examine the proposed Declaration concerning the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation, has held three meetings, in the course of which it has taken into account all the observations made on the Declaration during the general discussion in plenary session, and the further observations drawn to its attention by delegates.

The Committee, after examining closely a number of proposals for rearranging the provisions of the proposed Declaration and simplifying the text, unanimously decided to propose to the Conference that the Declaration should be adopted substantially in the form in which it was referred to the Special Drafting Committee. It came to the conclusion that there are possible logical justifications for almost any order of arrangement of its provisions, and in these circumstances it thought it preferable to adhere to the order with which the Conference and the Governments have already become familiar.

The Committee also considered that it would be difficult to shorten or simplify the text substantially without omitting provisions which are regarded as important by one or another element in the Conference, and in these circumstances, it limited its efforts to simplify the text to breaking up various paragraphs into separately printed clauses.

In considering the various proposals made to it, the Committee was guided by the consideration that the Declaration is designed to be a statement of certain aims and purposes which are agreed upon by all elements in the Organisation. In these circumstances, the Committee did not feel justified in accepting proposals, no matter how meritorious, the inclusion of which would clearly give rise to controversy, and it was guided in the revision of the wording of certain clauses by the desire to make the text acceptable to all elements in the Conference.

The most important changes made by the Committee were the substitution in clause (d) of part II of the text as now proposed of the words “examine and consider” for the word “scrutinise”, which had been the subject of some division of opinion, and the rewording of the preamble of part III of the text as now proposed in the form: “The Conference recognises the solemn obligation of the International Labour Organisation to further among the nations of the world programmes which will achieve”.

The Committee wishes to emphasise that the first part of the text, by reaffirming the fundamental principles on which the Organisation is based, underlines that the Declaration does not in any way subtract from the existing force of the provisions of the Constitution of the Organisation.

The Committee also thinks it important to draw the attention of the Conference to the fact that the terms of the Declaration

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1 See Third Part, Appendix V, for the Text of the proposed Declaration.
must be read as a whole, and that the individual expressions contained therein must be understood in the light of the context in which they appear and of the other provisions of the Declaration. This is the more important since the breaking up of the original continuous text into a number of short paragraphs may lead to those paragraphs being given a much wider interpretation than they can properly bear. The pledge contained in part IV that the International Labour Organisation will co-operate fully with other international bodies indicates clearly that the Organisation realises the part which other international agencies will be called upon to play, and that its own part, great as it may be in the treatment of social questions and in defining the social objective, is only a share of the task to be accomplished.

The Committee in particular gave careful consideration to the wording of the reference in the last paragraph of the proposed Declaration to the "stage of social and economic development reached by each people" and agreed that these words are to be understood in a broad sense as including all the factors which condition the progress of social and economic development at any particular time.

The Committee felt that this Declaration was of such profound importance that it should be read to the Conference.

(The proposed Declaration is read.)

The PRESIDENT—The motion is that the report of the Special Drafting Committee as submitted be approved and adopted. If there is no discussion, I propose to place the report as read before the Conference and ask for its adoption.

(The report is unanimously approved.)

REPLY OF THE ACTING DIRECTOR

The PRESIDENT—I now call upon the Acting Director to reply to the debate on the Director's Report.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL—This Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labour Conference has just adopted a solemn Declaration of the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation. It has taken a historic decision at a momentous period in the history of the Organisation and of the world, the full significance of which it is perhaps difficult for any of us to measure at this time. We can, however, measure that significance, at all events in part, if we look back at the beginnings of this Organisation and at its work during the twenty-five years of its existence. The Declaration is the crown and confirmation of the efforts of those who drew up the Constitution twenty-five years ago. I like to believe that not all of those who voted this Declaration this morning were physically present in this hall. I believe that there voted with you in spirit Samuel Gompers and George Barnes, Vandervelde and Arthur Fontaine, Benes and Mahaim and Sokal and Shotwell; that Jules Carlier, who so long and ably led the Employers' group, was voting with Sir John Forbes Watson and his colleagues; and that the hand of Leon Jouhaux was lifted among those of the Workers' group. I believe, too, that Albert Thomas was watching with profound satisfaction, and I know that his two successors, Harold Butler and John Winant, will warmly welcome the decision taken. I like to think, indeed, that all those who have devoted themselves to the cause for which this Organisation stands, those who have been leaders in previous conferences and in meetings of the Governing Body were with you in spirit today as you solemnly rededicated this Organisation to the great purpose of securing for men and women throughout the world, and for future generations of men and women throughout the world as they struggled upward to a higher destiny. But though he was the first American, his wisdom belongs to the world, and we may well invoke it now in this international gathering. He participated in this city in the drawing up of the Constitution of the United States. Three proposals to which he attached the greatest importance were not accepted, and yet at the end of the deliberations, he summed up the results in these words:

