CONFERENCE
OF THE
INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

1941
NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON, D.C.

RECORD OF PROCEEDINGS

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE
MONTREAL, 1941
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CORRECTION

Tenth Sitting, page 124, footnote 1, should read: See Third Part, Appendix IV, p. 184.
INTRODUCTION

A Conference of the International Labour Organisation was held at New York and Washington, D.C., from 27 October to 6 November 1941. The purpose and special character of this Conference are explained in the following telegram and letter which were addressed to the Governments of the Members of the International Labour Organisation:

Montreal, 2 August 1941

Montreal, 2 August 1941

Montreal, 2 August 1941

Montreal, 2 August 1941

Sir,

I have the honour to confirm my earlier communication informing you that the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation has decided to convene a conference of the International Labour Organisation at New York on 27 October 1941, and it is expected that its duration will not exceed ten days.

Before the outbreak of the war the Governing Body of the Office unanimously agreed that even in the event of war the Organisation should maintain its activities to the fullest extent possible; this policy was received with general approval at the session of the International Labour Conference held in June 1939 and later expressly endorsed by a large majority of the Governments of Members. Circumstances prevented the holding of the session of the International Labour Conference convened to meet in Geneva in June 1940, but in recent months members of the Governing Body, in all three groups, have expressed the view that the holding of a conference was essential to the fulfilment of the policy of maintaining the activities of the Organisation and would provide an invaluable opportunity for delegates of Governments and employers' and workers' organisations to meet and survey social developments throughout the world during this critical period and to discuss the present and future responsibilities of the International Labour Organisation.

In view of present conditions the Governing Body decided that the Conference should be an extraordinary or special Conference of the International Labour Organisation, which would not possess the usual constitutional powers of the normal annual session of the International Labour Conference. As the adoption of international labour conventions or recommendations is not contemplated, the absence of normal constitutional powers will not in any way diminish the importance of the Conference or prevent it from fulfilling a purpose of the highest value by formulating the future policies of the International Labour Organisation.

The composition of the Conference will be governed by the same principles as the ordinary annual sessions of the International Labour Conference. The Members will therefore be entitled to be represented by delegations composed of two Government representatives, one employers' representative and one workers' representative. The number of advisers who may accompany a delegate is normally two advisers for each item on the agenda. The Director's Report, which is dealt with in full conference, is not considered as an item on the agenda for this purpose.
The agenda of the Conference, as decided by the Governing Body, will be:—

(1) Report of the Acting Director of the International Labour Office;
(2) Methods of collaboration between the public authorities, workers' organisations and employers’ organisations.

The discussion of the second question will be on the basis of the report originally prepared for the session of the International Labour Conference convened for June 1940 together with a supplement now in preparation. Copies of this supplementary report and of the Report of the Acting Director will be despatched to Governments as soon as possible.*

A further communication will be addressed to you later, giving the exact place of meeting and the time of opening of the first sitting of the Conference.

I have the honour to be, etc.

(signed) E. J. PHelan,
Acting Director.

This Record of the proceedings of the Conference has been prepared on the same lines as the Record of the normal annual sessions of the International Labour Conference. It is arranged as follows:

**FIRST PART**

Lists of the members of the Delegations, the Committees and the Officers and Secretariat of the Conference.

**SECOND PART**

A verbatim report of the proceedings, comprising stenographic reports of speeches delivered in English and translations of speeches delivered in other languages.

**THIRD PART**

Appendices, including the Standing Orders adopted by the Conference, the reports of the Committees of the Conference and the texts of the resolutions submitted to the Conference and of those adopted by it.

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* The reports referred to were published under the following titles:

- The I.L.O. and Reconstruction: Report by the Acting Director of the International Labour Office to the Conference of the International Labour Organisation, New York, October 1941 (Montreal, 1941);
- Methods of Collaboration between the Public Authorities, Workers' Organisations and Employers' Organisations (Geneva, 1940);
- Wartime Developments in Government-Employer-Worker Collaboration (Montreal, 1941); and
FIRST PART

LIST OF MEMBERS OF DELEGATIONS, ETC.
LIST OF MEMBERS OF DELEGATIONS

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Government Delegates:
The Honourable Frances PERKINS, Secretary of Labor.
The Honourable Adolf A. BERLE, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State.

Advisers and Substitute Delegates:
Mr. Carter GOODRICH, United States Labor Commissioner at Geneva and Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office; Professor of Economics, Columbia University.
Miss Frieda S. MILLER, Industrial Commissioner, New York State Department of Labor.

Advisers:
The Honourable Daniel W. TRACY, First Assistant Secretary of Labor.
Mrs. Clara M. BEYER, Assistant Director, Division of Labor Standards, Department of Labor.
Mr. A. Ford HINRICHS, Acting Commissioner, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor.
Mr. Thomas C. O'BRIEN, Regional Counsel, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.
Mr. Theodore C. ACHILLES, Foreign Service Officer, Department of State.

Employers' Delegate:
Mr. Henry I. HARRIMAN, Chairman of the Board, New England Power Association; Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Advisers:
Mr. Clarence G. McDAVITT, retired Vice-President of the New England Telephone and Telegraph Co.
Mr. Albert W. HAWKES, President, Chamber of Commerce of the United States.
Mr. Edward R. STETTINIUS, Jr., former Chairman of United States Steel Corporation, New York.
Mr. Carl ADAMS, President, Air Reduction Corporation, New York.
Mr. Arthur PAUL, Drexel Hosiery Mills, Lansdale, Pennsylvania.

Workers' Delegate:
Mr. Robert J. WATT, American Federation of Labor; Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Advisers:
Mr. George MEANY, Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of Labor.
Mr. Frank GRILLO, Secretary-Treasurer, United Rubber Workers of America.

Substitute Advisers:
Mr. George HARRISON, President, Brotherhood of Railroad Clerks.
Mrs. Dorothy J. BELLANCA, Member, General Executive Board, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Secretary of the Delegation:
Mr. John S. GAMBS, Associate Professor of Public Welfare Administration, Louisiana State University.

ARGENTINE REPUBLIC

Government Delegates:
His Excellency Dr. Pablo SANTOS MUÑOZ, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Ottawa.
Dr. Alejandro E. SHAW, President of the Argentine Confederation of Commerce, Industry and Production.

Secretary to the Government Delegates:
Miss Ofelia SIERRA VICTORICA, Secretary for Social Legislation of the Dressmakers' Union (Federation of Catholic Workers' Associations).

Employers' Delegate:
Mr. Raúl LAMURAGLIA, Treasurer of the Argentine Industrial Union.

Adviser:
Mr. Héctor Luis BRENTA, Member of the Argentine Industrial Union.

Workers' Delegate:
Mr. José DOMENECH, Secretary-General of the General Confederation of Labour; Workers' Director of the Railway Workers' Pension Fund.

Adviser:
Mr. Francisco PEREZ LEIROS, Secretary of the Union of Municipal Workers; Vice-Chairman of the Workers' Confederation of Latin America.

AUSTRALIA

Government Delegate:
Mr. Alan Stewart WATT, First Secretary, Australian Legation, Washington, D.C.

Employers' Delegate:
Mr. Alured KELLY, President of the Associated Chambers of Manufacturers.

Workers' Delegate:
Mr. A. E. MONK, President of the Australasian Council of Trade Unions.

BELGIUM

Government Delegates:
Mr. Paul-Henri SPAAK, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Labour.
Mr. Paul van ZEELAND, former Prime Minister.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate:
Mr. Max GOTTTSCHALK, Chairman of the National Placing and Unemployment Board.
### LIST OF MEMBERS OF DELEGATIONS

**EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE:**
Mr. Raoul RICHARD, former Minister, General Manager of the "Soinsa" Transport and Industrial Company.

**Adviser:**
Mr. Paul KRONACKER, Senator, General Manager of the Tirsentum Sugar Refineries; Chairman of the Belgian Sugar Manufacturers' Federation.

**WORKERS' DELEGATE:**
Mr. Jef RENS, Assistant General Secretary of the Belgian Federation of Labour.

**Advisers:**
Mr. Philémon de WITTE, General Secretary of the Transport Workers' Union.
Mr. Omer BECU, Secretary of the Joint Committee of Belgian Seafarers' Organisations.

### BOLIVIA

**GOVERNMENT DELEGATE:**
Mr. Abelardo IBÁÑEZ BENAVENTE, Minister of Labour, Health and Social Welfare.

### BRAZIL

**GOVERNMENT DELEGATES:**
His Excellency Francisco Cavalcanti PONTES DE MIRANDA, Minister Plenipotentiary, Brazilian Government Representative on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

His Excellency João Carlos MUNIZ, Minister Plenipotentiary of Brazil, Havana; former Brazilian Government Representative on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

**EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE:**
Mr. Joseph TURTON, Chairman of the Federation of Industrial Associations of the State of Pernambuco.

**WORKERS' DELEGATE:**
Mr. Afonso Henrique dos SANTOS CORRÊA, of the Amalgamated Union of Commercial Employees.

### BRITISH EMPIRE

**GOVERNMENT DELEGATES:**
Mr. Ralph ASHETON, M.P., Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, Ministry of Labour and National Service.

Sir Frederick William LEGGETT, C.B., Chief Industrial Commissioner, Ministry of Labour and National Service; British Government Representative on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

The Right Honourable Clement R. ATTLEE, M.P., Lord Privy Seal, also attended the Conference as a representative of the British Government.

**Advisers:**
Mr. Alexander Stewart FRERE, Director of Public Relations, Ministry of Labour and National Service.

Mr. Roger Mellor MAKINS, Counsellor, Foreign Office.

Mr. Harold Ford ROSSETTI, Principal, Ministry of Labour and National Service.

**EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE:**
Sir John FORBES WATSON, Director of the British Employers' Confederation; Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

**Advisers:**
Mr. Harold Stewart KIRKALDY, Secretary, Iron and Steel Trades Employers' Association.

Mr. Alexander Collie LOW, Secretary of the Engineering and Allied Employers' National Federation.

**WORKERS' DELEGATE:**
Mr. Joseph HALLSWORTH, Industrial 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.

**Advisers:**
Mr. George GIBSON, Vice-Chairman of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress.

**CANADA**

**GOVERNMENT DELEGATES:**
The Honourable Norman McLARTY, Minister of Labour.

The Honourable Leighton McCARTHY, K.C., Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Washington, D.C.

**Advisers and Substitute Delegates:**
The Honourable Peter HEENAN, Minister of Labour of the Province of Ontario.

The Honourable Edgar ROCHETTE, Minister of Labour of the Province of Quebec.

Dr. Bryce M. STEWART, Deputy Minister of Labour, Canadian Government Representative on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

**Advisers:**
Mr. Alfred CHARPENTIER, President of the Canadian Confederation of Catholic Workers.

Mr. Aaron MOSHER, President of the Canadian Congress of Labour.

Mr. Alfred RIVE, First Secretary, Department of External Affairs; Substitute Representative of the Canadian Government on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

**EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE:**
Mr. William Charles COULTER, President, Cottier Copper and Brass Co., Ltd.; Member of the National Labour Supply Council; Past President and Chairman of the Industrial Relations Committee of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association.

**Advisers:**
Mr. Alex R. GOLDIE, Vice-Chairman, Babcock-Wilcox and Goldie and McColloch Ltd.; former Chairman, Industrial Relations Committee, Canadian Manufacturers' Association.

Mr. Hugh W. MACDONNELL, Secretary, Industrial Relations Committee, Canadian Manufacturers' Association.

**WORKERS' DELEGATE:**
Mr. Tom MOORE, President, Trades and Labour Congress of Canada.

**Advisers:**
Mr. Joseph Arthur d'AOUT, Secretary-Treasurer, Trades and Labour Congress of Canada.

Mr. John W. BRUCE, General Representative of the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada.

**Observers Attached to the Delegation:**
Mr. Louis FINE, Conciliation Officer, Department of Labour, Ontario.

Mr. James O'CONNELL MAHER, Department of Labour, Quebec.
LIST OF MEMBERS OF DELEGATIONS

Mr. W. J. COUPER, Special Assistant, Department of Labour, Ottawa.

CHILE

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES:
Mr. Juan PRADENAS MUÑOZ, Minister of Labour.
Mr. Isauro TORRES, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Labour and Social Legislation.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate:
Mr. Claudio ALIAGA COBO, Assistant Secretary of State for Labour.

Advisers:
Miss Graciela MANDUJANO, Assistant Director of the Institute of Rural Education of the Ministry of Agriculture.
Mr. Jorge AGUAYO BLAITT, Legal Service of the General Directorate of Labour.

Adviser and Secretary to the Delegation:
Mr. Arturo ESCUDERO OTAROLA, Inspector of the Labour Service.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE:
Mr. ALDUNATE PHILLIPS, Member of the Confederation of Production and Commerce (Punta Arenas Section).

Advisers:
Mr. Salvador OCAMPO PASTENE, Assistant Secretary, Confederation of Labour; Deputy;
Mr. Albino BARRA VILLALOBOS, National Councillor of the Confederation of Labour.

WORKERS' DELEGATE:
Mr. Bernardo AGUILA, General Secretary of the Confederation of Labour; Deputy.

Advisers:
Mr. LIU Hsuan Tsui, Secretary, Chinese Association of Labour.
Mr. CHU Hsiang-Yung, Legal Adviser, Chinese Association of Labour.

Secretary to the Workers' Delegate:
Mr. HSU Van-T.

COLOMBIA

GOVERNMENT DELEGATE:
Mr. Abel CRUZ-SANTOS, former Minister of Public Works; Consul-General in New York.

CUBA

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES:
Dr. José SUAREZ RIVAS, Under-Secretary of Labour.
Mr. José Enrique de SANDOVAL, Chief Adviser and Chief of the International Labour Organisation Service of the Ministry of Labour.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE:
Mr. Wilfredo H. BRITO, Secretary of the National Petroleum Association.

Advisers:
Mr. ISAAC COWLEY HERNANDEZ, Sugar Planters' Association.
Mr. Tulio DIAZ RIVERA, Secretary of the Association of Cigar Manufacturers of Cuba; Legal Adviser to the Tobacco Manufacturers' Union.

WORKERS' DELEGATE:
Mr. Carlos FERNANDEZ R., Secretary for Press and Propaganda of the Workers' Confederation; Director of the National Transport Workers' Federation.

Advisers:
Mr. Rodrigo RODRIGUEZ FERNANDEZ, President of the Railway Employees' Brotherhood.
Mr. Juan AREVALO, Secretary of the Workers' Confederation.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES:
Mr. Jan MASARYK, Minister of Foreign Affairs.
Mr. Jaromir NECAS, Minister of State, former Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE:
Mr. Richard MORAWETZ, President of "Jute Limited"; former President of the Textile Manufacturers' Association of Czechoslovakia.

WORKERS' DELEGATE:
Mr. Josef Jan KOSINA, Trade Union Secretary.

Advisers:
Mr. Jose Stephen BELINA, Secretary of the Metal Workers' Union; Chairman of the Czechoslovak Employment Office, London.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

GOVERNMENT DELEGATE:
Dr. José Enrique AYBAR, Consul General, New York.

Secretary to the Delegation:
Mr. W. J. COUPER, Special Assistant, Department of Labour.
LIST OF MEMBERS OF DELEGATIONS

ECUADOR

Government Delegates:
Mr. Carlos DOUSDEBES, Director-General of Labour.
Mr. Luis Eduardo LASO, of the Institute of Social Welfare.

Adviser:
Mr. Abel Romeo CASTILLO.

Employers' Delegate:
Mr. Jacinto JOUVIN ARCE, of the Chambers of Industries and Agriculture.

Workers' Delegate:
Mr. Victor BRIONES.

EGYPT

Government Delegate:
Dr. Hussein CHAWKY, Consul General, New York.

IRELAND

Government Delegates:
Mr. LeO Thomas McCauley, Consul General, New York.
Mr. Joseph Desmond BRENNAN, Vice-Consul, New York.

LUXEMBURG

Government Delegates:
Mr. Pierre KRIER, Minister of Labour.
His Excellency Hugues LE GALLAIS, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Washington, D.C.

Adviser:
Mr. Charles HEUERTZ, Social Insurance Adviser.

Secretary to the Delegation:
Mrs. Lily KRIER-BECKER, former Secretary of the Chamber of Labour.

FRANCE

Government Delegate:
Mr. François de PANAFIEU, Counsellor of Embassy, Washington, D.C.

GREECE

Government Delegates:
Mr. Aristide DIMITRATOS, Minister of Labour, Agriculture and Co-operation.
His Excellency Kimon P. DIAMANDOPOULOS, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Washington, D.C.

Adviser:
Dr. Ioannes ZARRAS, Director at the Ministry of Labour.

Employers' Delegate:
Mr. Athanasios SKOURAS.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate:
Mr. George LOGOTHETIS.

Workers' Delegate:
Mr. Demetrios PAPPAS, Executive of the National Federation of the Workers of Greece; former Senator.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate:
Mr. Evangelos CHRISTOFORATOS, Executive of the National Federation of the Workers of Greece.

INDIA

Government Delegates:

Adviser and Secretary to the Delegation:
Mr. Walter Brassington ENGLAND, M.B.E., of the Office of the High Commissioner for India, London.

IRAN

Government Delegate:
Sultan Mahmoud AMERIE, Trade Representative for America.

