo the I.L.O. itself. Frankly speaking, in my humble opinion, the Asiatic workers will not accept this apparent lack of duty as an act of modesty. On the contrary, I think they will treat this as a clear breach of faith on the part of the I.L.O. Therefore, the holding of the Asiatic conference must not be delayed any longer. It must be held before the war is over. I submit that if it was necessary to hold this Conference before the war was over, it is equally necessary to hold a conference in Asia as well.

For example, let us take the questions of social security and employment organisation, the two most important items on the agenda of this Conference. I submit that the Office proposals have not at all taken into account the present conditions of the Asiatic countries and, consequently, our participation in this Conference in reality has been reduced to that of mere spectators and nothing more. And yet, India alone is paying the third major contribution, or about one twelfth of the total funds of the I.L.O.

Frankly, our relationship with the I.L.O. is becoming really difficult, if not impossible. I must therefore request this Conference and our newly appointed Governing Body to act, and act quickly, if the I.L.O. is to justify its existence as an international organisation for securing social justice.

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Dr. Fidel Alberto LÓPEZ ARTETA, President of the National Welfare Institution; *Government delegate, Ecuador*

(Interpretation)

...Social legislation in America is in constant evolution, as is stressed in the Director's Report. All countries have either enacted their labour codes, or amended them, established or amended their social security systems, intensified their measures of public welfare, of maternity and child and infant care, have given attention to problems of nutrition and housing, and so forth. But a very serious difficulty which the Latin American countries have encountered in their efforts towards progress, and in which international co-operation is more than ever necessary, is the question of indigenous populations and the difficulty created by the thirty million people in our countries who have so far lived on a very low standard indeed. A beginning has been made by the establishment of the Inter-American Indian Institute, in which the great Mexican nation has played the part of initiator. The International Labour Organisation must also give its attention to this problem and give us the benefit of its international prestige, its experience and its technique in finding a solution. A magnificent instrument of co-operation has been created recently in Chile, under the name of the Inter-American Conference on Social Security. Its solemn Declaration of Principles states that the health, capacity and well-being of the workers of one American nation concern also all other American nations.

The countries of the Western hemisphere are convinced of the necessity of continental solidarity for the solution of their social problems, as has so well been expressed by the Director in his Report, but these convictions must be translated into concrete realities, and that again is where the International Labour Office can give us great help through its initiative and preliminary studies and in indicating methods and procedures.

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His Excellency Cimon DIAMANTOPOULOS, Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Washington, D.C.; *Government delegate, Greece*

(Interpretation)

In my turn, I wish to pay a warm tribute to the truly historic work that the International Labour Office has accomplished with so much wisdom and perseverance during the present war and in the difficult circumstances created by the war. It will doubtless prove to be the most difficult period of the life of the Office.

The faith of the members of the Office in their noble mission has powerfully contributed to enabling the institution to emerge intact from the terrible tempest that has shaken the world for nearly five years, and to constitute the pole to which the working classes are turning their eyes with faith in the expectation of better social justice after the war.

.....

Mr. Willem Johannes de VRIES, Secretary of the South African Trades and Labour Council; *Workers' delegate, Union of South Africa*

...In South Africa, we are making the fullest use of I.L.O. data. The I.L.O. gives clear indications of how the provisions of many Conventions can be applied under varying sets of circumstances...

Now, with regard to the implementation of any Recommendations, I feel there is nothing wrong with the methods employed by the I.L.O. Recommendations are adopted and Governments are asked to ratify and carry them out. But it seems to me that the real trouble arises when employers and Government representatives, on their return to their countries, do not receive support from their colleagues, maybe because the Recommendations or Conventions have improved upon the original...

Mr. Edward Bellamy TAYLOR, Assistant Secretary,
Department of Labour; *Government delegate, New Zealand*

I would like, first of all, to congratulate the Acting Director upon his Report and to express appreciation of the work carried out by the Office. The Director's Report admirably portrays the main developments in the economic and social field which have taken place since the I.L.O. Conference of 1941...