"I agree to this Constitution with all its faults, if they are such. When you assemble a number of men to have the advantage of their joint wisdom, you inevitably assemble with those men all their prejudices, their passions, their errors of opinion, their local interest and their selfish views. From such an assembly can a perfect production be expected? It therefore astonishes me, Sir, that withFacile authorities, approaching so near to perfection as it does. Thus I consent, Sir, to this Constitution because I expect no better and because I am not sure that it is not the best."
Believing in the democratic process, we may well agree with Benjamin Franklin that we have achieved the best result. It is, indeed, a result which goes far beyond indicating that for general principles on which this Organisation is to work. It sets a North Star by which national and international authorities may steer their course with greater certainty than heretofore towards the promotion of the common welfare of mankind; and it sets the common welfare of mankind as the destination which must be reached whatever economic storms may be encountered or whatever reefs must be avoided.

With all that this Declaration does and can mean in mind, it is something of an anti-climax to discuss now some of our more immediate problems. But the discussion on the Director's Report is the occasion upon which the Director is called upon to give an account of his stewardship and to draw the attention of the annual Conference to issues that sometimes may seem small in comparison with our major aims, but which must find their solution, if those major aims are to be more effectively achieved.

It has not been possible to review in the Director's Report all those questions. Many of them, as the Report states, have been dealt with in the reports on items I and II; and I have asked the permission of the President to deal if necessary with some of the points raised in the general discussion in the full Conference on those two reports as well as in the discussion which took place on Monday on the Director's Report proper. As a matter of fact, reading those discussions, I find that they in themselves constitute a review of the achievements of the Organisation and of its future potentials which dispense me from the necessity of making many observations which otherwise would be desirable to propose, indeed, to make the speeches delivered available in a special publication so that they may, I hope, be more widely read and examined than if they could only be referred to in the full official record of this Conference.

Before, however, 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 unpractical 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.

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 Tehran, 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 plantations; 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
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.

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 had marked others. 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 long interval since the last International Labour Conference 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 to 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 for 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, of perfecting 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.

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 work of the Conference on 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.

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 by far 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 that 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 build-
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 can be held in the near future. 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, their 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.

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. The precedents of the Conference were 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.

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 or attempt to further forces of aggression and conquest against its neighbours.

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.

We may hope, too, that as the Chairman of the Governing Body said in his opening speech and as you, Mr. President, said on another occasion in one of those extra-mural 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.

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.

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 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 unanimous 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.

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 readily follow. If I should, as I may, do so on this occasion it was because, as explained in Report No. 1, 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.

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.

The PRESIDENT—The Secretary-General has added another bit to what the I.L.O. owes to him. I am not allowed to participate in debates, but this is not a debate, and I do wish to suggest that the delegates should not go away without thinking how this Organisation is to carry out the work that it has done in the past, which in my opinion has been worth the whole price paid for the League of Nations; the I.L.O. itself is worth the sum that the whole League has cost. But if the I.L.O. is to continue its work, then the piper has got to be paid, and if we want to call the tune, we ought to determine that we are going to pay well and early and to the maximum sum that is required.

(The Conference adjourned at 12.35 p.m.)
Delegates present at the Sitting

United States of America:
Miss Perkins
Mr. Thomas
Mr. Harriman
Mr. Watt

Argentine Republic:
Mr. García Arias
Mr. Aberastury (substitute for Mr. Palmieri)

Australia:
Mr. Beasley
Mr. Barnard
Mr. Clarey

Belgium:
Mr. van Zeeland
Mr. Joassart
Mr. Rens

Brazil:
Mr. Fontes
Mr. de Rego Monteiro
Mr. Vidal Leite Ribeiro

British Empire:
Mr. Evans (substitute for Mr. Tomlinson)
Sir Frederick Leggett
Sir John Forbes
Watson
Mr. Hallsworth

Canada:
Mr. Martin
Mrs. Casselman (substitute for Mr. Claxton)
Mr. Coulter
Mr. Bengough

Chile:
Mr. Bustos Lagos
Mr. Díaz Salas
Mr. Velásquez Quiroga

Colombia:
Mr. Nannetti

Cuba:
Mr. de Sandoval
Mr. Silverio y Sainz
Mr. Cowley Hernández
Mr. Fernández R.