MEXICO

Government Delegates:
Mr. Ignacio GARCIA TELLEZ, Secretary of Labour and Social Welfare.
Dr. Pedro de ALBA, former Senator, former Mexican Government Representative on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Advisers:
Mr. Enrique JIMENEZ D., former Mexican Delegate to the League of Nations, Chief of the Information and International Affairs Office of the Department of Labour and Social Welfare.
His Excellency Dr. Luis QUINTANILLA, Minister, Counsellor of Embassy, Washington, D.C.
Mr. Andres IDUARTE, Adviser, Department of Labour and Social Welfare.
Mr. Angel ROSAS.

Secretary to the Government Delegation:
Mr. Abraham J. NAVAS PORTUGAL, Advocate, Legal Division of the Department of Labour and Social Welfare.

Employers' Delegate:
Mr. Augustin GARCIA LOPEZ, Advocate; Director of the Institute of Comparative Law of the National University of Mexico; Member of the Board of Directors of the National Confederation of Chambers of Industries.

Workers' Delegate:
Mr. Elias Felipe HURTADO, Secretary for Labour Legislation and Social Welfare of the Workers' Federation of the Federal District.

Observers attached to the Delegation:
Mr. Luis N. MORONES, General Secretary, Mexican Regional Workers' Confederation.
Mr. Mario SUAREZ, General Secretary, Union of Workers' and Peasants' Organisations of Mexico.

NETHERLANDS

Government Delegates:
Dr. J. van den TEMPEL, Minister of Social Affairs.
His Excellency Dr. Alexander LOUDON, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Washington, D.C.
LIST OF MEMBERS OF DELEGATIONS

Adviser and Substitute Delegate:
Dr. Lodewijk A. GASTMANN, Consul General, New York.

Adviser:
Mr. Johan Herman Bernhard KUNEMAN, former member of the Council of the Netherlands Indies; Chairman of the Indonesian Society for Unemployment Relief.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE:
Mr. Simon Marinus Dirk VALSTAR, Chairman of the Union of Employers of Regular Merchant Shipping Lines.

Adviser:
Jonkheer Dr. C.H.V. de VILLENEUVE, Chairman of the Union of Employers of the Netherlands Indies.

WORKERS' DELEGATE:
Mr. Jacobus Hendrik OLDENBROEK, Chairman of the Contact Committee of Organisations of Employees of the Netherlands Merchant Navy.

Advisers:
Raden Dr. HINDROMARTONO, Chairman of the Union of Indonesian Railway and Tramway Employees.
Mr. Roelof Adriaan SCHOTMAN, Chairman of the Union of Planters of the Netherlands Indies.

Secretary to the Delegation:
Dr. Alfred FURNEÉ, Vice-Consul, New York.

NEW ZEALAND

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES:
The Honourable Frank LANGSTONE, Minister of Lands.
Mr. Henry Ernest MOSTON, C.B.E., J.P., Chief Inspector of Factories; Secretary, Department of Labour.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE:
Mr. Benjamin SUTHERLAND, President of the New Zealand Employers' Federation.

WORKERS' DELEGATE:
The Honourable Richard EDDY, M.L.C., President of the New Zealand Workers' Industrial Union of Workers.

Secretary to the Delegation:
Miss Jean McKENZIE.

NORWAY

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES:
Mr. C. J. HAMBO, President of the Storting.
Mr. Olav HINDAHL, Minister of Labour.

Advisers:
Mr. Gustav JEBSEN.
Mr. Peter SIMONSEN, Barrister.
Mr. Ole COLBJØRNSEN, Financial Counsellor to the Norwegian Legation at Washington, D.C.; Member of the Storting.
Mr. Fredrik HASLUND, Secretary of the Social Committee for Norwegian Seamen in America.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE:
Mr. Öivind LORENTZEN, Director of the Norwegian Shipping and Trade Mission.

Advisers:
Mr. Lars CHRISTENSEN, Financial Counsellor to the Norwegian Legation at Washington, D.C.

Captain Sewerin JANSEN, Norwegian Shipping and Trade Mission.

WORKERS' DELEGATE:
Mr. Ingvald HAUGEN, President of the Norwegian Seamen's Union.

Advisers:
Mr. Finn MOE, Director of the Norwegian State Broadcasting System in the United States.
Mr. Mons OLSVIK, Ship's Mate.

PANAMA

GOVERNMENT DELEGATE:
Mr. Julio E. BRIÑENO, Counsellor of Embassy, Panamanian Legation, Washington, D.C.

PERU

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES:
Mr. Jorge FERNANDEZ STOLL, Director of Labour, Assistance and Social Welfare.
Dr. Javier CORREA, Chief of the Political Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

POLAND

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES:
Mr. Jan STANCZYK, Minister of Labour and Social Welfare.
Mr. Sylwia STRAKACZ, Minister Plenipotentiary, Consul General, New York; Permanent Delegate of Poland to the League of Nations.

Advisers:
Mr. Alexander ZNAMIECKI, Relief Delegate of the Polish Government.
Mr. Stanisław WŁODARKIEWICZ, Secretary to the Polish Minister of Labour.
Mr. Oscar LANGE, Professor of Economics, University of Chicago.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE:
Mr. Alfred FALTER, President of the Industrial Union of Poland.

Adviser:
Mr. Leopold WELLISZ, Member of the Council of the Central Union of Polish Industry.

WORKERS' DELEGATE:
Mr. Alojzy ADAMCZYK, President of the Transport Workers' Union.

Advisers:
Mr. Stanislaw Anthony SLAWIK, LL.D., Polish Trade Union Federation.
Dr. Feliks GROSS.

THAILAND

OBSERVER:
Mr. Luang Dithakar BHAKDI, Second Secretary, Thai Legation, Washington, D.C.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES:
Mr. Emil Frank HORN, Consul, New York.
LIST OF MEMBERS OF DELEGATIONS

Adviser and Substitute Delegate:
Mr. Robert WEBSTER, Legation Secretary, Washington, D.C.

Employers' Delegate:
Mr. Henry George SWINGLE, M.I.E.E., M.I. Mech. E. (England); City Electrical Engineer, Cape Town, and Manager of the Cape Town Undertaking of the Electricity Supply Commission; Buying Representative of the Director General of War Supplies in the United States.

Workers' Delegate:
Mr. Willem Johannes de VRIES, Secretary of the South African Trades and Labour Council.

URUGUAY
Government Delegates:
Dr. Amadeo ALMADA, Professor of Law; President of the Social Insurance Institute; former Acting Minister of Labour and Social Welfare.
Mr. Luis GIORGI, Engineer; former Deputy; General Manager of the Rio Negro Hydro-electric Works; Professor of the Engineering School of Montevideo.

Employers' Delegate:
Mr. Alejandro DIAZ AZNAREZ, Engineer; Director of the Uruguay Sugar Factories and the Radio-Lux Company.

Workers' Delegate:
Mr. Enrique Vicente RODRIGUEZ ANEIROS, General Secretary, Leather Workers' Union; Member of the Executive Council of the Workers' Organisation Committee.

VENEZUELA
Government Delegates:
Dr. Jesus PEREZ MACHADO, former Director of Labour, Inspector of Factories for the Federal District and the State of Miranda.
Dr. Regulo PEREZ, LL.D., Member of the National Congress.

Employers' Delegate:
Dr. Felix SOUBLETTESALUZZO, Legal Adviser to the Manufacturers' Association of Caracas.

Workers' Delegate:
Mr. Calixto Eduardo NODA, of the National Employees' Association.

YUGOSLAVIA
Government Delegates:
Mr. Sava KOSANOVITCH, Minister of State; His Excellency Dr. Ivan SOUBBOTITCH, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Permanent Delegate of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia accredited to the International Labour Organisation.

Advisers:
Mr. George RADIN, LL.D.
Mr. Boris FURLAN, Professor of Law at the University of Ljubljana.

Employers' Delegate:
Mr. Bozo BANATIS, Shipowner.

Adviser:
Mr. Vlaho BRUER, President of the Yugoslav Shipping Committee, New York.

Workers' Delegate:
Mr. Cesar MILOSH.

Adviser:
Mr. Vicko SANTITCH, Yugoslav Seamen's Union. Secretary to the First Government Delegate: Dr. Nicholas MIRKOVICH.

COSTA RICA
Observer:
Dr. Hector BEECHER, Secretary of Legation, Washington, D.C.

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Mr. José DOMENECH, Workers' delegate (Argentina Republic).

Secretary-General:
Mr. E. J. PHELAN, Acting Director of the International Labour Office.

Secretariat of the Conference

Secretary-General:
Mr. E. J. PHELAN, Acting Director of the International Labour Office.

Assistant to the Secretary-General:
Mr. REYMOND.

Assistant Secretary-General:
Mr. A. TIXIER, Assistant Director of the International Labour Office.

Attached to the President of the Conference:
Miss MAYER.

Principal Secretary:
Mr. WEAVER.

Assistant Principal Secretary:
Mr. LAFRANCE.

Legal Adviser:
Mr. JENKS.

Clerk of the Conference:
Mr. MORTISHED.

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Secretaries:
Mr. MORTISHED.
Mr. LEBEAU.

Committee on Collaboration:
Representative of the Secretary-General:
Mr. TIXIER.
Assisted by:
Mr. BESSLING.
Miss RIEGELMAN.

Secretaries:
Mr. COLOMBAIN.
Mr. RAO.
Mr. PICHETTO.
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- Mr. BLELLOCH.

**Interpreters:**
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- Mr. HEDIGER.
- Mr. KOUINDJI.
- Mr. ROHEN Y GALVEZ.
- Mr. de TORRES.
- Mr. VAZQUEZ CARRIZOSA.

### Chief of Editorial Service:
- Mr. JOHNSTONE.

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- Argentine Republic: Mr. SANTOS MUÑOZ; substitute: Mr. SHAH.
- Australia: Mr. WATT.
- Belgium: Mr. van ZEELAND; substitute: Mr. GOTTISCHALK.
- Brazil: Mr. PONTES DE MIRANDA; substitute: Mr. MUNIZ.
- British Empire: Sir Frederick LEGGETT.
- Canada: Mr. McLARTY; substitute: Mr. RIVE.
- Chile: Mr. PRADENAS MUÑOZ; substitute: Mr. ALIAGA.
- China: Mr. LI Ping-Heng; substitute: Mr. YU Tsun-Chi.
- France: Mr. de PANAFIEU.
- India: Sir Shanmukham CHETTY.
- Mexico: Mr. GARCIA TELLEZ; substitute: Mr. de ALBA.
- Netherlands: Mr. van den TEMPEL; substitute: Mr. LOUDON.
- Norway: Mr. HAMBRO.
- Poland: Mr. STANCAZYK; substitute: Mr. STRAKACZ.
- Yugoslavia: Mr. SOUBBOTITCH.

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- Mr. COULTER (Canada).
- Sir John FORBES WATSON (British Empire).
- Mr. HARRIMAN (United States of America).
- Mr. KELLY (Australia).
- Mr. LAMURAGLIA (Argentine Republic).
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This Committee consisted of the Conference as a whole, sitting in Committee.

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VICE-CHAIRMEN:
Mr. COULTER (Canada).
Mr. RENS (Belgium).

REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL:
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Assisted by:
Mr. BESSLING.
Miss RIEGELMAN.

SECRETARIES:
Mr. COLOMBAIN.
Mr. RAO.
Mr. PICHETTO.

Sub-Committee of the Committee on Collaboration

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Belgium: Mr. GOTTSCHALK.
China: Mr. LI.
New Zealand: Mr. MOSTON.

Substitutes:
Canada: Mr. HEENAN.
India: Mr. MALIK.
Mexico: Mr. GARCIA TELLEZ.
Norway: Mr. HAMBRO.
Union of South Africa: Mr. WEBSTER.

EMPLOYERS' MEMBERS:
Mr. COULTER (Canada).
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Mr. LAMURAGLIA (Argentina).
Mr. MORAWETZ (Czecho-Slovakia).

Substitutes:
Mr. ALDUNATE PHILLIPS (Chile).
Mr. BRITO (Cuba).
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Mr. HURTADO (Mexico).
Mr. RENS (Belgium).
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Substitutes:
Mr. BARRA VILLALOBOS (Chile).
Mr. BECU (Belgium).
Mr. HAMBRO (Argentina).

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The Chairman of the Committee on Collaboration
Mr. ASSHETON — (British Empire).

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Vice-Chairman: Mr. LI (China).

EMPLOYERS' GROUP:
Chairman: Mr. HARRIMAN (United States of America).
Vice-Chairmen: Mr. SHAW (China).
Secretary: Mr. KIRKALDY.

WORKERS' GROUP:
Chairman: Mr. HALLSWORTH (British Empire).
Vice-Chairman: Mr. CHU (China).
Secretary: Mr. SCHEVENELS.
SECOND PART

VERBATIM REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS
Verbatim Report of the Proceedings

FIRST SITTING
Monday, 27 October 1941, 11 a.m.

Presidents: Mr. Goodrich, Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and Miss Perkins.

(The Governor of the State of New York, Mr. Herbert H. Lehman, the Mayor of New York, Mr. Fiorello La Guardia, and the President of Columbia University, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, take seats on the platform.)

OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE

Mr. GOODRICH — It is my duty and honour, as Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office and acting by its authority, to open the Conference of the International Labour Organisation.

This is no routine meeting. The Conference is an act of faith. It is called in the belief that there is need for common counsel on the part of the Governments, employers, and workers of the free peoples of the world. It is called in the belief that social justice and social security and the basic elements of economic democracy are not luxuries to be thought of only when the stern business of fighting is ended, but that they are instead the essence of the conflict and the very stuff for which free men fight. For an organisation based on this method of counsel and devoted to these ideals, there is a stand to take and work to do in wartime no less than in time of peace.

In February 1939, the Governing Body, looking forward into a darkening world, laid down the policy that “the activities of the Organisation should be maintained at the highest possible level” even if war should come. When war did come, this policy was reaffirmed by those of us who could still meet at Geneva, and with special eloquence by the Member nations of the Western Hemisphere who came together at the Conference of Havana. Even when the difficulties increased, when on the tenth of May 1940 the annual Geneva Conference had to be postponed in the face of the German invasion of the West, there was no lessening of the determination to serve the democratic peoples. It was in this determination that the former Director, John Winant, transferred the principal activities of the Office to what he rightly called “the friendly soil of Canada”. In the same faith this Conference was called.

Your presence is its justification. That you have come in such numbers, that you have come under such difficulties and dangers of travel, that you have come putting aside the heavy day-to-day responsibilities with which you are charged, is proof that you—and the Governments and workers and employers who have sent you here—believe that the International Labour Organisation has a task to perform. You come from 33 countries and from all the continents. Twenty-two delegations contain representatives of employers and workers. Among you, in spite of the mounting difficulty of the problems which to-day confront Governments throughout the world, are no less than 15 members of Cabinets and Ministries. The Secretary-General of the League of Nations is represented by Dr. Alexander Loveday, Director of the Economic, Financial and Transit Department, now established at Princeton. The roster, perhaps not yet complete, contains the names of 100 delegates and substitute delegates, 76 advisers, and a total of 187 persons accredited to the Conference.

In you lies the strength of the International Labour Organisation. Yet you are not all its strength. There are others, no less devoted to its ideals, who would be here to-day if they had not been prevented by the exigencies and the dislocations of the war. Among them are workers’ and employers’ leaders who have seen their own organisations disbanded and destroyed. Of those who met with us in Geneva just two years ago, who then joined eagerly in planning for the extension of the I.L.O.'s influence and activity, some are to-day living out their lives under the armed surveillance of totalitarian guards. On us, therefore, rests the responsibility to act on their behalf as well as on our own until they are once more free to act again.

As the agenda indicates, the responsibility of the Conference is for the general lines of policy rather than points of technical detail. There
are before you two principal items for discussion. The first, as in every I.L.O. Conference, is the Director's Report. This time the item assumes unusual significance. This is partly because there are in a sense two such documents instead of one. In addition to the Acting Director's report prepared for this Conference, you have also before you the message "to the Governments, Employers and Workers of Member States", presented by Mr. Winant when in February of this year he resigned the directorship to accept appointment as United States Ambassador to Great Britain. This report is the account of his stewardship. It indicates the decisions of unexpected gravity that had to be taken. It reconfirms his faith in the Organisation and his continuing belief that "social and economic policy must be shaped by the friendly co-operation of the peoples of all free nations". When Mr. Winant resigned, Mr. Phelan took up the task of rebuilding the work of the Office under the new circumstances. The report which he presents to you has the range and breadth that we have come to expect of these annual reviews of social and economic action throughout the world. It proposes a declaration of international social policy. Its emphasis is on the future. Its orientation is expressed in the title which Mr. Phelan has chosen, The I.L.O. and Reconstruction.

The second item on the agenda is Methods of Collaboration between the Public Authorities, Workers' Organisations and Employers' Organisations. That was the subject chosen for discussion at the 1940 Conference. A comprehensive and fully international report on this question was prepared by the Office in the spring of 1940. Events made its discussion, at that time impossible. They did not make the question obsolete. On the contrary, everything that has happened since that time has served to demonstrate that the very survival of the democracies depends on their ability to achieve full co-operation between their Governments and the free associations of workers and employers. The increased urgency of the question, the new forms it has taken on under the pressures of war and national defence, have been recognised in the preparation for this Conference. You have before you new Suggestions for Discussion and a report on Wartime Developments in Government-Employer-Worker Co-operation. Such co-operation, as the report indicates, is "an indispensable condition of the continued existence of the democratic way of life".