Dr. KÜHN TALAY, *Government delegate, Uruguay*

(Interpretation)

... In the third chapter the Director describes the work of the Organisation. It is a loyal duty for us to pay tribute to the work which has been done, in view of the precarious conditions in which it had to be carried out. This gives us a renewed confidence in the future action of the Organisation, since it will go forward fortified by the new moral forces and new forces of action which will come out of this Conference and by the experience of recent events, which have been a test of the living quality of the Organisation.

The technical and constructive action of the Organisation is shown in this Conference, and its capacity for social foresight has been shown by the meeting of the Governing Body in London which drew up the agenda of this Conference, a conspectus of the problems which the I.L.O. seeks to solve as its contribution to the international action of all nations to tackle the serious economic and social difficulties of the post-war period.

The Director speaks briefly of the ratification and application of Conventions and calls our attention to the fact that in present circumstances the application of Conventions has in many cases to be suspended and new ratifications can scarcely be expected, although five new ratifications have been registered.

We believe that this scrutiny of the progress of the ratification of Conventions and their application is one of the fundamental tasks of the I.L.O. It is to be hoped that in the peace we shall have possibilities of control which the war took away from the Office, all the more so if, as would be only right and as we have proposed to the Conference, the degree of effective application of

Conventions could be taken into account in drawing up agreements for economic collaboration between nations.

We believe, also, that while the reports on social security which have been presented on item IV on the agenda give full information, the future reports of the Director might well give more space to this important matter of social insurance. We also think that mention should be made of the various systems of financing social insurance which have been applied.

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Dr. Roberto Valentin PALMIERI, Chief of the Division
of Mutual Aid Societies and Recreation, Department of
Labour and Social Welfare; *Government delegate, Argentine Republic*

(Interpretation)

The Report gives a rapid sketch of the economic and social situation of the world during the last three years. It brings out the difficulties with which the I.L.O. has been faced in its endeavours to maintain intact the principles that presided over its origin. Neither the war nor the occupation of so many free countries, nor the economic upheavals, nor the destruction of social systems in occupied territories, nor the psychological changes that have inevitably resulted from all these disturbances have been able to impede the normal work of information of the Organisation.

.....

Mr. Josef KOSINA, General Secretary of the Czecho-
slovak Trade Union in Great Britain; *Workers' delegate, Czechoslovakia*

... We have suffered too much to let the present opportunity pass; we must try to start a new spirit in Europe and indeed in the whole world. We would like to contribute our little share in this work. The Czechoslovak workers were always faithful supporters of the I.L.O., and they will do all they can to help it to become a powerful instrument of progress, which is badly wanted in this, at present, so chaotic world.

.....

Mrs. Lucie Margaretha POLAK, neé van den BERGH,
Government adviser, Netherlands

...We follow with the closest attention the approach to the solution of the woman problem in the free nations, as it has developed out of the urgency of the war...When peace has been declared, ways and means must promptly be found to promote and confirm the common aspirations of all fighting women in the entire world, so that their joint efforts may assist in vanquishing the consequences of the war and new perspectives may be opened to them.

THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE CONFERENCE (Mr.
Edward J. PHELAN, Acting Director of the Inter-
national Labour Office)

... Before... dealing with any questions of detail, I should like to underline two fundamental propositions.

All that we have done or propose to do, all that can be achieved by this Organisation or by other international organisations working in the spheres allotted to them, is dependent upon the establishment of a durable peace.

The Declaration of Independence proclaimed the inalienable right of men to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and it set those rights in their proper priority. It is only when men—or nations—have the right to live that they can enjoy liberty and use it for the pursuit of a happier and better destiny. Looking back, as it is inevitable that we should at this time, to the failure to secure an enduring peace after the last war, we should be impractical idealists if we did not, as we do, constantly remind ourselves that all the possibilities of achieving our programme are dependent on two fundamental things: the victory of the democratic forces in the titanic struggle in which the world is at present engaged, and the unity and determination of those same forces in ensuring a durable peace when the military victory has been won. We can rejoice that signs are not wanting that those two conditions will be fulfilled.