Dominican Republic:
Mr. Garrido Cesteró (substitute for Mr. Coco)
Mr. de Marchena
Dujarric
Mr. Morales

Ecuador:
Mr. López Arteta
Mr. Torres Vera

Egypt:
Mr. Radi
Mr. El Sherif
Mr. Hamada
Mr. Soliman

France:
Mr. Tixier
Mr. Delépine-Desloges
Mr. Antoine
Mr. Laurent

Greece:
Mr. Diamantopoulos
Mr. Zarras
Mr. Kukukundis
Mr. Spyridacos

Haiti:
Mr. Dartigue

India:
Sir Samuel Runganadhan
Mr. Prior
Mr. Mulherkar (substitute for Mr. Mahindra)
Mr. Mehta

Iran:
Mr. Daftary

Iraq:
Mr. Haidari
Mr. Jawdat

Ireland:
Mr. Hughes (substitute for Mr. Brennan)
Mr. Hearne

Luxemburg:
Mr. Krier
Mr. Le Gallais

Mexico:
Mr. Trujillo Gurria
Mr. Cosio y Cosio (substitute for Mr. Santos Guajardo)
Mr. Chapa

Netherlands:
Mr. van den Tempel
Mr. van Rhijn (substitute for Mr. Loudon)
Mr. Warning
Mr. Oldenbroek

New Zealand:
Mr. Turner (substitute for Mr. Nash)
Mr. Taylor
Mr. Rutland
Mr. Allerby

Norway:
Mr. Schjodt (substitute for Mr. Hambro)
Mr. Ording
Mr. Dahl
Mr. Nordahl

Peru:
Mr. Elguera
Mr. Sabrosa (substitute for Mr. Luna)

Poland:
Mr. Stanczyk
Mr. Falter

Union of South Africa:
Mr. Andrews
Mr. Brennan
Mr. Skees
Mr. de Vries

Sweden:
Mr. Ohlin
Mr. Thorsson
Mr. von Heidenstam
Mr. Andersson

Switzerland:
Mr. Bruggmann

Turkey:
Mr. Gülek
Mr. Esmer

Uruguay:
Mr. Kühn Talay
Mr. Fontaina

Venezuela:
Mr. Tinoco Rodil
Mr. Pérez Guerrero

Yugoslavia:
Mr. Soubbotitch
Mr. Bruer (substitute for Mr. Banac)
Mr. Milos

Also present at the Sitting:
Mr. Asgeirsson (Iceland)
Mr. Acosta (Paraguay)
In addition there will be differences in:

(c) Trade union coverage and practice;
(d) "Applicants for work" as classified in employment exchanges;
(e) Form of under-employment, e.g., regular days unemployment (recorded) or reduction in hourly piecework (unrecorded);
(f) Representativeness of statistics as between, say, industrial and agricultural countries;
(g) Practice regarding casual and seasonal labourers.

Writing for the I.L.O. Review in 1932 John Lindberg concluded that "on the basis of the existing statistics, it is impossible to compare the absolute extent or the level of unemployment in different countries". On the other hand he considers it possible to achieve the following:

(a) Construct national indexes (indicating fluctuations) for a number of countries;
(b) Combine these into composite indexes.

Satisfactory indexes of changes in unemployment in significant industries cannot be constructed until more countries adopt uniform classifications.

4. Undertakings to report on measures to combat unemployment.

Besides the articles making it obligatory on Members to supply statistics, the "reporting" principle has been extended to cover employment policies, e.g.,

(a) Public Works (International Co-operation) Recommendation, 1937: Each Member should communicate annually statistical and other information about public works undertaken or planned, the information to be "on a uniform plan drawn up by the International Public Works Committee", constituted in 1938.