It is not my place to anticipate your discussion of these documents or the conclusions which you will reach. I do wish to remind you of your responsibility, clearly foreshadowed in the words of the Constitution, to assign powers and duties to the International Labour Office. The work of building an international code of labour legislation was interrupted by the outbreak of war. When the war is over, it must be taken up again on a broader basis. But there are other functions which the Office can and should perform. It has been successful in finding new opportunities for service, particularly in this hemisphere. A notable example is its part in organising the Inter-American Committee to Forward Social Security, whose first meeting will soon be held in Santiago at the invitation of the Chilean Government. The Office has also begun to find ways of integrating wartime labour experience for the benefit of its member countries that are engaged in war or in vast programmes of national defence. It must do more — you must ask it to do more and equip it to do more — if an organisation devoted to social justice is to play its proper part in a struggle in which labour and social policies are both weapons in the conflict and the stakes of victory.

When democratic victory is won, you will have still further tasks for the Office and the Organisation. The greatest problem of demobilisation and re-employment, the shift of man-power and resources from war to peace production, the re-establishment of world trade, the use of the food resources of the New World for the succour of the people of the Old, the physical rebuilding of devastated areas, the still more difficult problem of starting economic and social life over again in vast areas that may well be reduced to chaos — all these will call for social invention and planning, all will set administrative tasks of the highest importance and of the greatest difficulty. Many of them will be dealt with primarily within each nation and by national means. Many will transcend national lines. There will be need for the transfer of workers not only from occupation to occupation and from industry to industry, but in some cases from country to country. There cannot be full restoration of employment without international co-operation. Programmes like these must be administered as well as planned. If some of this work can be done not by a single group of Governments, but by an organisation as broadly based as this morning's gathering, and including in its structure the representatives of industry and labour, there will be less danger of misunderstanding and unrest, there will be more hope that the performance of the necessary chores of reconstruction will contribute towards the building of a permanent peace. In the words of Mr. Winant, the Organisation "is your instrument ... As you use it, it will become strong." If you do not use it, it may become an obstacle to development, and may not be strong enough for the work of reconstruction. If it should fail the world in that time of difficult rebuilding, it would not have earned its place in the permanent framework of an international order. It is for you to see that it does not fail.

Under the exceptional circumstances of the present Conference, I have thought it proper not to make the customary obituary references to the men and women who have made significant contributions to the Organisation's work. Yet I cannot pass over the name of George N. Barnes, who was Vice-Chairman of the Commission of the Peace Conference which drew up the Constitution of the I.L.O. I shall not recount his eminent career as labour leader and member of the British War Cabinet. I shall merely cite one sentence from a letter addressed to his Prime Minister at a critical moment in the founding of the Organisation. It reads as follows: "I know that labour does care about getting on with those things that concern the daily life of working folk."

There is in the Acting Director's Report a
significant passage which describes "The Emergence of the Social Objective" in national and international policy. This purpose was clear in the minds of Barnes and his fellows when they laid down the foundations of this Organisation. To-day the leaders of the free peoples see more clearly than ever that "the daily life of working folk" is the central concern of public policy. This is true both of nations engaged in the war and of nations relatively remote from its influence. Alongside the declarations of the responsible statesmen of the Allied nations, the Report places a striking series of statements by Presidents and leaders of many of the American Republics. Notable among the statements of social purpose is the Atlantic Charter. For us in this Organisation two aspects of that declaration are of particular importance. In the first place, Point 5, which pledges "improved labour standards", is clearly to be read not alone but in the closest relationship with the economic principles of Point 4, which deals with freedom of international trade and access to raw materials. Second, the quest for "improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security" is to be carried on not in isolation but with "fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field".

This is our common objective. To define it more sharply, to translate it into concrete programmes of social and economic action, is a continuing responsibility. In that process, we have a unique contribution to make — our Organisation with its rich experience, with your range of practical knowledge from many lands, you who speak for industry and labour. This is our duty and our opportunity. It is for us also to make sure that action follows planning. This Organisation of Governments, employers and workers must act to-day in the defence of democracy and to-morrow in the rebuilding of a democratic world.

I declare open the Conference of the International Labour Organisation.

We are very much honoured by the presence of the Governor of the State of New York. Under our form of government much of the responsibility for democracy, as you know, rests upon the State. In this field New York has long been a leader. It is, therefore, particularly appropriate that this Conference should be welcomed by the progressive Governor of a progressive State.

Mr. LEHMANN — The State of New York is proud that this historic Conference of the International Labour Organisation is being held here. On behalf of the people of the State of New York and on my own behalf, I give you a hearty welcome. It is my very earnest hope and confident belief that from your deliberations will come much that is helpful to Government, to labour, and to employers. The road to progress and security, I believe, lies within a constructive partnership between labour and management. Such a partnership can be attained if there is faith and good will.

I am particularly glad to greet you here to-day at the opening of the Conference, although I am certain that you have not needed my welcome to make you feel at home. In the State of New York I am sure you have found friends already — friends from your own countries — for, as you know, it would be hard to find a corner of the world so distant that it had not sent its representatives here, both in some numbers as pioneer settlers of our State, and in greater numbers as more recent arrivals who have come to contribute their labour and their skills to our community.

From the first, New York has given temporary and permanent haven to men and women from all lands. And working together in peace and fruitfulness, men and women of all lands have contributed to the greatness of what we call our Empire State. As you know, we have right here in the City of New York larger populations of many nationalities than exist in any but the greatest city of their native countries. Not the least of the contribution of all these groups has been the living demonstration that justifies our faith that under reasonable conditions, reasonable people can meet and work together reasonably for civilised ends. Unfortunately, that faith in many quarters of the world has been well nigh destroyed.

E Pluribus Unum, the formal motto of the United States, which you find on our coins, was conceived, of course, as a geographical union of the many into one, but it has taken on for us deeper significance, not only as a union of the States, one and inseparable, but as a union of the rich diversity of nationalities, one and inseparable, that have each given to us generously out of the richness of their own cultural life.

As Governor of the State of New York, it has been especially interesting to me to find that your principal topic of discussion here is that of the collaboration of the Governments, employers, and workers, because that method of collaboration has been practised long and consistently in our State in industrial relations and in the determination of social policy, in our trade boards, in minimum wage determination, in our unemployment insurance programmes, and in other social programmes with which you doubtless are familiar.

The inherent strength of our democracy — of any democracy, if you will — lies in the fact that it is a form of government designed to promote the life, liberty, and happiness of its individual citizens, and that it can accomplish these objectives through their free co-operation in the direction of its affairs. That has long been and will continue to be the policy of this State.

The function of the International Labour Office in its international field, the approach of the International Labour Organisation, is the democratic approach. It has helped people because it has told them the facts and shown them the light. Its authority has been moral and its success in improving standards has for that reason been inspiring in a world where many have become faint of heart and have doubted that moral authority still has power.

I spoke a moment ago of the inherent strength of our democracy. That is something we cannot stress too often. The dictatorship as a weapon of propaganda have proclaimed that democracy is of itself inherently weak and ineffective. We know that is not so.

Democracy is inherently strong and effective. All our history and experience lead us to that
conclusion. It is precisely because it is strong and effective that the world of free choice has deliberately chosen it wherever it could. France did not fall because she was a democracy. She lost her liberty because she had failed to safeguard her freedom, to secure efficiency through sacrifice and work. If we will only sacrifice and work as only free men and women are ever willing and able to sacrifice and work, there can be no doubt of the issue.

There is no question that democracy can be efficient — can be far more efficient than any dictatorship — but it can achieve this efficiency only if it serves its people so that they have conviction in their hearts that it is the only way of life, and that the preservation of their security and their freedoms, their homes, and their ideals is worth their lives if need be.

The most deeply significant aspect of this Conference to me is its demonstration of the vitality of democratic methods in time of war as in time of peace, and of the unity of purpose of the nations assembled here to maintain at any cost their right — nay, their duty to the free pursuit of happiness.

We in the United States realise that we are only beginning to shoulder the costs and the strains of this struggle. We know that we have much to learn from those of you who have already had to bear the full burden of the fight to preserve our liberties as well as yours. And from this Conference we hope, through the experience and from the firm faith shown by the workers, the employers, and the Governments represented here, to gain in knowledge of the ways in which to make our struggle for democracy more fully effective.

Despite the war, despite the threats to our civilisation and to our very life, you are gathered here, free men and free women, in pursuit of objectives that only free men and free women dare pursue, in pursuit of objectives of broad social betterment, objectives that contribute to the dignity of man. And we have faith, we men and women of democratic countries, in that dignity.

In this assembly of the International Labour Organisation, in the work it will accomplish, and in the very fact that it is taking place at such a time, is the firm challenge on the part of free people everywhere to the forces that abolish freedom, and is the expression of the hope and the determination that free ways shall still prevail.

Mr. GOODRICH — The hospitality of the City of New York will be extended by its energetic Mayor. He bears, also, the heavy national responsibility for the Office of Civilian Defence. You know of his sympathy for the causes that are near your hearts. I present the Honourable Fiorello H. La Guardia, Mayor of New York.

Mr. LA GUARDIA — I extend to you on behalf of the people of the City of New York, all 7,400,000 of them, a most hearty and sincere welcome.

This Conference may be of great service to the world. Being unaccustomed to diplomatic usage, I am going to talk very frankly. Because of my concern and great interest in a perman-
tinue in peace with some countries prosperous, and other countries hungry. Nature has provided a very fair balance. Each of our countries has something that the other countries have not got. A proper, well-balanced, equitable exchange of native goods within the reach and possibility of each country will do a great deal to make one country an advantage to another.

The rich, prosperous, powerful countries, including our own, will necessarily have to take this new world condition into consideration.

We talk about surpluses and we talk of want. We know there are millions of people in this world that are not sufficiently fed, and yet we know that there are countries that have surpluses. No statistician, no economist, can say what the surplus is to-day, because we don't know. You can't measure a surplus until all of the people of the world are properly fed and properly clad and properly housed.

And in order to remove this barrier, it is necessary to provide, as I have said before, some semblance of uniformity in the standards of living of the working people of all countries, some standard of uniformity in wage scales. Having done that, we shall have removed most of the cause of the difference of production, and I speak here from actual experience, as a consular officer of my country thirty-seven years ago. On every export from that country to the United States, we had to figure the cost of production; and the cost of production at that time, in that country, was out of balance to the cost of production in this country, that it either gave that country an unfair advantage or else created the necessity of a customs barrier; and there you have the beginning of the vicious circle.

Nature and God Almighty have provided the world with sufficient food and sufficient material to satisfy all of the people. It now remains to the thinking people of the world, to the representatives of the remaining democracies, to work out a formula and, for once, at least, to ensure to the world centuries of peace and happiness.

Mr. GOODRICH — The next speaker is known to all of you for a lifetime of devotion to the ideal of understanding between nations. It is unnecessary to introduce him, and it would be out of place for me to attempt to praise him. I present your host, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University.

Dr. BUTLER — It gives me a genuine thrill of satisfaction and pleasure to stand for a few moments in the presence of this distinguished and representative company and to offer them cordial welcome to this University.

Nowhere could you meet in the whole world where you would find fuller understanding or more cordial sympathy than in the great academic body which constitutes the Columbia University of to-day. That institution is approaching the second hundredth year of its existence. From the days of Alexander Hamilton and John Jay, down to those of Benjamin Nathan Cardozo, it has offered to the nation and to the world intellectual insight and leadership of the most exalted and commanding type.

To-day it is overwhelmingly committed to the ideals which you cherish and for which you labour.

In my judgment this Conference is the most important international gathering which has taken place in several years, and no international gathering could be more important at this critical moment in the history of modern civilization.

When this University was founded, George II was King of England, Louis XV sat on the throne of France, and Frederick the Great ruled the people of Prussia. Those very names indicate a form of government and of civilization resting on force which we thought we had put behind us forever.

The great, world-wide movement of liberalism which began in the eighteenth century, and which found its outstanding manifestations in the formation of the United States of America and in the French Revolution, swept into and over one nation after another, and its principles and ideals commended themselves increasingly to vast masses of the world's population. And then, about forty years ago, there were signs that a halt was being called; that doctrine which is known as "economic nationalism", growing out of human change, social and economic conditions, began to manifest itself, and nations, whether small or great, began in an economic and social sense to withdraw from world co-operation and to endeavour to set up increasingly large areas of individual national control. There could be only one end to that change of policy, and that end has come. It is the attempt to control and rule the whole world by force, for the purpose of economic and social control.

Therefore, the challenge which we are facing to-day is the challenge of economic nationalism made world-wide by liberalism, historic, magnificent in its achievement, and splendid in its ideals, which was accomplishing so much and was well on the way to accomplish still more.

Well do I remember the response of world opinion forty-three years ago when the Tsar of all the Russias issued his noble appeal to the world to unite, not to separate and contest, but to unite for the preservation of prosperity and peace. It was then that the movement began which culminated in the organised society of nations, following the war which was not ended but suspended in 1918.

The cause which you have at heart is to-day the most important of all issues in carrying forward a constructive and co-operating international world. Unless we can put the welfare of the great body of the world's citizens ahead of the advantage or the gain of any individual or any group, or of any ruler, we cannot have a peaceful and a prosperous world.

This Conference strikes a note of faith and hope and courage. It means that all is not wrong with the world, everything is not lost. There are those splendid minds and characters that are willing and ready to carry on and to give leadership in this great constructive movement. The problems which you are to discuss, the ideals which you are to consider, are fundamental, not only to our world but also to the world of those who are to come after us.

The world is waiting for another Waterloo,
for another overthrow of the despotic leadership which at the moment is the commanding force in writing contemporary history. This Conference indicates faith that there will be a Waterloo and, after Waterloo, a new and constructive period of liberal accomplishment. Place will be made not only in the great nations but in the small nations for safety, for opportunity, for comfort, for health, for advancement of the whole population, old and young, rich and poor, whatever may be their economic or their social status.

Let me remind you of a great conference held in London nearly seven years ago on the invitation of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. That conference was held at Chatham House. It was attended by some sixty-two outstanding representatives of twelve nations, men who were or had been in highest government office, men who were or had been administrators of great financial, transportation, and manufacturing undertakings. Among others there were present a representative of the Bank of England, a representative of the Bank of France, a representative of the Deutsche Bank in Berlin, and a representative of the Bank of Italy in Rome. And after nearly a week of intimate conference and discussion, that entire group agreed unanimously upon a programme of economic, financial, and political reconstruction, to every line of which this Conference will give approval and adherence.

Remember that outstanding representatives of both Germany and Italy took part in those findings only some seven years ago. What that means is that everywhere in the world there is opportunity and readiness to give support to the work of this Conference, to the solution of its problems, to the achievement of its ideals.

May you go forward with constructive thought and lay the foundations for a new era of accomplishment in that international organisation which is fundamental if the world is to be at prosperity and at peace.

**Cablegram from Mr. Harold B. Butler and Mr. John G. Winant**

Mr. GOODRICH — The First Director of the International Labour Office was a great Frenchman, Albert Thomas. There are two living former Directors of the Office, one a distinguished Englishman, one a distinguished American. I have just had handed to me the following cablegram:

Best wishes for the success of the Conference. At this critical time when the future of liberty and social progress are in grave jeopardy, only the united determination of all free peoples to uphold them will ensure their preservation. We are proud to think that the I.L.O. is playing its part to-day and look forward to the time when it will form a rallying point under the New Order of the Atlantic Charter.

HAROLD B. BUTLER, JOHN G. WINANT.

**Election of the President**

Mr. GOODRICH — The first duty of the Conference is to elect its President.

Mr. ASSHETON (Government delegate, British Empire) — I have the great honour and pleasure to propose as the President of this Conference, Miss Frances Perkins.

No Conference held under the auspices of the International Labour Organisation has had a greater significance to the world than the gathering which has just been opened by the Chairman of the Governing Body in an address which expressed so ably the sentiments of free peoples; and we have listened, too, with great interest to the addresses from those who have welcomed us here today. We are grateful to them for sparing us their time and for giving us their welcome, and it was especially good of Mayor La Guardia, who, I observe from the newspapers, is particularly busy, to have spared the time to come here.

I cannot refrain from interjecting a word of thanks to the Chairman for the kindly reference he made to George Barnes—George Barnes, a citizen of my country, of whom we were all very proud.

It is very fitting that the President of this Conference should be the distinguished Minister of the greatest industrial country in the world, a country which has given powerful support to the Organisation and also to the principles for which the Organisation stands.

When Miss Perkins became Secretary of Labor, she already had a record of distinguished service extending over many years, service in the improvement of the conditions of labour. For six years Miss Perkins was Commissioner of Labor of the State of New York, and amongst many other items in her record, I would particularly mention the Factory Acts which had so profound an effect on the health, the welfare, and the safety of industrial workers, and also I would particularly mention the high standard of administration of labour laws in New York State.

For over eight years Miss Perkins has been Secretary of Labor, a period of time far longer than that occupied by any Minister of Labour in my country, and during her strenuous period of office she has played a most prominent part in the passing and administration of Federal laws relating to unemployment insurance, old-age pensions, minimum standards in Government contracts, and the National Labor Relations Act.

Those who, like myself, hold ministerial office in a Department of Labour, know the strain of the work, and we know also that criticism is inevitably far more plentiful than praise.

In this Conference, however, I would refer particularly to the sympathetic and powerful support which Miss Perkins has always given to the International Labour Organisation. She is well-known at Geneva, where her visits have been evidence of her interest in the well-being of workers, not only in the United States but throughout the whole world.