DEMOCRATIC UNITY

I have set out very summarily and incompletely in the introduction to the Director's Report a few of the highlights of the military and political events which have taken place since the New York Conference. They are no more than brief notes, perhaps too brief; and for their imperfections I apologise. But it was necessary for me to give precedence to the preparation of the reports on the agenda of the Conference; and within the limits of time and energy available, my own report has suffered in consequence. I have, however, attempted to draw attention to the meetings in Washington, in Teheran, and in Cairo, which indicated that growing measure of political understanding between the great leaders of the United Nations which contains the promise that the world after this war may be able to set about securing for men and women the objectives for which this Organisation stands in what St. Augustine called the "tranquillity of order".

It would, as I say, have been desirable to develop that part of my Report in still greater detail in order to underline that vital fact. It would have been desirable, for example, to have indicated that the Moscow Declaration was signed also by the Chinese Ambassador, and that the Cairo Conference, in which Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek participated, made a pledge to pursue the war in the East to complete victory. But whether you take only the incomplete summary which I have given or develop the matter in much greater detail, the conclusion is the same—namely, that we may take comfort and encouragement at a greater awareness of the fundamental necessity of democratic unity for the preservation of the peace of the world. And we may find comfort and encouragement, too, not only in the Declarations of the leaders of the United Nations to which I have referred, but also in the manifestations of public opinion in all parts of the free world. May I quote to you Benjamin Franklin once more, when he examined the problem of security here in Philadelphia, 175 years ago? This is what he said:

Perhaps some in the city, towns and plantations near the river may say to themselves: "An Indian war on the frontiers will not affect us; the enemy will never come near our habitations; let those concerned take care of themselves". And others who live in the country, when they are told of the danger the city is in from attempts by sea, may say: "What is that to us? The enemy will be satisfied with the plunder of the town, and never think it worth his while to visit our plantations; let the town take care of itself". These are not mere suppositions, for I have heard some talk in this strange manner.

His wisdom, as I said, has become part of the wisdom of the world, and in this particular connection I think we can have confidence that it is now widely understood and definitely accepted.

LESSONS OF THE CONFERENCE

I turn now to some of the questions more intimately affecting the life and the future of this Organisation. It would, of course, be impossible for me to review them all. I said in my Report to the 1941 Conference that each annual Conference had its own special characteristics, and this Conference certainly stands out with characteristics in many respects very different from those which have marked other meetings. It is already a Conference of achievement: it has already adopted the Declaration of the aims and purposes of the Organisation, an occasion which in itself would have justified our meeting here. I will not attempt to prophesy what other decisions may be taken, but I am optimistic enough to believe that there will be a further sum of achievement before this session is dissolved. I think, however, that there are some lessons to be drawn from the way in which that achievement has been reached.

This has not been an easy Conference. I have never in my experience worked with a Conference in which the strain on delegates was so great or in which it was so difficult to follow the processes of discussion and decision. I think we should do well when this Conference is over to analyse all the factors involved.

I think there are, however, at least two which are not discouraging and which we may hope not to meet again. The first is the long interval between this and the last normal Conference. The functioning of an International Labour Conference must of necessity be somewhat complicated, first, because it is international, and, secondly, because of its tripartite character. It is sometimes described as an international parliament, and it has many features which make it resemble a parliamentary meeting; but it is also, as Mr. Vandervelde described it twenty-five years ago, a diplomatic conference in which the delegations, with their tripartite composition, negotiate international agreements. With no meeting of the Conference for over five years, the techniques by which agreement is evolved in a body of this kind have perhaps to some extent been forgotten or are rusty from lack of use. Incidentally, this is an observation of perhaps general importance, and I venture to think that the constitution of an Assembly in Algiers is an example of that intuitive political genius which exists in the French, and that the bringing into being of such an Assembly may help to keep alive those techniques of democratic discussion and decision which are essential to the life of any democratic country. Be that as it may, the long interval since our last meeting and the presence of a larger proportion than usual of delegates and advisers who are

not familiar with our complicated procedure has undoubtedly rendered the task of this Conference more difficult.