The principles adopted by the Committee in drawing up the plan were:

(i) Advance planning useful to prevent unemployment and therefore collection of information and experience is desirable;
(ii) A "second and later task" is to attempt to get national plans synchronised, in such a way that every country would know that by adopting a certain policy it would not create an undue pressure on its balance of payments;
(iii) A possible final stage is to study the possibilities of finance by creditors of public works in weaker territories.

An I.L.O. Recommendation of 1937 provided that "each Member should carefully consider what action to take on the basis of any reports which the I.L.O. may send it as the result of the discussions of the International Public Works Committee".

At the outbreak of war only the following had indicated their willingness to participate in the work of the Committee:

Colombia Poland
Estonia Union of South Africa
Great Britain Sweden
Luxembourg Switzerland
Netherlands U. S. A.

Various countries, including U. S. and U. K., promised collaboration or else affirmed that principles were already being put into effect. There is, however, no record of the extent to which reports have been submitted, nor of the usefulness of any such reports.

(b) Unemployment (Agriculture) Recommendation, 1981: Each Member should consider measures for the prevention of or providing against unemployment among agricultural workers. Each Member shall furnish the I.L.O. with a periodical report dealing with the steps taken to give effect to this section.

No record has been found of the extent to which this Article has been complied with.

(2) Draft resolution submitted by the Canadian Government delegates.

Be it resolved that the Governing Body be asked to appoint a committee to meet during and after this Conference as and when necessary for the consideration, in active collaboration with the Office and in the light of the views expressed in this Conference, of the following matters:

(a) The relationship of the Organisation to other international bodies;
(b) The constitutional practice of the Organisation and its clarification and codification;
(c) The status, immunities and other facilities to be accorded to the Organisation by Governments as necessary to the efficient discharge of the responsibilities of the Organisation;
(d) The method of financing the Organisation.

And that the above committee prepare a report or reports on such matters for submission to Governments in time for consideration of them with a view to action thereon at the next session of the Conference.

(3) Report of the Special Drafting Committee on the proposed Declaration concerning the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation.

The report of the Special Drafting Committee was submitted orally to the Conference at its fourteenth sitting (see Proceedings, p. 187.)

(4) Text of the proposed Declaration concerning the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation, submitted by the Special Drafting Committee.

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation, meeting in its Twenty-sixth Session in Philadelphia, hereby adopts, this tenth day of May in the year nineteen hundred and forty-four, the present Declaration of the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation and of the principles which should inspire the policy of its Members.

I

The Conference reaffirms the fundamental principles on which the Organisation is based and, in particular, that:
Appendix V: First and Second Items on the Agenda

(a) labour is not a commodity;
(b) freedom of expression and of association are essential to sustained progress;
(c) poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere;
(d) the war against want requires to be carried on with unrelenting vigour within each nation, and by continuous 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.

II

Believing that experience has fully demonstrated the truth of the statement in the Preamble to the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation that lasting peace can be established only if it is based on social justice, the Conference affirms that:

(a) 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;
(b) the attainment of the conditions in which this shall be possible must constitute the central aim of national and international policy;
(c) all national and international policies and measures, in particular those of an economic and financial character, should 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;
(d) it is a responsibility of the International Labour Organisation to examine and consider all international economic and financial policies and measures in the light of this fundamental objective;
(e) in discharging the tasks entrusted to it the International Labour Organisation, having considered all relevant economic and financial factors, may include in its decisions and recommendations any provisions which it considers appropriate.

III

The Conference recognises the solemn obligation of the International Labour Organisation to further among the nations of the world programmes which will achieve:

(a) full employment and the raising of standards of living;
(b) the employment of workers in the occupations in which they can have the satisfaction of giving the fullest measure of their skill and attainments and make their greatest contribution to the common well-being;
(c) the provision, as a means to the attainment of this end and under adequate guarantees for all concerned, of facilities for training and the transfer of labour, including migration for employment and settlement;
(d) policies in regard to wages and earnings, hours and other conditions of work calculated to ensure a just share of the fruits of progress to all, and a minimum living wage to all employed and in need of such protection;
(e) the effective recognition of the right of collective bargaining, the co-operation of management and labour in the continuous improvement of productive efficiency, and the collaboration of workers and employers in the preparation and application of social and economic measures;
(f) the extension of social security measures to provide a basic income to all in need of such protection and comprehensive medical care;
(g) adequate protection for the life and health of workers in all occupations;
(h) provision for child welfare and maternity protection;
(i) the provision of adequate nutrition, housing and facilities for recreation and culture;
(j) the assurance of equality of educational and vocational opportunity.