At the present time, it gives me particular pleasure as a representative of the British Empire to propose a woman for the Presidency of
the Conference. We in Great Britain are very conscious of what we owe to our women, to their work, and, in these times above all, to their courage. We recognise, also, with gratitude, the kindness and the help that we have received from the women of America. This Organisation exists to promote those conditions which make for a happy family life, and we shall be fortunate to have as our President one who has not only a long record as a great administrator, but is in herself a shining example of those qualities which all the world looks for in a good woman.

Mr. COULTER (Employers' delegate, Canada) — I have a great deal of pleasure on behalf of the Employers' Group to support the motion just made by Mr. Ralph Assheton to nominate Miss Frances Perkins as our President for this meeting. In doing so, I feel that it is perhaps an innovation to have a lady, but I am sure that we could find no distinguished lady anywhere more interested in labour and labour relations than Miss Perkins.

Mr. Assheton has enumerated some of the qualifications which Miss Perkins has for this distinguished position, and I think that perhaps there is no necessity for me to further enumerate her qualifications; those qualifications which she possessed led to her appointment as Secretary of Labor for the United States, which is equivalent to that of Minister of Labour in most other countries, perhaps even superior to it. But in any case, the position which she has held for over eight years in the United States of America certainly speaks enough for her qualifications without any further reference.

I have great pleasure, therefore, in seconding the motion.

Mr. CHU (Workers' delegate, China) — On behalf of the Workers' group I have the honour of seconding the motion of the British delegate nominating Miss Frances Perkins, Government delegate and Secretary of Labor of the United States, as the President of this Conference of the International Labour Organisation.

Miss Perkins has worked tirelessly for the improvement of the lot of the workers. She and her Government have given the International Labour Office their earnest support. Now that we are holding the Conference here in the United States, it is only fit that we elect as distinguished a person as Miss Perkins to guide our deliberations.

I therefore second the motion to nominate Miss Perkins as the President of this Conference of the International Labour Organisation.

Mr. GOODRICH — The name of Miss Perkins has been moved by a Government delegate. The proposal has been supported by the representatives of the Workers' and Employers' groups. I have heard no other proposition. I assume that it is your unanimous will that we should call the Secretary of Labor to the Chair.

I declare Miss Perkins the President of the Conference. I ask her to take over her duties.

(Miss Perkins takes the Chair.)
because of the solemn desire to affirm those principles.

It was exactly twenty-two years ago that the representatives of thirty-nine nations met once before in the United States, in Washington, at the First Conference of the International Labour Organisation. This was a new type of world conference, for the delegates of the Member States were not only representative of the Governments of those States, but were designated also by the peoples of those States and by those organisations of the people—of employers and of workers—which were most representative of the organised wage earners and of the organised workers in each of their countries. Representation of the people in international conferences was a new idea and has, I think, been the primary item in the strength and continuity of this body as compared with other international enterprises.

We meet here to-day in a city which is happy and full of hope, and I do want to say to you that I hope it will be for many of you an interlude of happiness and hope, and that you will go away from these days here refreshed and encouraged, as indeed your coming here and our contact with you who are in trouble have already brought courage and refreshment to us as we see what the human spirit can do when it is under trial.

It is difficult for us today, as we face the problem of the years ahead, to recall the spirit of that First Conference. That was less than a year after the holocaust of the first world war had ended in an armistice that sent the people of every land out into the streets to rejoice; a war which had brought untold suffering to the populations of every country was at an end. The people had not yet sensed the conflicts of the Peace Conference. They had no realisation of the economic confusions which lay ahead of them. They only knew the war was over. Vaguely the people of all countries sensed that we must build a new world, that one could not make a world safe for democracy, as we called it, safe for an expanding material and spiritual life for all people, on the field of battle alone, that agreement in the economic field, in the social field, and in the spiritual field, too, was also essential.

This sense of the problems of the post-war world was recognised in the creation of two new instruments for international government. The first was the League of Nations. The second of the great institutions established by the Treaty of Versailles was the International Labour Organisation. It was born in the aspirations and the experience of the organised wage workers of all nations. We in the United States like to think of it as having been the inspiration of Samuel Gompers. You who come from other lands know, however, that in every country this dream was the dream of labour leaders; they had met at Leeds, and Stockholm, and at Berne. In every country, the leaders of the masses of the people felt that real peace could only be established on the basis of social justice, as we called it at that time, a phrase now become a phrase of economic and of political and even of religious significance. Social justice—it was a new idea in those days. Seizing upon the pre-war structure of the International Association for Labour Legislation, and the occasional

Berne Conferences, there was built an international organisation which should at all times be representative of the Governments, the employers, and the workers of the entire world.

As the Acting Director has noted, "When M. Clemenceau announced at the first Plenary Session of the Peace Conference that international labour legislation was one of the three questions to which immediate consideration would be given, the assembled journalists were utterly bewildered." What did the statesmen have in mind? They asked that. As a matter of fact, it probably was not entirely clear at the time to the statesmen just what they were creating. It was clear, however, that the common man had interests and aspirations which crossed national boundaries and political arrangements.

The answer was made in October 1919, as to the meaning of the International Labour Organisation. The mere act of organising a new instrument of international government would in itself have been a triumph; but while Governments are concerned with forms of organisation and can spend endless days debating matters of precedence and procedure, the workers and employers of the world are realists who must daily deal with the very substance of life itself, in the production and distribution of that which mankind needs. Fundamentally, in October 1919, they had to concern themselves, and quickly too, with the problems which surrounded the purpose of the International Labour Organisation, the achievement of social justice in a practical way.

You are all familiar with the achievements of that first Conference held in Washington. At that time, six international Conventions were adopted. As I enumerate them to-day, they seem to be small accomplishments. Yet the very fact that the eight-hour day or the forty-eight-hour week has come to be almost universally recognised now, and that many countries have passed to a shorter work week, is the real measure of the significance of the work of the International Labour Organisation in 1919.

The I.L.O. Conventions have served to guide the world to a better set of labour standards. At the time of that first Conference in 1919, there were only six countries that had legislation meeting the standards set in the Convention which was adopted to govern night work for women. Since that time, twenty-five countries have enacted such legislation.

A Convention for the abolition of the labour of children under fourteen years of age was also adopted. It was hedged about with exception after exception. Again, at the time that that Convention was adopted, even-this was a great advance. Few countries had legislation which met the standards agreed upon in Washington. Since that time, these standards have become so universal that the conditions set forth in the 1919 Convention could no longer be regarded as a suitable goal in 1937, and in that year the standards were raised in almost every respect by another and newer Convention on child labour.

As the years went by, the International Labour Organisation continued to grow in strength and in prestige. Albert Thomas, the first Director, cast the work of the Organisation in heroic
mould. He was, in fact, an international civil servant whose obligation was limited only by the pledge of the Member States of the Organisation to work for the establishment of social justice. His successor, Harold Butler, took office in a period of economic confusion, and guided the work of the Organisation as it began to deal with the labour and industrial problems of a world in depression. John Winant, the next Director, faced courageously the problems of the Organisation in a world at war, and led it through a period in which other international instruments of agreement virtually disappeared, so that it remains to-day the outstanding international instrument around which a better world can be built. The present Acting Director, Mr. Phelan, has inherited an office which was bravely conceived, which was developed with imagination, and whose traditions are now secure in his hands. He participated in the earliest discussions that led to the organisation of the first Conference in Washington. He has also participated in the deliberations of this body in each of the successive twenty-five Conferences. These Conferences have resulted in the adoption of 67 Conventions or rules with regard to labour legislation, all aimed at the common objective of an improvement in the lot of the ordinary working men and women of the world. This Conference in 1941 is largely the child of his imagination and his energy, and we here are all grateful to him for what he has done.

During the period of twenty years that intervened between the Washington Conference and the outbreak of the present world war, the accomplishments of the International Labour Organisation were great indeed. The major immediate accomplishments dealt with the problems of social legislation, with hours of labour, child labour, regulations surrounding the work of women, problems of migrant workers, and problems of social insurance, problems of industrial accidents, their prevention and compensation. These were the subjects which had concerned Governments and labour during the hundred years of the developing industrialisation that preceded the first of these Conferences.

The Organisation, however, has not been solely concerned with the problems that have arisen as the result of growing industrialisation. From its beginning it has been concerned with the well-being of all workers, whether engaged in industry or agriculture. As early as 1921, Conventions were adopted concerning the minimum age and the right of agricultural workers to organise. It was perhaps one of John Winant's most significant contributions that he should have felt the necessity of extending the field of activity of the International Labour Organisation to embrace a consideration of the problems of agriculture as well as the problems of the agricultural worker. The two are inseparable and are basic in the economy of each nation and of the world.

With the beginning of the great depression which started in some countries as early as 1928, and really ended only with the activity stimulated by military requirements, it became clear that social justice could not be achieved through the regulation of the conditions of work alone. The opportunity to work became the central problem for all concerned with the problem of social justice. The International Labour Organisation therefore undertook to develop new capacities for international service. The Textile Conference, held in Washington in 1937, foreshadowed a new approach to the economic problems of the workers of the world, the development of a specialised knowledge, and decisions based upon that specialised knowledge of the economic conditions of particular industries. The 1937 Conference also adopted outstandingly forward-looking recommendations on the planning of public works, now very significant as we look ahead to the international needs of the future.

Nor was it possible for the International Labour Organisation to effect a nice division between those things which might be regarded as political in character and those things which affected social well-being. The International Labour Organisation shared with the League of Nations in the development of nutritional standards and a series of conferences dealing with the problems of nutrition which foreshadowed the development of a new field of endeavour in the post-war world.

At no one time has the International Labour Organisation embraced within its membership all of the States of the civilised world. In 1919, though a Conference was held in Washington on the invitation of the President of the United States, the United States itself was absent by delegate. The membership of my country in the International Labour Organisation began only in 1934, by which time one of the great industrial nations of the world had already given notice of its intention to withdraw from the Organisation.

I know of no greater tribute which has been paid to the work of the International Labour Organisation than the continued membership and support of nations which have been overrun by war, and by nations surviving precariously as islands of freedom surrounded by a sea of tyranny.

The significant vitality of this Organisation is demonstrated by the loyal adherence of these distressed countries. We welcome their delegations here with special warmth. Many of them have long been known in Geneva, but many others — habitués of the Organisation at Geneva — are not here and cannot get here. Some of them are in danger, some in want, some in circumstances of great restriction. We cannot clasp the hands of these fellow-workers for humanity's welfare, but it is our pleasure to hold them in our thought in loyal friendship, to thank them for their contribution to this great work in the past, to salute their courage, and to pray God for their deliverance.

In the midst of another world war, we are now meeting in New York City in the United States of America, the representatives of thirty-three Member States from all quarters of the globe. Numerically we are as strong as we were in 1919. In experience and in consciousness of our task we are much stronger.

As a citizen of the United States, I see one great difference between this Conference in 1941 and that held first in 1919. At both Conferences, the nations of the world gathered together, dedicated in their purpose to build a
better world. In 1919 the United States was not there. To-day we stand shoulder to shoulder with the free nations of the world. Our resources were and are important to the realisation of building a better world. At that time we did not know it; to-day we know it.

None of us to-day harbour the illusion that it will be easy to build a better world. Each of us here to-day realises that the path to a better world lies through personal sacrifice, personal self-discipline, that the aims of the world and the sins of the world include our own aims and include, alas, our own individual shortcomings, that a better world means honestly better national life, better group life, better personal life, and a higher standard of ethics. This is a hard lesson, but it is a lesson which the war and the peace and again the war have taught us all.

We realise the progress which we have made since 1919. Ideas are important and ideals are even more important, and much good practice has followed on these good ideas. If we compare our situation to-day with that which prevailed two decades ago, we should go back into the period of the first world war itself. At that time a few realised the problems which we should later have to face and the importance of constructing a democratic world out of something more than fine phrases and good wishes.

Then, we took progress for granted. To-day, each of us realises that the accomplishment of social justice is imperative, but that it must be built as laboriously as men have toiled to erect great engineering works. With our consciences, with the strength of our brains and our spirit, with few tools and inspiration we must bend ourselves to the task of erecting an enduring monument to our purpose at the end of this war. But to-day, in contrast with the situation of only a few years ago, this purpose is shared by all: by workers, by employers, by Governments. When to-day we give our pledge that social justice shall prevail, we do so from a conviction that only so can men justify their lives and their nations' lives in the eyes of God. We do so in the firm conviction that social justice can only be achieved through the united efforts of all groups that comprise our great international society.

And, if I should be asked why I believe so firmly that we shall achieve our goal, I want to point to the fact that even in the midst of war the world is concerned with social justice. This Conference is evidence of the fact. Each of us here is overwhelmed by the day-to-day duties of his office, whether we come from countries at war or at peace, and yet we are assembled here to discuss not only the problems of to-morrow but the problems of to-day.

Contrast, if you will, the concern which all of us feel to-day with the problems of social justice, and that which was felt during the last world war. Who then could boast that an effort was made to equalise the distribution of the burdens of war? Who then could say that even in the midst of general privation and suffering the most unfortunate people should be better fed than they were in times of peace? Yet, that is the case to-day in Britain, and the Lord Privy Seal, who is present at this Conference, stated so in the simplest terms to the American press the other day. Who in the last world war was fundamentally concerned with the standards built up over a hundred years for the protection of working men and women? The labour unions? Yes, of course. But at that time they were relatively weak and their warnings went unheeded. To-day we know that standards are being maintained to a surprising degree by employers all over the world willingly, and by the Governments which are in the deepest distress. The prevention of industrial accidents and industrial diseases, the maintenance of nutrition and health of workers, provision against fatigue, extension of social insurances, all are being carried on in the midst even of war, and this is inspiring to our Members whose countries are not yet overtaken by war.

To-day, in every country at-war, Governments and employers share with workers a consciousness of the importance of these standards and of their restoration, revival, and extension at the close of the war.

There has been, too, a development of a spirit of real collaboration. Real collaboration is possible only if there is a mutual dedication to the basic objectives of social policy. Real collaboration between the groups will never be accomplished in a free country in which the leaders of any group regard a temporary victory over another group as more important than the welfare of mankind.

Social justice can have no meaning except as it eventually leads to social progress, and our task in the I.L.O. is to clear the ground that we may build on that for the future.

We must know what kind of a world we mean to build. We say that it shall be a free world in which free men shall live; but we must formulate the specifications within that and then find a way to achieve it.

With modern communications and transportation, a free world is inevitably an international world. We have learned out of world tragedy that a world of separate States living in open or under-cover warfare with one another is not a free world. The nations are not themselves then free, but are circumscribed by the fears, the jealousies, and selfishness of their own citizens and of other nations. Freedom cannot prevail while individuals or nations behave with complete disregard of the rights and interests of the rest of our world society.

When I speak of an international world, I speak in an all-inclusive sense and without any reservation. I look forward to the day when we may again welcome in an international conference the representatives of free workers and free employers of those countries which are not now Members of the International Labor Organisation.

Given international collaboration, we shall apply ourselves to the tasks of reconstruction and to the application of our knowledge to the improvement of the conditions of life and work.

We are relearning in this war what some of us had perhaps forgotten. We do not live in a world of fully developed and unlimited resources. Yes, our resources are limitless, but undeveloped. We know now that the developed resources of the world are so strictly limited that we do not actually achieve the levels of comfort which the world's population might enjoy with profit and peace. Yes, we have the
national resources; they are there. Second, modern science applied to those resources knows the methods of making them more broadly available; and third, the need and capacity of the underprivileged of the world to consume the products is an almost boundless market. To achieve levels of comfort for the hundreds of millions living near starvation levels will require the capital, the brains, and the work not only of this generation, but of generations to follow. Therein lies the material hope and the moral challenge of the future.

We have discovered that all of the talk about over-production and over-capacity was so much nonsense. For instance, we know that there is not enough cotton produced in the world for each human being to have the equivalent of three shirts and a couple of pairs of overalls each year. We know, what we seem for a time to have forgotten, that there is not a sufficient amount of food produced to-day to nourish the population on decent world standards which nutritional experts would recognise as a minimum. We know that the demand for metals for civilian uses is so great in a nation that enjoys over-production and over-capacity was so much nonsense. For instance, we know that there is now enough food produced to-day to nourish the masses of men of the whole world, for the submerged, obscure souls whose dignity and worth is now barely begun to be recognised, and whose destiny it may well be to furnish the balance and the demand which the world's economy needs.

We have discovered, furthermore, the new and limitless frontiers of the world into which we are moving. Our problem in the post-war period will not be one of too abundant resources. Our problem will be that of finding some way to stretch existing resources and to develop new ones to produce a more abundant life for the people who have suffered the privations of war from Chungking to London.

The people of the world have learned another lesson out of this war. Every country at war now knows that unemployment is man-made, and can be undone by men. Faced by the necessity of mobilising all of our resources for purposes of destruction, we have realised that man-power is among the scarcest of our resources. Man — not the machine — is the key to material life. Man-made unemployment ought not to exist and need not exist in the post-war world. But thought, planning, investment, and unselfishness and moral purpose, will have to be called on to overcome it. Laissez faire might choke us again. Our task is to develop that limitless frontier of human need and to produce for the market of the needy and unsatisfied which we have discovered by a miracle.

We must now devise the ways and means through which that frontier may be developed. This is the task of the I.L.O. Conference. We cannot expect at this time to describe fully those things which may be essential to achieving this objective. Almost among the first of these, which are necessary is a recognition of our ignorance and the necessity of courageous search for new means to old ends. It is also equally necessary that in every nation, no matter how much we are pressed by the day-to-day problems of survival, we shall dedicate a portion of our resources to continuous study and planning for a post-war period in which these objectives will be attained.