There is a second element of difficulty to which attention was drawn indirectly by a number of speakers in the discussion on Reports I and II. It was pointed out that the documentation which the International Labour Office supplies for discussion at a Conference lacks its essential value if it has not been prepared in consultation with the Governments and with the respective organs of the Organisation. I do not consider that as a criticism, since it is no more than an affirmation of an indisputable principle to which the Office has again and again drawn attention. In my Report to the New York Conference I used these words:

...Governments attach importance to the continued operation of the Organisation chiefly as an instrument of co-operation between Governments, employers and workers and in view of its potential contribution to world-wide social reconstruction. In order that these purposes may be fulfilled it is essential that the system of regular representative meetings should be resumed. The Office has been able to act for a season as the custodian of the traditions of the Organisation but it would entirely lose its character if its work as an information centre and its advisory and research work were to be divorced from the work of the organs through which policy is formulated by the responsible representatives of the peoples of the world, acting through their Governments and their employers' and workers' organisations.

And members of the Governing Body will confirm me when I say that I have underlined the same principle in discussions with them. The Office is not, and should not be allowed to become, an academic research institution. It must work in the closest possible continuous contact with the representative bodies of the Organisation, and its task in connection with the Conference is to formulate for the basis of discussion at the Conference what it has discovered to be so far as possible the general opinion of the elements of which the Conference is composed. If that has not been done on this occasion, it arises only from the fact that the limitations of time which the Governing Body for good reasons imposed in these exceptional circumstances made any such prior consultation impossible. It therefore fell to the Office to put forward as a basis of discussion to this Conference such proposals as it could best prepare in the light of its general knowledge of the feeling and desires of different Governments and of workers and employers. For these reports and proposals I take full responsibility. I think that as the examination of them has progressed during the operation of this Conference, many of them have been found to be reasonable and moderate and practicable. But even if they had been found acceptable in their totality, I would still maintain that the exceptional procedure which it has been necessary to follow upon this

occasion is not in itself a good procedure, and that the real cure for some of the difficulties which have been encountered is the return to the regular normal functioning of the whole machinery of the Organisation in which frequent meetings of the Governing Body will take from the shoulders of the Director a burden which he should not carry alone. Such frequent meetings, followed by regular meetings of the Conference, should once more bring the technical work of the Office into the closest harmony with the policies which the representative organs of the Organisation wish to pursue, and should allow time for Governments to consider proposals well in advance of their discussion by the Conference.

PROCEDURE OF THE CONFERENCE

One result of the procedure which circumstances have made it necessary to follow on this occasion has been to throw tremendous strain not only on the Office itself but on the delegates. In the absence of draft texts based on consultation with Governments, the Conference has been unable to proceed in the accustomed orderly way of perfecting the Office texts by a series of amendments. Amendments of an unusual character, better perhaps described as counter-proposals, have had to be considered and have led to the necessity for the constitution of a far greater number of committees and subcommittees than has ever been necessary before. There have been no less than ten full committees and six subcommittees to deal with questions of considerable importance, without counting meetings of the three groups, the drafting committees of the technical committees, and the innumerable consultations between groups of delegates. If, as I believe to be the case, this Conference will end with a considerable sum of achievement, much of the credit must go to the delegates who have struggled on these sixteen committees and subcommittees with a determination and a resourcefulness which is beyond all praise. I should add also that the three groups, the Government group under the chairmanship of Mr. Tomlinson, the Employers' group under the chairmanship of Mr. Harriman and the Workers' group under the chairmanship of Mr. Hallsworth, have made an important contribution to the working of the Conference which should be recorded. They had a specially difficult task to perform in choosing their members for these committees. This part of the work of setting up the machinery of the Conference has often given rise to difficulties in the past. On this occasion it has been performed in record time and to the general satisfaction of all.

THE RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE UNITED NATIONS

If I may say one more word about the reports which the Office prepared for the Conference: in the discussions in those committees and subcommittees, it has been decided that part of one of the topics on which the Office made proposals, namely, concerning the social policy to be followed by the United Nations in Axis territories, should not be pursued. It is only fair to the Office to point out that this subject was placed on the agenda of the Conference by a Governing Body decision. Governing Body decisions of course bind the Office, and the Office was therefore obliged to include this subject in its reports and make such proposals for discussion by the Conference as it thought might serve as a basis for discussion.