IV

Confident that the fuller and broader utilisation of the world's productive resources necessary for the achievement of the objectives set forth in this Declaration can be secured by effective international and national action, including measures to expand production and consumption, to avoid severe economic fluctuations, to promote the economic and social advancement of the less developed regions of the world, to assure greater stability in world prices of primary products, and to promote a high and steady volume of international trade, the Conference pledges the full co-operation of the International Labour Organisation with such international bodies as may be entrusted with a share of the responsibility for this great task and for the promotion of the health, education and well-being of all peoples.

The Conference affirms that the prin-
ciples set forth in this Declaration are fully applicable to all peoples everywhere and that, while the manner of their application must be determined with due regard to the stage of social and economic development reached by each people, their progressive application to peoples who are still dependent, as well as to those who have already achieved self-government, is a matter of concern to the whole civilised world.

(5) First report of the Committee on Items I and II.

The Committee on Items I and II, set up by the Conference at its eleventh sitting on 1 May 1944, consisted of 72 members (36 Government members, 18 employers' members and 18 workers' members).

The officers appointed by the Committee were as follows:

Chairman: Miss Frances Perkins, United States Government member.

Vice-Chairmen: Mr. Coulter, Canadian employers' member; Mr. Hallsworth, British workers' member.

Reporters: The Chairmen of the Subcommittees appointed by the Committee were asked to serve as Reporters to the Conference for the reports of their Subcommittees. The Chairman of the whole Committee was asked to serve as Reporter for the questions not referred to Subcommittees.

Drafting Committees: The officers of the Subcommittee were asked to serve as Drafting Committees for their respective Subcommittee reports. The officers of the whole Committee were asked to serve as a Drafting Committee for the remaining questions.

Representatives of the Secretary-General: Mr. Lindsay Rogers, Mr. Waelbroeck, Mr. Jenks, assisted by: Mr. Blelloch and Mr. Riches.

Secretaries: Mr. Borda, Miss Ginsberg, Mr. Jack, Mr. Pastuhov, Miss Riegelman.

The Committee had before it two items: the first dealing with the future policy, programme and status of the International Labour Organisation (Report I submitted by the International Labour Office) with the exception of the Declaration on the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation; the second with Recommendations to the United Nations on present and future social policy (Report II submitted by the International Labour Office). After considering each of these questions in general discussion, the Committee appointed four Subcommittees as follows:

Subcommittee on Constitutional Questions, composed of 8 Government members, 4 employers' members and 4 workers' members;

Subcommittee on Industrial Committees, composed of 4 Government members, 4 employers' members and 4 workers' members;

Subcommittee on Economic Questions (Resolution I, Report II), composed of 8 Government members, 4 employers' members and 4 workers' members;

Subcommittee on Axis Territories (Resolutions III and IV, Report II), composed of 8 Government members, 4 employers' members and 4 workers' members.

The first two Subcommittees were concerned with item I on the agenda and the second two with item II.

At its meeting of 9 May 1944, the Committee on Items I and II adopted the reports of the Subcommittees concerned with item I on the agenda. These reports are transmitted by the Committee to the Conference with the recommendation that the Conference adopt the resolutions contained in the reports.

CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS

The Subcommittee on Constitutional Questions appointed by the Committee on Items I and II at its meeting on 5 May 1944 met on 6 May 1944 and elected the following officers:

Chairman: Miss Miller, United States Government member.

Vice-Chairmen: Mr. Kirkaldy, British employers' member; Mr. Hallsworth, British workers' member.

I

The Subcommittee unanimously decided to recommend the Committee on Items I and II to transmit to the Conference for adoption the following text, as amended by the Subcommittee, of the resolution submitted by the Canadian and United States Government members of the Committee on Items I and II.

DRAFT RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE CONSTITUTION AND CONSTITUTIONAL PRACTICE OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION AND ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER INTERNATIONAL BODIES

The General Conference resolves that:

1. During periods of emergency when, in the judgment of the Governing Body, the efficient operation of the Organisation or of the Office will be advanced thereby, and the Governing Body so notifies the Members of the Organisation, it shall pro-