Certain problems that must be resolved are already obvious. To build a new and better world, we must build it upon foundations that are already in existence, and there is a large field of work in those activities in which the I.L.O. has demonstrated its outstanding competence in the last twenty years.

Certain fields of public activity are undoubtedly going to be extended in all countries. The three outstanding fields in which there must be great extension of public responsibility are the fields of public health, nutrition, and housing. There can be no excuse for inadequate curative and preventive medical services. A situation in which millions of people are undernourished or inadequately housed is not to be tolerated.

There must be an acceptance of full responsibility by Governments that each person shall have an opportunity for the fullest possible development. This means the extension of special provisions for child welfare — assuring all children of freedom from oppressive child labour, full access to suitable educational opportunity and vocational preparation, health assistance, and whatever assistance in conserving family life or providing special protection or care their needs may require.

Public responsibility must express itself both in the national and in the international sphere. All nations must stand ready at the conclusion of this war to make many resources available in the reconstruction of the world. How these resources shall be made available is still to be determined. Temporary grants on the basis of need and future adjustment may be necessary. Economic society exists, however, not on the basis of free grants of assistance, but rather on the basis of advantageous exchanges of goods and services. It is incumbent upon us, therefore, to plan in the post-war world to reduce those barriers to trade which have limited the economic life and comfort of the people of the world. The world is rich, but every nation that must depend upon its own resources alone is poor.

There needs to be free access to the raw materials of the world, of course. But access to raw materials has no meaning unless the nations of the world are offered an opportunity to pay through their own labour for those materials which they would purchase in the international sphere. It is a public responsibility of each nation that within its own territory the conditions of special privilege shall not create poverty and unemployment for its own people. It is the duty of an international society to seek similar abandonment of special privileges enjoyed by nation States.

In this Conference, and people the world over, are seeking to define the conditions of life through which freedom may express itself. Ours is the task of building a free society, a successful society, a moral society. Let the people of this Organisation congratulate themselves on the opportunity that they have. Let them be happy to be alive in the midst of these demanding times, to contribute what they know and what they have learned.

A free world needs to be a world designed—
first and last to produce security and comfort for the ordinary man: the wage earner, the farmer, the merchant, the teacher. He must have opportunity to earn his livelihood in useful pursuits. He needs to live in a world which makes provision for the disadvantaged groups of the community: the young, the old, the sick, those without adequate bargaining power, those whose family resources make it impossible for them to develop fully their innate capacities. In a free world, the resources of science, of management or organising capacity, and of statesmanship need to be harnessed and directed to produce a constantly rising level of living.

Finally, the economic society in which he lives results in man's needing flexibility, variety of pattern, free choice, opportunity to experiment, to bargain with others, to risk, to be responsible for himself, to develop his moral judgments, to grow in spiritual stature, to realise and experience the sanctity of his very manhood. Liberty and underlying security can be attained together in the modern world with the help of machinery and knowledge as tools, and with fundamental purpose. Men should enjoy freedom of association, freedom to choose those who shall represent them in their interests. Free men must have opportunity to differ and to settle their differences by compromise. That is what makes growth.

Freedom is an essential condition of social progress. Only as men are free to express their personal convictions and aspirations, only as men are free to experiment and learn from their mistakes, only as men are free to differ and compromise, only as men share the means of life with one another, only as men grow in selflessness, in citizenship and in mutuality, does their freedom have eternal worth and significance.

God has given mankind a task, to build a good society on His planet. In the I.L.O. we have an allotted and important share of this task. We can carry on our part only as we, each of us, contribute that within us which is in the likeness of God and dedicate ourselves to this great purpose. And we shall do it.

Adoption of Standing Orders

The PRESIDENT — The first business to come before this Session is the presentation of the provisional Standing Orders which have been drafted in advance of the Conference, and the proposal for their adoption by the Conference. I understand that these provisional Standing Orders have been distributed to delegates early this morning and that you have had an opportunity to examine these proposals. Is there any objection to the adoption of these proposals?

The proposed Standing Orders are adopted.

(The Conference adjourned at 12.50 p.m.)
SECOND SITTING

Monday, 27 October 1941, 5.30 p.m.

President: Miss Perkins.

ELECTION OF VICE-PRESIDENTS

The PRESIDENT — The first duty is the designation of a Vice-President from each group. The Clerk of the Conference will read the names proposed.

The CLERK of the CONFERENCE—The names from the three groups are as follows:

Government group: Mr. Stanczyk (Poland).
Employers' group: Sir John Forbes Watson (British Empire).
Workers' group: Mr. Domenech (Argentine Republic).

The PRESIDENT — If there is no opposition, I am glad to declare these delegates elected Vice-Presidents of the Conference.

(The proposal is adopted.)

FIRST REPORT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE

The PRESIDENT — I will now ask the Chairman of the Selection Committee, Mr. van Zeeland, to present the First Report of that Committee.

Interpretation: Mr. van ZEELAND (Government delegate, Belgium), Chairman of the Selection Committee — I have been asked to present the following two proposals:

(1) That the Conference meet to-morrow morning at 10 a.m., the business before it to be the Director's Report, and that the discussion of the Director's Report be carried on from morning to morning at the same hour;
(2) That in the afternoon, at 3 p.m., the whole Conference meet as a Committee to discuss the question of collaboration.

The PRESIDENT — In the absence of objections I assume that the proposals of the Selection Committee are approved by this Conference.

(The proposals are approved.)

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The PRESIDENT — The President of the United States has asked me to deliver a message to this Conference on his behalf. He is glad that you are meeting here. He is sorry that he has been unable to arrange his affairs so that he might address a sitting of this Conference in New York City; but, in lieu of that, he invites you to hold the last sitting of the Conference in the White House in Washington, D.C., on 6 November. I assume that the Committee in charge will make the appropriate arrangements.

(The Conference adjourned at 6 p.m.)
THIRD SITTING

Tuesday, 28 October 1941, 10 a.m.

President: Miss Perkins.

EXPRESSION OF SYMPATHY TO GREECE

The PRESIDENT—Before turning to the order of business of this day, I wish to remind the Conference that one delegation here must approach the work of this particular day with deep emotion. A year ago this morning Greece was invaded. The minds of the Greek delegates must be full of the thought of that aggression and of the heroic resistance of their people. That they have come here with a complete delegation, headed by their Minister of Labour, who has made a long and arduous journey, is proof that they mean to take their part in planning for a future of freedom and co-operation in the world.

We shall think of them as we proceed with the work of the day.

Mr. DIMITRATOS (Government delegate, Greece) speaks in Greek.

Interpretation —

As chief of the Greek delegation, I wish to express my deep thanks to the President of the Conference, Miss Perkins, for recalling to us the historic date of the unjust assault of Fascism against free Greece. The people of Greece are forever grateful to all free peoples who are carrying on to-day the struggle for liberty.

REPORT OF THE ACTING DIRECTOR: DISCUSSION

The PRESIDENT—The Conference will now begin with the regular order of the day and start the discussion of the Report of the Acting Director on The I.L.O. and Reconstruction.

Mr. WATT (Workers' delegate, United States of America) — The Report of the Acting Director covers many topics worthy of our most careful study, and presents to all of us the realisation that the International Labour Organisation has an important part to play in solving the problem of world reconstruction, which must be recognised and carried forward, even in days when the major objective of us all must be the winning of the victory upon which alone a just peace can be assured.

To many people it may appear idealistic of us to spend our time and money on talk about world reconstruction. I can appreciate that point of view. In fact, I would endorse that point of view if I believed for a moment that our discussions would divert in any way any of our energies from the immediate task of winning the war against the aggressions of evil men.

But I see no such consequence. Our deliberations do not detract attention or effort from the war against Nazism. Instead, I believe, our programme is one of the profound intangibles which strengthen the peace-loving peoples of the world in their determination to stand up and destroy the juggernaut. The International Labour Organisation personifies the processes of representative democracy and carries forward, or should carry forward, the economic and social objectives for which I am sure we all strive.

I mean by that statement that we are engaged not only in a struggle between two systems of political theory, but inevitably we are participating in a struggle for the purposes of maintaining and extending certain economic and social systems and objectives. We are fighting because Hitler is trying to destroy our political, economic, and social systems, and to enslave us as individuals. We have no choice. Hitler's Gestapo has proved by deeds that to those they enslave, life is a privilege which may be forfeited without warning. To-day it is clear that those who surrender their arms when overwhelmed by Hitlerism become hostages as well as slaves.

The demonstration of utter barbarism which has been revealed to all men and women means that decent men and women everywhere have no alternative but to fight Nazism. That springs from every instinct of self-preservation. It is folly to say that people should be told what they are fighting for. Civilised men and civilised women know all too well what they are fighting against.

But at the same time, when sacrifices are being asked from many nations which until recently thought themselves far removed from the plague of war, it is really helpful for men and women to know that they are fighting not only to destroy this vicious germ of barbarism, but are at the same time fighting for a new free-
dom which will bring greater happiness and greater health and well-being among all the men and women of the world.

This organisation, the International Labour Organisation, is a piece of machinery for the shaping of better things in the days to come. The knowledge of its existence can strengthen the morale and the might of the men and women who are fighting Hitlerism, whether they are on the battle-front, on the seas, or in the factory.

The task of blue-printing economic justice among the people and peoples of the world is one which baffles the imagination of any thoughtful person, but one which cannot defy the patient persistence of courageous and capable peoples when those peoples are banded together.

In years gone by, it may have seemed too great a task to undertake because the natural difficulties were surrounded by a Maginot line of petty privilege and greed. The catastrophe which overwhelmed the Maginot fortifications in France did more than enslave the people of that unhappy land. It destroyed the entrenchments of greed and privilege throughout the world. It has made necessary the creation of a new order because the old order has passed. Whether we like it or not, you and I are confronted by a condition in which reconstruction is absolutely necessary. The bricks and mortar of the ancient buildings are in ruins. They must be removed in order that men and women may erect new buildings to meet the new needs of mankind. Somewhere, the new edifices must be designed. Somehow, the materials must be found and assembled for the new structure, and some time—and soon, we hope—the workmen must be recruited for the great task of reconstruction.

That is a task for which the International Labour Organisation, as the Acting Director so well points out, is peculiarly fitted. Created as it was out of the throes of a peace conference which failed to establish peace, the International Labour Organisation for a long, long time seemed more a token of the conscience of a people that unhappy land. It destroyed the entrenchments of greed and privilege throughout the world. It has made necessary the creation of a new order because the old order has passed. Whether we like it or not, you and I are confronted by a condition in which reconstruction is absolutely necessary. The bricks and mortar of the ancient buildings are in ruins. They must be removed in order that men and women may erect new buildings to meet the new needs of mankind. Somewhere, the new edifices must be designed. Somehow, the materials must be found and assembled for the new structure, and some time—and soon, we hope—the workmen must be recruited for the great task of reconstruction.

As the Acting Director's report points out, the International Labour Organisation has, in natural development of its fundamental duties, moved into the field of economic relationships. If the peace towards which we are striving is to be an enduring peace, it must establish or extend machinery for economic order among the peoples of the world. The Nazi aim is economic as well as political. They would establish a master nation, dominating slave states or protectorates. Our aim must be more difficult, but, equally, more desirable and more enduring. Our aim must be a world order in which the "four freedoms" described by our great President Roosevelt must have full meaning. To assure "freedom from want" among the nations of the world means among democratic nations that there must be a congress or a parliament to study, plan, and so far as possible, wisely control the interplay of supply and demand.

The International Labour Organisation is the one agency now available which has the machinery and the methods essential to such a development. We have learned to decentralise where necessary, and have had, as the Acting Director points out, very successful regional conferences. We have avoided any efforts to centralise power. We have developed, instead, the autonomy of the constituent Members by establishing basic rules of fair competition. The International Labour Organisation operates by persuasion, not coercion, and acts only after deliberation and democratic agreement among Government, employer, and worker representatives.

The statement of the Acting Director that the programme of social reconstruction around workers are concerned, we will all agree with the suggestion advanced in the Acting Director's Report, that the International Labour Organisation should sit in at the peace conference when the free nations of the world sit down together to plan a peace which we all hope may endure.

The tragedy of Versailles has demonstrated that peace is not founded upon the exacting of reparations from a conquered people. That tragedy proved that a form of law and order must be established which derives its major sanction from a fundamental acceptance by all parties. International armies would be of no avail if they were not sustained by the conviction of the masses of people that they are the agents of justice.

I suggest that the present conflict has demonstrated the necessity of establishing a constitutional structure of world order in which the nations of the world agree to yield certain prerogatives in order to form a more perfect union for the general welfare. It can be done. It must be done. It must be done because we cannot maintain civilisation if the productive capacity of all our nations is to be expended in producing the instruments of destruction. Nations cannot continue to live by the suicide which modern war represents and constitutes. A better way must be found because the old way costs too much in blood. The significance of any such possible development is obvious since today, right here, political inter-relationships are conditioned so largely upon economic factors.

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The statement of the Acting Director that the programme of social reconstruction around
which the future policy of the Organisation must be built embraces not only the conditions of work, but also the conditions of life, is very encouraging. This broadening and deepening of objectives will, in the critical days which lie just ahead, even more than in the past, make possible for us unique and special contributions to the fostering of healthful and wholesome development of our children, on whom the building of a better world depends.

The International Labour Organisation, in the course of attaining its objectives of economic security for all, will, I am sure, give attention not only to measures designed to raise the standards of living for workers, but to the special needs of the children of working families as well. The "Social Mandate" outlined in the Report of the Acting Director could well be enlarged to include the promotion of health, education, and welfare of all children, to the end that they may live healthful and happy lives and may participate wisely and constructively in the society of which they are a part in youth, and in the society which they will create as adults.

The tripartite character of the International Labour Organisation represents the essential constituent parts of any agency which can properly deal with economic problems. This is the representative, democratic way to regulate trade and industry and raw materials among the nations of the world which must, and I believe will, be undertaken as the foundation of economic and social reconstruction among the free nations of the world.

The progress of mankind has often been interrupted by violent surges of destructive greed. The rise of freedom and democracy has many times been challenged. The ordeals have side-tracked the march of humanity on some occasions; but since the Dark Ages, the delay has each time proved but temporary, a period of adjustment and recuperation, which has each time been followed by greater emancipation of the human community.

You and I of the International Labour Organisation realise that social progress is now at a standstill, while free men fight for the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. But we also realise that the struggle in which we are now engaged is not merely one against evil, but one on behalf of better days and better times to come.

One of the most significant signs of the present conflict has been the reaffirmation of the duty of the community to its citizens at the time when the community is asking of those citizens extreme sacrifices. The democracies have shown that "one for all and all for one" is not just a page out of the romantic past. The nobility of the common man and the common woman has blazoned forth in these days when the inmost fibres of courage and decency and self-reliance have been tested.

It is our job, your job and mine, to plan the course by which a still unconquered economic wilderness can be conquered as soon as the Nazi barbarians have been beaten down in their lust for conquest. As the Acting Director's report has stated, the International Labour Organisation has a mandate to discover the foundations for economic justice. We cannot fail in that duty. You and I must embark upon a fearless but carefully reasoned voyage of exploration into the economic relationship of the peoples of the world—and we must hasten, we must not wait until victory has been won against evil.

We must help in that victory by creating a pattern of economic equity which will evoke the enthusiastic aspirations of decent people no matter where they live. We must hasten the downfall of those who have sought to justify their programme of mass murder by the mirage of a new order. We must redouble our efforts to expose the emptiness of that mirage by building the outlines of a reconstructed world in which the community provides, to the utmost of its ability, an economic security in which men and women may be freed from want, and free from fear of want, and therefore enabled to enjoy the liberty which brave men and brave women, and determined men and determined women, are fighting to preserve across the seas.

Interpretation: Mr. GARCIA TELLEZ (Government delegate, Mexico) — I must begin with an expression of our deep gratitude for the hospitality extended to us by Columbia University, which places itself at the service of humanity and does not use science as an instrument of persecution and hatred. I should also like to present my congratulations to our distinguished President, because her appointment is an encouragement to all of us who are struggling to secure for women their due position in society and economic life; it shows that this international assembly will know how to plan for a better life through the exercise of the love, virtue, and spirit of sacrifice of which women are the symbol throughout the world.

The endeavours of the International Labour Office to organise this Conference has high moral and historical significance at a time when, disregarding peace treaties, criminal violence is seen devouring generations of young men and women, and sweeping over cities and fields in its ruthless tactics of universal ambition.

This Conference, headed by many outstanding leaders, is composed of representatives of democratic institutions and the productive forces of capital and labour. It has its foundations in an international code which protects human effort, especially among children, women, and the aged and infirm, and acknowledges the right of the masses to raise their standards of living: for it is when freedom and culture are threatened that the need is more keenly felt to bring together the governed and their Governments for the maximum of collective solidarity and welfare. We not only acknowledge the fruitful work of the International Labour Office, but, as may be inferred from the important Report of the Acting Director, Mr. Phelan, we aim at vitalising the method of tripartite co-operation in order to plan the social economy of all countries, to facilitate the organisation of the material and human energies required for defence, and to lay the foundations for a permanent peace in the future.