It should also be pointed out that in the Governing Body decision concerning recommendations on social policy to the United Nations, it was made clear that the Office report should not make any special proposals as regards the social policy to be followed in the territories occupied by the Axis Powers; and it is this decision which explains the absence of any such proposals in the documentation which the Office has put forward. I listened with the deepest sympathy to the eloquent speeches in which Mr. Tixier and Mr. van Zeeland and other speakers representing the occupied countries drew attention to the overwhelming difficulties with which those countries will be faced when they have been liberated. The Office, far from forgetting these problems, has referred to them in the following terms in the report on item II: "The first task of the United Nations in areas liberated from enemy occupation is to relieve the suffering of the people and to help them to their feet again"; and then the report cites the agreement setting up the U.N.R.R.A., which includes in the task of that organisation "assistance in the resumption of urgently needed agricultural and industrial production and the restoration of essential services".

In view of this agreement among the forty-four nations united and associated in the war, the Office did not feel that it could make any useful proposals at this stage. It may indeed be that the special character of the problems of the occupied countries will render a regional conference in Europe necessary, and if at the appropriate time a decision to this effect should be taken, the Office will certainly do everything in its power to bring such assistance to the European Governments in the solution of their problems as may be possible. The absence of any proposals at the present stage most certainly does not indicate any lack of interest or of sympathy on the part of the Office and its staff with the countries in

question and their peoples. The Office can never forget the part which Europe played in the building up of this Organisation, nor the fact that until Europe is liberated and restored an essential element in world equilibrium is missing. The Office has endeavoured, through its publications, to make widely known the conditions in the occupied countries and its study on *The Displacement of Population in Europe* was perhaps the first attempt to measure one aspect of the problem which the occupied countries will have to face. Apart from questions of general policy, there are innumerable personal and family reasons why members of the staff of the Office cannot be either uninterested in or indifferent to the sufferings of the peoples in the occupied territories and they may be depended upon to be heart and soul with any effort to alleviate the lot of those peoples whenever the International Labour Organisation can be used effectively for that purpose.

REGIONAL ACTIVITIES

The emphasis which has been laid upon the importance of vigorous regional action by the International Labour Organisation in many parts of the world has indeed been one of the outstanding features of this Conference. It has been a great satisfaction to observe that the suggestions concerning the desirability of an Asiatic regional conference made at earlier Conferences have now crystallised into definite statements of policy made on behalf of the Chinese and Indian Governments, and supported by employers and workers from both countries, recognising the desirability of such a Conference as soon as circumstances allow. The timing of the Conference will be of great importance and the close co-operation in its preparation of the Governments concerned is essential. It is for these reasons that there is pending before the Governing Body a proposal for the establishment of a small committee to follow the development of the situation and to make proposals to the Governing Body at the appropriate times. Meanwhile, the Office will continue, with the assistance of its Chungking and New Delhi offices, the collection of the material necessary for the preparation of reports designed to facilitate the discussions of the Asiatic regional conference when it meets, and will be glad to take every step in its power to establish closer contact with the Chinese and Indian Governments with a view to facilitating fuller consideration of Asiatic problems in the general work of the International Labour Organisation.

This session of the Conference will also be memorable for the action which has been taken by delegates from the Near and

Middle East in putting forward a proposal that the Governing Body should examine the possibility of convening at an early date a regional conference of the countries of the Near and Middle East. The Office will be glad to do everything in its power to study more intensively the urgent social problems of the Near and Middle East and to co-operate in every possible way in the consideration of this proposal by the Governing Body and by the Governments concerned.

LATIN AMERICA

The speeches delivered by the delegates from Latin American countries representing Governments, employers and workers have been on this occasion of more than usual interest and importance and they are rich in information concerning the conditions in their different countries, which I commend to the attention of delegates and which will be carefully studied by the Office when this Conference is over. They are significant, too, for the warmth with which they express their attachment to this Organisation and their sense of the services which it can render.