Progress, with its prodigious means of spreading ideas and by the conquest of dis-
tance and nature, has brought international frontiers closer to each other, has mixed races and ideas, and bound together, economically and spiritually, individuals, organisations, and peoples. Because of this, the hazards of war vitally concern the neutral nations; they must be affected by the fate of the vanquished and the conduct of the victors, who, if they disregard the principles of universal justice, will only consecrate the triumph of might without right, thus sowing the seeds of new and more disastrous international conflicts.

Co-operation between workers, employers, and public authorities facilitates the enforcement of labour standards, the settlement of labour disputes by conciliation and arbitration, the development of social security, the stability of industry, the fair distribution of profits, and the guidance of that class struggle whose existence, as expressed by the President of Mexico, General Manuel Avila Camacho, cannot be ignored and therefore must be directed by the democracies for the benefit of the workers, the employers, and the community. Collaboration is helpful because it increases the efficiency of labour, better technical capacity, and tightens group unity, thus increasing the volume and perfecting the quality of production, reducing costs, stimulating investment, and contributing to social peace and progress.

Profiting by experience in other countries, we must make a further advance in the recognition of the right of occupational organisations to take part in the solution of the problems of these critical times through permanent committees, which, by the united efforts of popular institutions, Governments, and experts, will plan the exploitation of natural resources and the development of the agricultural and mining, manufacturing, and transportation industries, protect the national economy against the lack of raw material for its industries, and open new markets for the export surpluses caused by the continental blockade. Measures will have to be taken in order that industrial or monetary crises may not raise the cost of living, bring down wages, or increase unemployment. These tripartite committees can co-operate effectively in the defence industries, co-ordinating national, continental and international economies, and in maintaining the activity of the forces organised on an occupational basis within the framework of our democratic institutions. Such bodies, with the technical collaboration of the International Labour Office, will contribute most helpfully to maintain those principles of freedom which will inspire the Magna Charta of universal social right and the programme of post-war reconstruction.

The principle of collaboration should also find expression in the composition of public authorities, since it is desirable to revise systems under which the participation of citizens in public life is based exclusively on territorial and quantitative criteria. The organised collaboration of occupational groups may be considered as the salvation of political democracy in the present crisis. This change must aim at strengthening popular representation and increasing the capacity of public authorities to solve the technical problems of our complex modern life.

By allying democracy with efficiency, civil liberty with responsibility, we shall give new strength and dynamism to our democratic systems, and we shall refuse the charges of totalitarian and dictatorial systems which accuse liberal democracy of being incapable of achieving national unity, and of lacking the means to maintain the principle of authority and abolish the poverty of the masses.

It is to the credit of the democracies that in international conferences and in the labour legislation of many countries they have adopted a code of minimum labour standards comprising a fair living wage, reasonable working hours, weekly rest, healthful conditions in shops and factories, healthy housing for the workers, social insurance, protection of children and women workers, and equality of treatment without discrimination of race, nationality, or religion.

We welcome the advice of the former Director, Mr. Winant, when he says, "No opportunity to enlarge the social content of democracy must be lost, nor to strengthen the fundamental social and civil rights of the great majority of citizens, nor to wipe out the want and hopelessness of the pre-war periods. This is not only prudent national defence, it is the tradition of democratic freedom." We must do our best to abolish those forms of exploitation which are still to be found in some countries, such as undernourishment, insufficient clothing, bad housing conditions, lack of hygiene, culture, and recreation, for a great number of wage-earners, especially indigenous and agricultural workers, who in a régime of true economic democracy are entitled to these minimum rights just as legitimately as they are entitled to sunlight, air, and water.

The struggle to achieve this programme must go on and it is the task of the International Labour Office to give it leadership and strength. We must follow the way pointed out by that institution until these aspirations are realised. We shall thus give practical effect to the political principles of liberty and equality essential in a democracy, thereby not only ensuring a programme of individual and group guarantees, but also, as the Acting Director, Mr. Phelan, has expressed it, gaining recognition as a "social mandate" for all nations of the world and fixing the general rules of a minimum code of social welfare for all peoples.

In order to achieve these aims, it is necessary to adopt the following principles: We must protect the right of workers and employers to associate freely for the purpose of participating in economic, industrial, political, and social deliberations which are intended to coordinate programmes of a national, continental, or international character. We must consider it fundamental to have them genuinely represented in the study and execution of any programme of national emergency. In the discussion of international agreements, commercial treaties, and especially the future peace treaties, the participation of occupational groups representing the living forces of each country will be indispensable.

When the time for a constructive peace arrives, we must seek the means of disarming the enemies of democracy in the military, economic, and moral field, so that war indus-
tries may not be allowed to continue growing at the expense of creative activity. A new economic policy must be outlined which will prevent the great imperialistic undertakings from converting the means of production of wealth into instruments of conquest, domination, and violence. We must fight to prevent national debts from falling into the clutches of the manipulators of international finance, or from being collected by force, without regard for the autonomy and economic capacity of each country. We must endeavour to suppress all privileges and discriminations based on race, creed, nationality, or wealth. And we must adopt as an inviolable principle the right of peoples to govern themselves freely and to form genuine representative bodies which must be consulted in the determination of political and social organisation. It will be necessary also to indicate the fundamental bases of a technical plan of world organisation co-ordinating the interchange of natural resources and the contribution of all values and efforts in order to develop a fruitful and peaceful community of all nations.

The defence of these noble principles should be carried through to an institution which symbolises justice and the rights of peoples, and which at the same time is provided with coercive power to impose its decisions by the effective punishment of any transgressor.

In this way, the part played by the I.L.O. will be more to-day and to-morrow than a passing episode in the history of liberty and reform in America and the whole world; it will complete the work begun by the pioneers of democracy and the protectors of human freedom.

I should not like to close without a cordial salutation to all delegates, in particular the delegates from the invaded countries, who have seen their territory violated, their homes disorganised, their traditions jeopardised. I want to express to them our great admiration, our complete solidarity. Their sacrifices and their perils are ours. They are writing in the blood of their peoples the magnificent history of the future triumph of humanity.

And to the delegates of those countries which are not physically represented here, such as the Republic of Spain, the Soviet Republic, and France, we say that, in these historic moments, they are nevertheless here present in our spirit, for the sacrifice of their peoples is a holocaust in the cause of progress and civilisation.

Mr. HAWKES (Employers' adviser, United States of America) — I want to thank you for the opportunity to say a few words here this morning in connection with this most important of all subjects, namely employment relations. I am not unmindful of the definition of the economists, with all due respect to economists, and I think it applies to business men and to labour leaders to-day.

An economist is a man who can draw a precise line from an unwarranted assumption to a foregone conclusion.

Now, also, I heard a little story that seems to fit in here, about Willie and his grandmother. Willie didn't know that his grandmother never had been good in mathematics and Willie was working away on a problem that was quite as difficult to him as this is to all of us; he had been working for an hour and he said, "Grandma, I wonder if you could help me work out this difficult problem", and grandma, not wishing to admit to Willie or the rest of the family that she never had been good in mathematics, said, "Well, Willie, I could help you out with it, but I don't think it would be right for you." And Willie scratched his head and looked at his grandmother, and he said, "Grandma, I don't suppose it would be right, but suppose you take a crack at it, anyway."

I consider that this problem of employment relations is the Number 1 problem not only in the United States but in the world, and if it is solved, many other difficult problems which are annoying us will disappear and, generally speaking, capital and labour, seeing clearly, fairly, and equitably, will, hand in hand, determine a satisfactory course for a free people, whether it be in the form of representative democracy or some other form of individual freedom.

Let labour, as well as capital, never forget for one moment that democracy must win this war and that dictatorship shall not be the condition under which capital and labour are to be free to organise and free to progress as free men have a right to expect to progress. No one in this world has more to lose than labour if representative democracy fails—and the question whether representative democracy fails or lives is definitely dependent upon the actions of labour and capital from here out.

Both labour and capital must be willing to waive rights and privileges and even suspend what may be deemed to be proper progress in this grave hour of the nation. Both capital and labour must be able, through voluntary cooperation, to do as much to defend the freedom of the individual as those under dictatorship are willing and able to do in an effort to destroy that freedom. If they cannot control themselves and function as indicated, then representative democracy must fail.

Let us go to the Bible right here and remember the little statement that "he who controlleth his own spirit is greater than he who ruleth a city."

It may interest you to know that even though this is the first meeting I have attended of the I.L.O., nevertheless, twenty-six years ago I wrote a twenty-page statement of my thoughts in connection with the necessity of changing the relationship which then existed between capital and labour; the necessity of changing the arbitrary, and in some cases the unfair, distribution of the fruits of common effort. I recommended its correction if we expected to continue as a successful and free people under our form of economic relationship and government.

Twenty-six years is not a long time looking backward, and I cite this only to show that even though I am a believer in making every possible contribution to a fair adjustment of this employment relations problem, nevertheless, I recommend to both sides that progress should be made only at a pace compatible with the saving of the system of free enterprise which is the foundation upon which our American way of life rests.

I might say that I would recommend the
same rate of speed in changing the system in any other country where a free people live, and not to try to make haste too rapidly and thus ruin the whole cause.

Let us think of our entire economic system, containing a reward for all who make their full contribution to it, in the shape of a pie — I like to illustrate it; I talk with my workmen and talk with people all over the country from the blackboard, and I draw a pie there — and then let us try to cut that pie into pieces that are fair to each group that makes up our system. If any group insists upon having a larger piece of pie than is his just share, and has the power to enforce his will and take out the first piece, then every other group that is waiting to be served must take an unfair smaller portion of the pie. Such a distribution cannot endure, and you may be sure that the other groups who get the unfair smaller portion will see that the knife is taken away from him who wields it in an unfair way.

The pie must be cut in such a way as to preserve a fair balance of proportion for each and every individual and group of individuals.

As one most interested in the welfare and right progress of labour, I plead with labour to recognise the sacred right to work as our fifth freedom and quite as important as any of the four freedoms of which we talk so much. Every man should be allowed to retain the God-given right of free choice in human occupation — the right to work when, where, and how he will to earn a living and make his contribution to the welfare of all. This right should be protected for him by law. God gave it to him; let not man try to take it away by force.

The thing we all crave is equity and justice, but when we ourselves have attained it and have power to participate in its administration to others, let us beware lest we forget that equity and justice must flow two ways — both to and from us.

Many well-intentioned people talk only about protecting the weak and raising their standard of living in our economic system. Let us recognise our equal responsibility to protect the rights of the strong and successful. Only by doing this can we sustain our system and know that it will live for the benefit of the weak when they have been strengthened to full participation in it. Let us not destroy the things we have and thus make it necessary for all to revert back into weak and helpless beings. The work of even God Almighty Himself with all His power seems sometimes futile when we humans fail to protect and use His power and thus enable Him to help the weak.

I am a strong believer in fine ideals, but, on the other hand, I am a realist and have no interest in things that seem wonderful but do not work.

Now I come again to my thought of the greatest importance to our future welfare of the continuance of a representative democracy and its way of life. When two or more parties are willing to make a legal contract clearly within the law, one agreeing to work and the other agreeing to pay, and both agreeing to perform all acts legally — I ask you how long can representative democracy last if a third party or group is permitted to step in and say, "It can not be done unless you join us and pay us"? I can answer that by saying that if such conditions continue and the law is not strong enough to protect the sacred right to work, then representative democracy can last only so long as it takes the disease to get into full swing.

In this country to-day, there are many labour disputes revolving around the question of the closed shop. I hold that the closed-shop issue transgresses the rights of our individual citizens as guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, and that it is monopolistic in every sense of the word. We have spent fifty or sixty years, ladies and gentlemen, in getting rid of monopoly in business. Why build up monopoly in any group among our American people or anywhere else in the world? We talk about the four freedoms in the United States of America. I would talk about the fifth freedom — the sacred right to work on any job where any person, corporation, or governmental agency requires the service which an individual is able and willing to render.

I contend now, as I have contended for a number of years past, that the closed-shop issue is no more in the interest of labour than it is in the interest of capital — and that it is opposed to all the fundamental principles which have made this country great in years gone by.

The closed-shop issue, in its finality, will be settled by public opinion, and it is the duty of every man engaged in business and industry in the United States to see that the public is honestly and intelligently enlightened in connection with what the closed-shop issue means — and then let the American people decide it, because, after all, public opinion is the only master in a representative democracy such as ours. The closed-shop issue is not necessary to keep national labour organisations alive. Perhaps it seems necessary to many of the labour leaders at the moment because they have not won the complete confidence of the working man. If they will make their initiation fees and membership dues fair and conduct the labour organisations in the interest and welfare of all who belong to the so-called labour group, they will be able to produce all just and fair benefits for their members, and millions more than are now in the unions will be glad to join and pay reasonable fees and dues to get the fair benefits produced by a law-abiding organisation which is actually working in the interests of its members.

When labour leaders make the unions good enough and conduct them clearly within the law as the people of a nation understand the law, depriving no man of his individual right to work and treating all with fair regard and fair respect, then the working man will be proud to join and proud to have it known that he is a possessor of a membership in such a union.

I know that some of my friends among the labour leaders say that this is theory and that it cannot be done. My answer to that is that if it cannot be done and they have to do it by the route of coercion, threat, and intimidation, plus the denial to thousands of men of their constitutional right to work, then the union will have to get a new plan of operation. I firmly believe that if a vote could be taken of all workers in the United States to-day, and
of all the American people, in the form of a secret ballot, with no chance of reprisal or injury to anyone on account of his vote, the closed shop would be overwhelmingly condemned and the need for or desirability of the closed shop issue or any other issue, but it is the time to argue honestly, fairly, and fearlessly for what we believe to be right and what we are convinced is the necessary thing for us to do if we would preserve a free people in this world.

Let capital and labour find a way to bring about a fair balance in the distribution of the fruits of their common effort, but let them not violate and destroy the fundamental principles upon which their individual and mutual success depends. Any movement, either in labour or capital, that relies upon force instead of merit for its success is opposed to the theory and principles of individual freedom, so dear to us all, and for the continuance of which we are pledged to give our all, including our property and lives when necessary. The cause of labour, properly pursued, is so righteous and just that its objectives can be realised in an orderly way, compatible with the best traditions of a free people.

In this great national emergency, there can be no excuse on the part of either capital or labour for interfering with or obstructing the programme of production of the things needed and required in the national defence programme for the protection and safety of our American people, not only for use within our own country, but for use in the protection of free people throughout the world, as our representatives in Congress decide it should be used. There are no differences that can occur between capital and labour in this enlightened age to justify either of those groups in denying the American people full speed forward in national defence. If unfair and unreasonable demands are made by either side, they must be left to conciliation, mediation, or arbitration. It is the duty of both sides to enlighten honestly the American people as to the actual, true facts in the issue, and then, in a representative democracy, enlightened public opinion will be a safe master. The interest of all is so much greater than the interests of any few that production must go forward even though some unfair practices may exist for a period longer than they should.

If any parts of this great economic body are destroyed or unfairly treated, it cannot help but interfere with the progress in the interest of all. Let us strive in an orderly way to find a plan for fair distribution of the fruits which come from the united effort of the economic body as a whole.

There are men in both groups — labour and capital — who, just as minute they cannot be supreme and have their own way on any question that affects their individual interests, become abusive and give evidence of being willing to destroy anything that stands in their path. They adopt the "give them hell" attitude and are surprised that the great majority of people throughout the world do not willingly go along with that attitude.

Nothing but sane, sound, fair, and calm consideration of these important matters, given in a kindly spirit by both parties, will bear the fruit of a successful and satisfied people. If the people would protect themselves and their future, they must openly approve things that are good and boldly and openly condemn the practices and demands of any group when they are definitely opposed to the best interests of all. A successful and satisfied people in all groups of any nation in the world is vital to the continuance of any form of government established by free men in the interests of all. Only a satisfied people will sacrifice and fight for a continuance of the things which bring to it this satisfaction.

I urge upon labour and capital not to underestimate nor forget nor neglect their great responsibility in this critical hour of human relations. The combination of great power and opportunity carries with it great responsibilities, for which no man can excuse himself. None can exonerate himself for having failed to do his duty by referring to similar failure by someone else. Let us all remember this and recognise that the fulfilment of duty as God gives us the right to see duty is probably the most important and sacred thing in our lives.

Mr. Oldenbroek (Workers' delegate, Netherlands) — My country is one of those poor nations overrun by a ruthless aggressor, to which the United Nations has extended a hand of friendship and sympathy he has addressed to us.

For the time being, Holland is under Nazi military domination and it is suffering from Gestapo tyranny. But although the trade unions are under the control of Nazi commissioners, I am confident that the Dutch workers hail the convocation of this International Labour Conference and appreciate that the Netherlands Government has sent a full delegation. The Netherlands Government has even gone further, and has asked for a number of advisers from the Netherlands Indies to be present here. Two of these are workers' representatives, one for the Indonesian and one for the European employees and workers.

I have been appointed because I represent the Dutch ships' officers and seamen. The ships of our country were able to escape the Nazis, and so were the 12,000 men serving in them. They are continuing, as are the seamen of many other Allied countries, the struggle for the liberation of our countries, and they at present possess the only free trade union of Dutch workers.

In the limited time at my disposal, I have
read the report of the Acting Director, and I should like to take this opportunity of presenting my warmest compliments to the Acting Director and his collaborators on their work. I regard the report as a very valuable document, full of facts, observations, suggestions, and proposals that they are only acted upon, this Organisation may look to the future with confidence.

It has already been said that this is an historic gathering, and that is so; but the question is whether it will make good history or bad. The I.L.O. has been working for twenty-two years, but I do not think that it has achieved major results. The Constitution states that the task of the I.L.O. is to prevent unemployment and to secure an adequate living wage, but I am afraid that in these two vital questions, the Organisation has done little, if anything.