I am particularly glad that, in spite of the limited resources at the disposal of the Office, we have been successful in our efforts to make good the promise which I made at the New York Conference to produce more of our publications in Spanish, and we will continue our efforts in that direction. I wish also to draw the attention of the Conference to the Inter-American Conference on Social Security. This important agency had its origin in conversations begun in Peru, at which Mr. Winant assisted; and its statute was worked out in detail at the subsequent Conference which convened in Santiago de Chile on the hospitable initiative of the Chilean Government. In all the negotiations, which led up to the final result, Osvald Stein played a leading part, and I would like to say how much I appreciate the reference which has been made to his services in the speeches by delegates from Latin American countries. He was indeed a great ambassador of social justice, and I hope that the Inter-American Social Security Conference will long stand as a monument to his unique gifts and to the friendships which he created in Latin America. The statute of the Conference has been approved by the Governing Body, and it provides a most satisfactory liaison between the new agency and the International Labour Organisation. The Office will be glad to do everything in its power to help this agency to perform the important regional tasks which lie within its field, and it should prove most valuable in stimulating and aiding the wider and more effective application of social security principles in the Latin

American countries. The time, I believe, is rapidly approaching when we should resume our American regional conferences. The first was held in Santiago de Chile in 1936, the second in Havana in 1939, and it was the intention to continue them at frequent intervals. The war has interrupted their sequence, but as soon as resources and transportation facilities will permit, I am convinced that a third American regional conference could be held with great profit. The Latin American countries have difficult and special problems which need to be discussed on a regional basis. But they have also vast natural resources and great gifts of intelligence and vision which make it certain that those difficulties can be overcome, and that while each and every country will have its own contribution to make in the progress of this continent, they may all hope to enter upon a future of steady economic development leading to greater prosperity for their peoples, and thereby make an important contribution to the prosperity of the world as a whole.

PUBLICITY

The second feature of this Conference which distinguishes it from its predecessors is the quite extraordinary amount of publicity which it has received in the press and over the radio. This is indeed a proof that the calling of the Conference was not mistimed and that there is a keen interest in the public mind in the discussion of questions relating to the kind of world we must strive for after the war. The publicity which this Conference has so far received is many times greater than that of any previous session of the International Labour Conference and is greater, I am told, than that accorded to any other recent general international conference. For that we are grateful, since the support of an enlightened public opinion is fundamental to our work. Perhaps in the early stages, while the Conference was encountering those special difficulties which I referred to a few moments ago and which were inevitable in the circumstances in which it has been convened, it was sometimes difficult to distinguish between the discussions which were proceeding within these walls and statements which were the subject of wide comment in the press. Here again Benjamin Franklin can furnish us wise counsel for our future deliberations. Speaking at a stage in the discussion of the Constitution of the United States when there was much difference of opinion, and when an atmosphere unfavourable to understanding and agreement seemed likely to develop, he said:

We are sent here to consult and not to contend with each other; and declarations of a fixed opinion, and of a determined resolution never to change it,

neither enlighten nor convince us. Positiveness and warmth on one side naturally beget their like on the other; and tend to create and augment discord and division in a great concern wherein harmony and union are extremely necessary to give weight to our councils and render them effectual in promoting and securing the common good.

I would hope that the keen interest with which the press followed the beginnings of our work will be maintained, so that it may give equal space to the series of important decisions at which I am confident the Conference will arrive, and which will be of infinitely greater importance than certain divergences of view which in the nature of things became manifest in the early stages of the process of negotiations and agreement. And, as I have mentioned publicly, may I add that an index of the importance of this Conference is also given by the space and time devoted to it in the Axis press and radio, in the attempt to minimise its value and to render its purpose and efforts ridiculous.