In this connection, I desire to observe that the really urgent problem of the moment is to provide against unemployment in the switchback from wartime to peacetime production. The I.L.O. has here a chance, maybe a last chance, to live up fully to the terms of its Constitution, and it is essential that full advantage be taken of this opportunity. There seems to be universal agreement that drastic changes in the present conditions are indispensable, and I am satisfied that they will come about or be enforced in the different countries. We should, however, agree that international measures are required and that the co-operation of all nations is needed to bring about the necessary changes to meet the new emergency.

This is the challenge of the hour for the I.L.O. Will it avail itself of this opportunity? Are the delegates to this Conference aware of the gravity of the situation, and are they determined to give the necessary means and authority to the Office? In his Resignation Report, Mr. Winant pointed out that the I.L.O. is the "instrument for orderly social change", but it would seem to me that, unless this Organisation can act quickly and even make up for lost time, there is the great danger of disorderly social change. Reconstruction or revolution, that is the question.

In order to be able to perform its job, the International Labour Office will have to concern itself with economic questions even more than it has done in the past. The Acting Director considers this necessary. On various occasions, with regard to agriculture and the textile industry, for example, the Office has already dealt with economic problems; but I hold that it should do so to an ever increasing extent, all the more so as there is no other international organisation in the world which is actively engaged in finding a solution for economic problems, or the repercussions of economic questions on social progress and vice versa.

It is true that the Allied Governments have decided to set up one or more committees to consider such questions; but, with all due respect to these good intentions, the Allied Governments do not represent all countries affiliated with the I.L.O. I do not want to suggest for a moment that the I.L.O. should deal with all economic problems, but it should deal with such matters as have definite repercussions on social progress.

There is also a practical reason why the I.L.O. should give more attention to economic questions. It has always been found that, where the Governments and employers' organisations thought that they could not meet the workers, this was out of economic considerations. Of course, no one would dream of thinking that the Governments or employers could be opposed to social progress, but it was mostly economic considerations that made it impossible for them to agree.

Now with regard to the internal organisation of the I.L.O., I hold that much more attention should be given to different important industries and that special offices should be established within the I.L.O. (In this connection, I thank the Director for the several pages devoted to seafaring questions; I may say that the seamen favour a tripartite maritime committee.) The separate offices for the different industries would have to present reports for the consideration of the Governing Body and the Conferences, but by the holding of tripartite technical conferences such as we have had for mines, shipping, and textiles, the work of the I.L.O. could be considerably speeded up and the Conferences to be held after the war would be able to do a lot more work than has been the case in the past. The decentralisation of the I.L.O. into regional Conferences should go hand in hand with the division into separate industries, especially such industries as work for international markets.

The Director expresses the opinion that there is no need for change in the Constitution of the Organisation. He is right, I think, in so far as concerns the possibilities for the I.L.O. to carry out its work, but I feel that serious consideration should be given to the possibility of making the Conventions, after they have been adopted by a certain number of States, binding on all the other Members of the Organisation. I should be obliged if the Acting Director would give an undertaking that the I.L.O. will investigate this question and submit a report to a future Conference. If it should be necessary to hand in a resolution to that effect, I am quite prepared to do so.

I think, further, that in the Constitution of the I.L.O., it should be laid down that the Member States must allow the workers to organise in free trade unions, and that such trade unions ought to be allowed to join national and international federations. Only if they are free can they give their full co-operation to this Organisation. If they are not free, they are under the tutelage of their Governments. I understand that there are even represented in this Conference some countries which do not recognise freedom of association and combination, and I think that they cannot be regarded as democratic in the accepted sense of the word.

I hope that the I.L.O. will succeed. Only by bringing about social security, that is, universal freedom from want, can we hope to prevent future wars. Never would Hitler have been able to rally a large part of the German people behind him had it not been for the
misery created by the 1930 depression. Let us, therefore, try to build up a world which will bring prosperity to all, which will ensure a steady increase in the standard of living of the workers of all countries, including the so-called backward countries. Otherwise, we shall have to admit ourselves defeated by what seems to be an invincible economic cycle: attempted rebuilding, followed by depression, and finally ending in world-wide destruction.

I hope that the I.L.O. will succeed. The workers are giving proof that they are willing to make heavy sacrifices in order to retain freedom. But once the war is over, they will refuse to return to the miseries of unemployment and social insecurity.

Death of a Cuban Workers' Adviser

The President — Mr. Domenech, the Workers' delegate from Argentina, and Vice-President of this Conference, wishes to make an announcement.

Interpretation: Mr. DOMENECH (Workers' delegate, Argentine Republic), Vice-President of the Conference. — I have just learned that Mr. Rodrigo Rodriguez Fernandez, President of the Railway Employees' Brotherhood, adviser to the Workers' delegate of Cuba, has died, and I would ask all those present in the Conference to rise for a moment in tribute to his memory.

The President — I shall appoint a special committee to draft an appropriate resolution which this body may pass at a later moment to express our sympathy and regret at this most unfortunate occurrence.

Report of the Acting Director: Discussion (contd.)

The President — The Conference will proceed with the discussion of the Acting Director's Report.

Mr. KOSANOVITCH (Government delegate. Yugoslavia) — The aim of the International Labour Organisation, as stated by the Acting Director in his Report to the Conference, deserves universal praise. All of us favour elimination of unemployment, extension of social insurance to all economic groups, placing and training of workers, minimum wages, and better conditions of work, and, certainly, all of us favour giving the workers "a just share of the fruits of progress".

To assist in the accomplishment of similar aims, the Versailles Treaty created the League of Nations, the International Court at the Hague, and the International Labour Organisation. Their joint function was prevention of economic and political wars, for the world had just fought a dreadful war "to end all wars". Of these institutions, only the International Labour Organisation still functions, maybe because, by the very structure of the organisation, the spirit of solidarity transcended the frontiers of individual States, and because the Fascist influence was in time paralysed. The others have collapsed. With them collapsed the international order created at Versailles, because some Member States refused to support by concerted action the principles of collective security. It was, I think, a penny-wise and pound-foolish policy. What was the result? One country after another fell prey to Hitler's mechanised divisions. In Europe only Great Britain was left standing when Hitler met the splendid opposition of the legions of the Soviet Union.

In this war, which Nazism and Fascism have forced upon the world, all progress towards social justice and economic security, all gains so far achieved, and the institutions created to put into practice the ideals of men like Woodrow Wilson have been destroyed. Almost all of Europe is being forcibly integrated in the German economy. That integration is in reality plunder, stealing and extortion, on the one hand, and terror on the other hand. The proprietary class is appropriated; the workers are converted into slaves. By slow stages and painful adjustments, the Continent had produced a high degree of civilisation, when Nazi terror struck it and swept away both its political freedom and the institutions of social and economic security.

Europe was not perfect, either economically or politically, but in comparison with the order created by Hitler, it was a region of justice and milk and honey. For example, few countries in the world were more advanced socially and economically than the Republic of Czechoslovakia. That peaceful and prosperous country has been destroyed. Holland, Norway, and Belgium — the countries which had brought almost to the point of perfection the system of democratic government based on social justice — are also destroyed and tortured.

My own country, Yugoslavia, has perhaps been more cruelly punished than any other by the Axis. Yet, I think that I can honestly say that Yugoslavia did its full share to uphold the ideal of international peace based on equality and justice. Yugoslavia was the champion in promoting the idea of union among Balkan nations. Yugoslavia supported the work of the League of Nations. Yugoslavia had no aggressive designs against its neighbours and it strongly favoured the policy of collective security. Yugoslavia was a most active Member of the International Labour Organisation. It put into practice a comprehensive system of social legislation for its workers in line with the policies adopted and recommended to the Member States by this Organisation. Under the leadership of one of the finest experts in the world, public health service in Yugoslavia was developed to a point which served as a model to other countries. In addition, Yugoslavia carried out a land reform immediately after the first world war which amounted to a real revolution in the economic status of the peasant. As an economic unit, Yugoslavia had all the natural requisites for "an abundant life". For its commerce, it had the sea and the river Danube. It had untold wealth in its forests and mines. Its land was capable of producing a
considerable surplus of foodstuffs. And, what is most important, it had a great supply of labour power in its hard-working, intelligent, and sound peasant population.

In the interval between the two world wars, Yugoslavia was able to increase the standard of living of its people, in spite of easily understood difficulties of transition and adjustment, and in spite of the burden imposed upon the national economy by the growing expenditures for national defence. The billions of dinars spent annually for the support of the standing army deprived Yugoslavia of many needed facilities in the fields of public health, recreation, housing, and education. This situation was not peculiar to Yugoslavia. It affected to some degree every country in the world, and it produced the present war.

Yugoslavia did not want war, but on 27 March of this year it decided to sacrifice everything in defence not only of its national honour and integrity but also of the ideas of democracy and humanity. As a member of the democratic Government of H.M. King Peter II, which carried out that decision, I can assure you that we had no illusions about our ability to resist successfully the military power of Germany. In response to the demand of the people as a whole, we consciously chose to make that sacrifice. We are certain it was not in vain. It spoiled Hitler’s military plans and it may have inspired the democratic world at a time of marked moral depression. Developments since that time show the fundamental unity of Yugoslavia and of its different historical parts. Yugoslavia has always been an obstacle to German and Italian expansion. It had to be destroyed. At first, an attempt was made to portray it to the world as a State so torn by internal strife that it would by itself fly apart. When that proved false, it was destroyed by force.

Slovenia has been split into two parts by Germany and Italy, continuing in that manner the process dating back to 1918. Separate states of Croatia and Montenegro have been created. But Italy has taken the entire Adriatic Coast, the most precious possession of the country. Hungary and Bulgaria have received their share of the loot. Serbia has been simply massacred. But none of the separate parts, created by Hitler and Mussolini, proved itself capable of independent existence. The enemies then resorted to other measures of oppression to destroy the natural unity of the country and its peoples. First, they manufactured a fratricidal war and tried to convince the world that it was a struggle between the Serbs and the Croats. Nothing is farther from the truth. The enormous bulk of the Croatian people has remained faithful to the philosophy which underlies the Croatian agrarian movement. That philosophy is diametrically opposed to the Nazi outlook on life. It demands not only national unity, but also an international union of the tillers of the soil. It crosses the national frontiers and reaches towards the goal of universal human harmony and peace.

The attempt to turn brother against brother did not succeed. The enemies then uprooted hundreds of thousands of Slovenses from the region where they had lived for a thousand years, stole their property, and transported them to the East, to Serbia, without providing them with any means of earning a living.

The Serbs were condemned to death. The enemy knew that it would be useless to impose upon the Serbs the status of slaves. You are the witnesses of the epic struggle of that brave people carried on in the mountains of Yugoslavia, a desperate struggle of the peasant population for the ideals of humanity.

In all parts of Yugoslavia the intellectual leaders of the people have been thrown into prison. The physicians, the lawyers, and members of the other free professions have been prohibited from carrying on their normal functions. All those who refused to accept the new order have been deprived of the right to work. Those who actively opposed it, have been shot or hanged.

One thing is clear. If the country had been internally weak and incapable of independent existence, Germany and Italy would not have had to employ so many desperate measures to destroy it — measures which in their ruthlessness and severity surpass any persecutions endured by our people, who have during the past fifteen centuries survived all the blows of history.

Yugoslavia has amply proved its capacity to live and its will to work for the establishment of a better and just world. In the name of the Royal Yugoslav Government, I can say that Yugoslavia wants a new world order in which, as the Acting Director has so well stated, social security and political security will be indivisible and inseparable, free from any selfish purpose of isolation, and inspired by a deep sense of universal co-operation. In creating this new order in southeastern Europe, it is important to keep in mind the predominantly peasant character of that region. The International Labour Organisation, I think, should carefully examine the character and aspirations of the peasants, because a correct understanding of the psychology of that movement may provide the key for the solution of the general problem of consolidation of the Balkans and southeastern Europe.

It is only natural that in this great tragedy of mankind which endangers the basic principles of life and civilisation, the great powers — the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union — stand united in their opposition to the ideology of brutal force. The hope of mankind, and especially of the small nations, lies mainly in their continued co-operation, which in the post-war reconstruction of the world must guarantee economic security, personal liberty, social justice, and freedom from international aggression. Realisation of these principles, and only their realisation, will give meaning and substance to the present sacrifices.

Mr. HARRIMAN, (Employers' delegate, United States of America) — The Acting Director has presented a very able and comprehensive statement of the political, economic, and social background of the world in the first two years of the present war. He has discussed employment, wage policy, hours of work, safety, social insurance, and certain special problems such as shipping, agriculture, co-
operation, and the colonial territories. He has further prepared an interesting chapter on "The I.L.O. During the Crisis", and he ends in Part II with an outline of social reform which will undoubtedly follow the victory of the Allies over the Axis. He foresees, and I think with entire justice, that the I.L.O. should play an important part in the post-war world and in the settlement of the problems of reconstruction, and he ends with an excellent statement of the challenge and opportunity that is offered to this Organisation both now and in the future.

With what he has said affirmatively, I am basically in accord; but there are four omissions in the Report which I feel are significant and which I regret.

In the first place, while I find plenty of evidence in his statement that he abhors Hitler and his methods, I find no definite affirmative statement that it is the duty of all liberty-loving people and the organisations in which they are represented, with the I.L.O., to take an affirmative part in winning the war. Certainly the Axis has not been tender to the I.L.O. It has left its ranks. It has banished the I.L.O. from its home in Geneva. It has forbidden the conquered nations to send representatives to this gathering. It stands for oppression and slavery both in industry and labour and in government. Why, then, should not this Organisation say in trumpet tones that it is the first duty and the paramount duty of all to crush Hitlerism? There should not be, even by inference, any appearance of neutrality or appeasement.

In the second place, the Acting Director very properly stresses the need of establishing throughout the world a better and a safer life for the average man. I join him in advocating the social reforms outlined on page 98 of his report. These reforms breathe the spirit of the eight points of the Atlantic Charter recently issued by the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain; but I do not find anywhere in his Report a statement that the world also needs the widest extension of the "free enterprise" system which has been largely responsible for the progress of the last century. Social reforms are desirable, but social reforms without jobs are empty promises, and it is the "free enterprise" system which has made this country, Great Britain, and in fact, all the progressive countries of the world successful in their effort to increase jobs and thereby to raise the standard of living and to remove the spectre of want. I quote a statement of President Comant of Harvard University. He says:

"Since the fifteenth century three major developments in human society have gone hand in hand — the rise of free enterprise, the development of science, and the evolution of free institutions. There are a multitude of striking connections between these three paths of development of the western race. Without science and free enterprise, neither a business civilization nor the social philosophy of liberalism could have come to pass, and, conversely, without liberalism, science could not have blossomed and endured . . . We must not let the momentary success of the totalitarian States fool us, nor let our eyes be diverted from the fact that three paths of development — political freedom, free enterprise, and science run parallel.

Modern capitalism has made many mistakes. Its masters have sometimes been greedy and its methods have at times been improper, but these mistakes can be and are being corrected. Let us not kill the free enterprise system and substitute for it the dead hand of State socialism. This is equally essential for the well-being of the employer and the worker.

In the third place, I find in the Acting Director's Report the strongest advocacy of well-planned and well-thought-out public works as a means of alleviating the unemployment which will undoubtedly occur after the close of the war. I have for many years favoured the policy of useful public works rather than charity or the dole for the relief of unemployment, but public works add to the taxpayer's burden. Will these added taxes be wisely imposed. Taxes should be as carefully planned as the exact nature of the public works, and I find in the Acting Director's Report no discussion of this vital factor of taxation, which affects us all.

Fourth and finally, I find no discussion of the political work of the future. Are we to continue to have a host of little countries which have neither the resources for a full economic life, nor the ability to protect themselves from aggression, or are we to have federations which are reasonably self-supporting and which have the power of self-defence — federations which preserve local autonomy but assure reasonable economic and political freedom — and are we to have some world organisation corresponding to the League but more potent and more powerful? It may well be argued that such political discussions are not the problems of the I.L.O., and I freely grant that exact boundaries of future federations are not the problem of this Organisation, but I do assert that the choice between "racial determination" as applied in the Treaty of Versailles and economic and political federations which the world is now considering is a very vital problem affecting employers and workers of every nation.

Three important problems must be considered by this Conference. The first deals with labour and employer relations and the methods of establishing industrial peace and thus ensuring the greatest possible output of war essentials. One of my colleagues from the United States has already discussed that problem. The second problem relates to the duties and responsibilities which lie upon the democracies, and especially the United States, both at this time and after Hitler is crushed; and the third deals with the general pattern of the post-war world and the particular questions which must be considered at the peace conference which will be convened when the war is over. I shall very briefly speak on these last two problems from the standpoint of my own country.

As I see it, there are two actions which the United States should at once take in order to ensure the defeat of the Axis powers. The first is to make an immediate, whole-hearted and
unreserved effort to produce the maximum amount of war goods which England, Russia, and China can use. These nations have the man-power. We must give them the weapons of war. England, with its population of forty-five million people, is to-day producing more munitions than the United States with its one hundred and forty million. England and Germany are to-day, each of them, devoting at least fifty per cent. of their industrial effort to the manufacture of weapons. We are devoting less than twenty per cent. to that purpose. This, however, is not entirely the fault of our Government or people. There must inevitably be a long period of preparation before war goods can be turned out on a mass-production basis. Plants must be built, machinery must be installed, workers and management must be trained, and transportation facilities must be supplied; but the time must soon come when our output of the vital necessities of war should double that of Great Britain and Russia, and when it does, the fate of the totalitarian States is sealed. Every day that can be saved in putting forth this maximum effort may mean the saving of the lives of many hundreds of people.