DELEGATIONS FROM DISTANT COUNTRIES

One other characteristic of this Conference is not that it differs from other Conferences, but that in the present circumstances of a world conflict raging on all the continents and in the two great oceans it should in its composition so closely resemble an ordinary meeting. The participation of delegations from a number of distant countries whose keen interest in the work of the International Labour Organisation is manifested by their presence here is evidence of the appeal which the objects of this Organisation make to all democratic peoples. The United Nations look forward, as they have said, to attempting to build a better world in collaboration with all free peoples, provided always that none shall threaten the security of others nor attempt to foment forces of aggression and conquest against its neighbours.

THE I.L.O. AND THE NEW WORLD ORGANISATION

This brings me to the question of the place of the International Labour Organisation in the new world organisation which is progressively taking shape. Certain functional bodies have already been created or are in process of being brought into being. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is already at work; the Food and Agriculture Organisation will, we hope, soon be finally constituted and begin its task; other functional bodies are the subject of negotiation or are being planned. It is

evident that there must be some general international framework within which these different agencies must find their place and some authority which will be responsible for the maintenance of peace and security, for such general political decisions as may from time to time be required, and the co-ordination of the activities of functional agencies.

Nothing said in the Office reports about the autonomy or independence of the International Labour Organisation suggests or can reasonably be construed as suggesting that the International Labour Organisation should occupy a position of isolation. We have never had and we have not today any such intention or desire. We have done our utmost, sometimes in difficult circumstances, to establish the closest possible co-operative relations with other international agencies. The presence of representatives of the League of Nations, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, the Food and Agriculture Organisation, and the Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees on the platform at the opening sitting of the present Conference was a clear manifestation of the desire of the I.L.O. to work in the closest possible co-operation with and to give all possible assistance to other international bodies. The various suggestions made to the Conference in the report on item I concerning relations with other international organisations were intended to implement this policy. The International Labour Organisation has, however, the special characteristic of its tripartite composition. Its success in the inter-war period and in being able to hold its present meeting while the war is still going on can be traced perhaps to this special feature of its constitution more directly than to any other factor.

It is important that in whatever new arrangements may be made its special character and functions should be respected and that it will at all events be given no less an important place than it was given in its relations with the League of Nations, in which it had the right of access to the highest authorities, namely, the Council and the Assembly, whenever questions touching its interests were discussed.

THE U.S.S.R.

We may hope, too, that as the Chairman of the Governing Body said in his opening speech and as you, Mr. President, said on a later occasion in one of those extramural discussions to which I referred a few moments ago, that when the general machinery of international collaboration has been brought into being the Soviet Union, the one great Power which is missing from our deliberations, may once again take her place in this Organisation.

POWERS AND COMPETENCE OF THE I.L.O.

In conclusion let me say just a few words about our future work, not of our detailed programme, which will be the task of the Governing Body to decide, but only of the spirit in which we shall undertake it. Some doubts were expressed by some delegates as to the new definition of the powers and competence of this Organisation. They have, I think, been happily resolved by the adoption of the Declaration this morning, but lest any doubt should remain, let me say how heartily I agree with the common-sense view of Mr. Watt when he said that we should not become so busily occupied with other people's business as to be unable to conduct our own. The so-called right of scrutiny was never in my view intended to lead us away from what is our proper preserve. The position was excellently stated by many speakers, including Mr. van den Tempel. Incidentally, the emphasis which Mr. van den Tempel laid on the avoidance of economic depressions will, I hope, have found some satisfaction in the reference which is made in the body of the Declaration to that fundamental idea. But the speeches of Mr. van den Tempel and others dealing with the point to which I have just referred, and the fact that Governments, workers and employers will all have their part in the exercise of the right to "examine and consider" should afford full and sufficient guarantees that the Organisation will discharge with a full sense of responsibility the duty entrusted to it of acting as the social conscience of mankind.

THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT'S PROPOSAL

I am grateful to the Canadian delegation for their resolution, which will result in transmitting to the Governing Body for further study certain detailed proposals concerning the facilities which the International Labour Office must have for carrying out its task. I am confident that it will be found that there is nothing exaggerated in the suggestions that have been made. On the contrary, they arise out of real practical difficulties, of which if time permitted I could give the Conference many striking examples. The fact is that international agencies of the scope of the I.L.O. and of the other agencies now in process of creation are, relatively speaking, a very new thing in the world. They are governmental in character since they are the instruments of the Governments collectively. But the rules and regulations which have enabled Governments to conduct business among themselves are not automatically applicable when they wish to conduct the same or similar business collectively. The suggestions made have already received unani-

mous governmental approval in the discussions at the first meeting of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration Council, and I hope that as a result of the Canadian proposal it will be possible to secure the necessary agreement to bring them into operation for the I.L.O. and other international agencies, thereby facilitating greatly their effective working.

FINANCE

There remains one subject on which little has been said in the Conference, namely, finance. But it is an essential subject, since unless the I.L.O. is assured of sufficient financial support all the resolutions taken at this Conference will be in vain. That is a point which Mr. Hallsworth underlined in his address, and it cannot be too strongly emphasised. Sir John Forbes Watson suggested that it would be a good thing if in future the annual Conference were given information about the financial position of the Organisation, and that is a suggestion which I will gladly follow. If I did not do so on this occasion it was because, as explained in Report No. I, I thought the question should first be discussed with the Governing Body. The Governing Body has discussed the question at considerable length, but it felt, in view of the future general international organisation to which we can look forward, it would be premature to make any considerable change in the existing system. The budget for our activities in 1945 will be laid before the Governing Body when it meets at the end of the Conference. I cannot therefore inform you today as to what that budget will be. I think I should, however, say that it must be very substantially greater than our present budget if this Organisation is to swing into full activity as soon as circumstances permit. Our pre-war budget was something over ten million Swiss francs. I remember, as some delegates here, too, will remember, Mr. Winant declaring in the International Labour Conference in Geneva that to perform fully its task this Organisation should have a budget not of ten million Swiss francs but of ten million American dollars. Our present budget is only a little over five million Swiss francs, or one million American dollars, and we unfortunately do not succeed in obtaining a hundred per cent. collection. I want to appeal to all delegates when they go back to their countries to impress upon their Governments the essential importance of prompt and regular payment of the contributions due. Whatever the figure of the budget may be, the Office, as Mr. Hallsworth said, can neither plan nor perform its tasks unless it can count with certainty on full collection. I think it would also

be well if delegates would warn their Governments that a substantial increase in the budget must be expected. The decision of course lies with the Governing Body, but the Governing Body is aware that the present level of the budget is only enough to enable the Office to continue the very limited tasks which it has been performing in the interval between the New York Conference and the present Conference, and that, in order that the Organisation may begin to return to its normal functioning and be in a position even to prepare for the calls which will be made upon it in the future, a budget of something of the order of more than twice the present figure will certainly be required.

A NEW ERA BEGINS

There are innumerable other points, all of them of great importance, raised in the different speeches, with which I would like to deal if time would permit. Since it will not, I can only thank the delegates who have expressed so warmly their appreciation of the work of the Office and of its staff and give them the assurance that none of their suggestions will be forgotten but that their speeches will be carefully summarised and that their observations will help to guide the Office and the Governing Body itself in the work which lies ahead. There is so much, too, that I would like to have said about the experience of the Office during the war years. But after all the essential thing is that it has survived the tempest, survived it not only as a going concern which has kept alive the traditions of its pre-war days, but as one which is capable of expansion as needs may require and as resources are forthcoming. It can be said, I think, that the fact of its survival no longer needs emphasis or exposition. As President Roosevelt said in his message read to the Conference by Secretary Frances Perkins "within the field of your activity, the United Nations have no need to extemporise a new organisation". This present Conference is therefore the beginning of a new era in the history of the Organisation. The New York Conference was, as the Chairman of the Governing Body said, an act of faith. Today the Organisation is again swinging into its stride, is actively taking up its burdens and beginning with vision and determination its vital tasks. It is already clear that the International Labour Organisation in this Conference will make a first great contribution to what Ernest Bevin called a "people's peace", and that it gives the promise of steadily pursuing the practical realisation for men and women everywhere of the objectives outlined in the Declaration of its aims and purposes.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE

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of the
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