In my judgment, the time has come when the Government of the United States should make a definite declaration that, when the war is over, it will continue to play a vital part in world affairs and will throw its great influence towards the establishment of a peaceful and prosperous world. Such a declaration made at this time would be of great encouragement to our Allies and hasten the downfall of the dictators.

Rapid means of travel, almost instantaneous communications, and the wide domain of trade have bound the nations of the world together in a common bond which we call modern civilisation. This unity of the nations of the world makes it inevitable that when one suffers others will suffer and that a reasonable prosperity for all is essential. In my judgment, post-war help will be judicious, as well as for the welfare of mankind, have to be given to a vital part in world affairs, and recognition that it cannot live in splendid isolation on this continent.

Then, this nation as a great democracy, which has suffered the least in the present world struggle and whose shores have not been seriously ravaged by destructive attacks, will have its greatest opportunity for world usefulness. Its resources will be great and its ability to give immediate aid to the sick, the suffering, and the hungry of Europe and Asia will exceed that of any other people. It should give this succour and by its advice and cooperation aid in setting up a world structure which can do much to ensure lasting peace.

Vacant trusteeships will be the pattern of the post-war world? If we reflect, we must, I think, appreciate that all of the great nations or groups of nations which will grow out of this world war should be able to sustain themselves as regards their most vital raw materials and supplies. The theme of the peace conference which must follow this war should be economic solidarity. That is the creation of strong groups or federations whose own resources will to a very great degree make them reasonably self-sustaining and whose own strength will enable them to repel aggression. I have no brief for any particular national pattern, but I do strongly believe that it is possible to create federations of nations which will preserve to each nation or race its own cultural characteristics and grant to a federation control of foreign affairs, self-defence, currency, and inter-communication. These federal Governments should also guarantee to their citizens the privileges of a "bill of rights," and provide for free interchange of goods within their borders. Already Poland and Czechoslovakia are considering such a federation, and I believe this federation might well be extended to include other nations so that its territory might stretch from the Baltic to the Aegean.

While I feel that strong federations should be established in the place of a multitude of small and weak nations, I further affirm that there is a place for a league of all nations and for a supreme court of the world. If such a league is formed, it must not be the relatively weak League which grew out of the Treaty of Versailles but a league with full power to enforce its behests.

Again, while we may envision a world of strong federations with an over-all league, there are certain problems which will precede such a world set-up and will immediately follow the end of the war. The first duty of the victorious Allies must be to see that the warring peoples, both friends and enemies, are properly fed. There must be no continuing blockade, as there was twenty years ago. The best insurance against chaos is the banishment of hunger. The United States as a strong nation with a great surplus of food may vitally aid in feeding Europe and Asia until those continents can become self-sustaining.

A second duty which will lie with the victors is to see that order is maintained during the negotiations for peace and immediately after. Finally, there must be a permanent assurance to every country, friend or enemy, that the victors will have proper access to raw materials, a chance to engage in world trade, and an opportunity for their people to work. If these three assurances are given, I feel confident that a better world will emerge from the chaos and suffering of this war.

In closing, may I pay a tribute to the magnificent heroism of the "common man" in Europe, in Asia, and in Africa, who has so bravely withstood the sufferings of war and so definitely determined that freedom and not slavery shall be the pattern of the future. And I would pay particular tribute to the sturdy men of Great Britain.

France fell. Russia changed sides and then in turn was attacked by its totalitarian neighbours. The Low Countries and the Balkans were over-run and the people of the United States hesitated to take a whole-hearted and united stand for the Allies; but since the war began, Great Britain's courage has never faltered and British policy has never wavered. Through the dark days of Flanders and Dunkirk, through air battles and air bombings, through the varied and splendid struggles in Egypt, Libya and in Asia Minor, the single and constant factor that the world has had to hold to has been the courage and determina-
tion of the British people. Had their courage faltered, civilisation would have been thrown back hundreds of years and the two Americas would have been left to fight alone against a completely dominated totalitarian Europe and Asia.

For this is not a mere struggle to protect the British Empire or the Western Hemisphere from invasion. This war is an assault on the minds and the bodies of men and on their civilisation as well as on their territory.

It has been the ancient tradition of the United States to keep aloof from affairs in Europe and to follow the precepts of Washington in avoiding entangling alliances. This continental policy was, as I see it, meant for a world which knew not the steam engine, or the telegraph, or the aeroplane, or the radio, or the gasoline-driven vehicle. These factors have bound the world together, and this unity has made it inevitable that we should take an active part in world affairs. Let us then resolve, with all of the other democracies, that the dead have not died in vain and that from this struggle shall emerge a world in which freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear shall become not empty dreams but fine realities.

Interpretation: Mr. FERNANDEZ STOLL: (Government delegate, Peru) — The Peruvian delegation feels that this is its first opportunity of greeting the President and of expressing its pleasure at her election in this critical time, not only because of her personal qualities but because she represents the social policy of a man whose spiritual energy and will and intelligence open a clear horizon of hope for millions of toiling workers.

A resolution submitted by the Government delegation of Peru has given expression to its opinion on the work achieved by the former Director, Mr. Winant. I have pleasure in saying quite simply that the terms of our resolution also apply to the Governing Body and to the present Acting Director, Mr. Phelan, because they have succeeded in preserving for humanity and for the worker this most magnificent instrument of social welfare.

I must also refer to a recent event in the sphere of international activity which is perhaps the most important that has taken place since the last meeting of this Conference. When Peru resigned from the League of Nations, the Peruvian Government, in order to show that its decision to leave the League did not in any way apply to the International Labour Office, decided to invite the representatives of social insurance institutions of various countries of America to meet in Lima for the inauguration of the new Peruvian social insurance system; it also invited Mr. Winant, to whom Peru owes much sincere gratitude, and Mr. Stein. With the collaboration of these high officials of the Office, the Inter-American Committee of Social Security was founded in Lima in December 1940. The formal constitution was signed by the representatives of Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, the United States of America, and Peru; there were also present delegates from Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, and Venezuela. The Peruvian Government thus gave a proof of its faith in the power of democracy to create a world in which happiness will be within the reach of all. I take this opportunity of thanking the Organisation for the help it gave us.

I have read in the Acting Director's Report, and also in some resolutions presented by various delegates, that the fundamental work of this Conference will be of an economic character, but I have been unable to appreciate whether all the problems affecting the prosperity of the workers have already been considered. For instance, I have read that it is now a question of a better and more equitable distribution of raw materials. The question is considered from the point of view of the distribution of raw materials among the industrial countries, but it is not treated from the point of view of the producing countries. If it is desired to maintain a high level of living in the industrial countries, which already have a higher standard of living than other countries, no doubt it is also desired that there should be countries able to buy their products. But how can the latter countries purchase manufactured products unless they in their turn have customers for their raw materials?

How are we to raise the standard of living of agricultural and mining countries so long as there are artificial barriers to the exchange of goods in the international market? The whole problem must be treated in a spirit of international equality. In order to raise the standard of living of our peoples, we must realise once for all that an economic system must be firmly established if it is to bring about social welfare. The world cannot expect us now to create perfect economic systems, but it does expect us to make it possible to raise the level of social welfare; if we do not, our labour will be in vain.

In the interval between the last war and the present one, democracy has had more power, more wealth, more organisation, more technical ability, than has ever been known in the history of the world, but it has forgotten that the fundamental preoccupation of humanity is the welfare of the workers and not political equality. Democracy is not a luxurious air-conditioned palace. It is a workshop where we all have work, where the only real joy is the feeling that we are working for freedom to better our lot. We are suffering now the consequences of our blindness. This war gives us, the free nations of the world, our last chance, and if we do not seize it, it will show our worthlessness, and all hope that is held out to ourselves and our peoples is a mere fraud.

Peru, whose international significance is not as much appreciated as we Peruvians would like, can show some achievements in respect of the points mentioned in the Acting Director's Report. Take the case of workers' associations. Previous Governments opposed such organisations. Now we realise, since the Ministry of Labour has been formed, that politics disappear from trade union life as soon as the trade unions are given freedom and proper responsibility. The employers themselves have realised that if they are also present in bodies, led by competent men, than with mass movements.

In Peru we now have full freedom of
association, and we have organisations of employees, of port and harbour workers, of industrial workers, of transport workers, and others, and all these organisations are collaborating with the Government. This shows that tripartite collaboration is fully accepted by Peru. An example of the results of such collaboration is the fact that in the last ten months the wages have been raised by a percentage much higher than that of the rise in the cost of living. The trade unions also realise that it will be to the greater advantage of all if the money available for increasing wages is used on behalf of the lowest paid workers. In Peru our aim is to establish a decent minimum wage for all before introducing any general legislation on wages.

I should like to ask my fellow-delegates to read a paper on these subjects that will be distributed by the Peruvian Government delegation. In my brief review of other achievements, I would merely point out that our compulsory social insurance scheme, which includes agricultural workers, started paying out benefits when Mr. Stein and Mr. Winant were here in Peru three months ago; this scheme now gives one of the best systems of social protection not only in America but in the whole world.

I should not like to close without paying a tribute, in the name of the Peruvian Government, to countries which are suffering injustice at the present time, and I would remind them that the darkest hour comes before the dawn.

The President — The next speaker is a former Chairman of the Governing Body, who has been Minister of Labour of his country, and has recently been appointed Minister of Reconstruction, and who is a friend of all of us. I am glad to call upon Mr. Nécalas of Czechoslovakia and to remind you in so doing that to-day, by happy coincidence, is the Independence Day of Czechoslovakia.

Interpretation: Mr. NÉCAS (Government delegate, Czechoslovakia) — I take pleasure in joining in the expressions of thanks to the Acting Director for his Report, which is so full of life and immediacy. As the faithful co-worker of the great Directors of the International Labour Office, Albert Thomas, Harold Butler, and John Winant, he proves by his Report that he has a lively understanding not only of the traditional problems of social policy but also of the most immediate question of all, that of the reconstruction of the post-war world and the collaboration between Governments, employers, and workers. Above all, we Europeans are very pleased that it should be possible for the Conference to be held on American soil. It is a good omen for the solution of the great problems of the day, which must now be envisaged from the world viewpoint. The whole world, and almost every individual, is directly or indirectly affected by the war and by the tragic consequences of aggression.

In Europe, it is the working classes in the first place who have been affected by the events of the last few years. By degrees they have lost all that they had won in the field of social policy. Forced labour has taken the place of free work. The most elementary rights of men no longer exist. If the state of slavery which now prevails in Europe were to be continued, it would in the long run automatically and irresistibly influence the conditions of labour and the whole social life of every other country, even on the continent of the two Americas. But it would be wrong to believe that the present situation affects only the workers. The whole of economic, political and cultural life is groaning under the yoke of the policy of autarky and of war. Employers themselves, like the workers, have lost all their rights and all their liberties. The natural laws of economic life are no longer valid, and the employers, too, must submit, without any objections and any exceptions, to the primitive, barbarous, and cruel orders of the different organisations of the Gestapo, the Labour Front, etc.

In this state of things a sublime though very difficult task falls to the lot of the International Labour Organisation. This institution has shown that it can work; it has lived through all sorts of tempests. I can give two of the principal reasons for this: the first is the system of tripartite collaboration; and the second, the straightforward and exact methods it has used in treating concrete questions of human life. As a rule, statistics and exact figures are the most dangerous enemies of totalitarian demagogy. Many pernicious instruments of that demagogy have recently been formed in Germany; in particular there are the Centralamt für internationale Sozialgesetzgebung (working in close contact with Minister von Ribbentrop), the Arbeitswissenschaftliches Institut (forming part of the Reich Ministry of Labour), a whole series of bodies under the so-called Labour Front, and in particular the special sections under the famous Four-Year Plan. Moreover, all the German universities, all teaching, in fact, the whole of German science which used to be the first, have been placed at the service, or rather in the servitude, of a pseudo-scientific and barbarous system. The International Labour Organisation, representing the free world, has the almost superhuman task of counteracting the National-Socialist activities. If this task is to be performed successfully, it is absolutely necessary and of the first importance to destroy the German military machine, but at the same time to deal — and at once — with every economic problem and with all the problems pertaining to social policy and to the cultural life of the nations.

Those who say, let us first destroy Hitler and let us consider those problems which are non-military later on, are losing sight of the essential fact that the totalitarian States are not only making a great effort on the battlefield, but are already trying to change the face of the world to suit their views of economic, social, and cultural life for the post-war period. This is why we have welcomed the wise words of the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Mackenzie King, which are mentioned in the Report of the Acting Director.

Remembering those words, we may draw the attention of the representatives of all three groups to the essential problems that we must examine and solve. For years the International
Labour Office took up traditional questions of social policy, such as hours and conditions of work, wages, migration, unemployment, etc. But experience has shown that all those questions are closely linked to economic life. To give a clear idea, let me cite two examples: the direct influence of the policy of autarky and of deflation, and the influence of price policy on the whole of social life. The policy of deflation and autarky strangles economic life, impoverishes the workers, and nullifies social reforms. At the same time, this policy is a serious obstacle to honest enterprise. The influence of price policy is still more important. In the future, it will no longer be possible to speak of problems of social policy unless this policy is based on solid foundations, more particularly on a correct and just control of prices, not only in each country but internationally. Wages, hours, and other conditions of work, the question of raw materials and their distribution, etc., are only partial aspects of the larger question of prices. Of course, various Governments have had to consider how to solve the problem of prices quite recently and to devote special attention to it. I may refer to the last Trades Union Congress held in Edinburgh two months ago. We can quite understand the point of view of the British workers, who, with reason, definitely opposed the stabilisation of wages without any previous stabilisation and control of prices.

I have cited only two examples of the whole complex question of social and economic policy. There are others. Therefore, the International Labour Organisation must become not only a world parliament of social policy, but also a world supreme social court. It will do so if it can protect the most precious possessions of humanity, that is to say, everything that we mean when we talk of the rights of man.

The Acting Director undoubtedly had these considerations in mind when he wrote of the past and the future of the International Labour Organisation. As to the future, we must express our profound gratitude to him for the chapters in his Report on world reconstruction. That is the most essential and vital question for us all. I cannot deal with all the problems involved in detail, but we shall no doubt have an opportunity to discuss them in committee.

I take the liberty, however, of mentioning some points which might be added to the fruitful suggestions made by the Acting Director in his Report. They are the following: (1) The question of feeding the populations of all the countries worn out by war (raw materials and foodstuffs, their purchase, transport, and distribution); (2) the question of all the damage caused by aggressors and the reparation of these damages; (3) the collaboration of the International Labour Organisation with all present and future international institutions, with a view to avoiding and stopping a new war. The most important question will be the re-education of the German people, particularly the young people.

In conclusion, may I say a few words on my unhappy country, since this is our Independence Day. Before Munich, Czechoslovakia was a country with a highly developed culture and economy. Its social policy was very advanced. We had found a solution to the problems of hours of work and, generally, of conditions of work. Our system of social insurance of all kinds — sickness, accidents, old age, death — had been practically a model for modern social policy. The terrible events which, after Munich, upset the whole life and evolution of the Czechoslovak State stopped the carrying out of the last insurance reform, that applicable to self-employed persons. Thus, without the intervention of the war, nearly the whole population of Czechoslovakia would have been covered by compulsory insurance. Furthermore, since 1937, my country has had a modern system of placement offices. There was also a very widely developed system of collective bargaining. A special mention should be made of our successful fight against unemployment. By essentially democratic methods, we reduced the number of unemployed from nearly one million in 1935 to 160,000 in 1938.

As to the general level of social and cultural life, may I tell you that each small town, no matter how small, had a public library, and the prettiest house in each village was always the schoolhouse. The political life of our country was directed by the two first presidents, Masaryk and Beneš, altogether in the spirit of President Lincoln. President Beneš was one of the founders of the International Labour Organisation.

To-day, all this has been completely destroyed. The present master of Czechoslovakia is in fact the Gestapo. The cruel and barbarous régime installed by these masters, in comparison with whom the famous Genghis Khan was a philanthropist and Al Capone a real gentleman, has introduced into Czechoslovakia the horrors of famine, slavery, and utter misery. May I also remind you here, on the free soil of Columbia University, of the terrible fate of all of our schools, in the first place, our universities. In November 1939, all our universities and all our higher schools were closed, including, of course, the famous and ancient Charles University of Prague, founded in 1348, almost three hundred years before the foundation of New York.

In closing, let me quote once again the fine words of President Masaryk: "It is truth which will win."

**Message from the Iraqi Government**

The President — A cablegram has just reached me, which is of such interest in describing the world significance of this Conference that I shall read it to you. It comes from Baghdad, from the Iraqi Government, and expresses personal congratulations upon my election to the Presidency. It says:

I seize this opportunity to express confidence in the success of this Conference. Please convey the greetings of our Government to all the delegations. The Minister of Social Affairs of the Government of Iraq.

(The Conference adjourned at 12.45 p.m.)
FOURTH SITTING

Wednesday, 29 October 1941, 10 a.m.

Presidents: Sir John Forbes Watson and Miss Perkins.

SECOND REPORT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE

The PRESIDENT (Sir John Forbes Watson) — I call upon Mr. van Zeeland, Government delegate of Belgium and Chairman of the Selection Committee, to present the Second Report of that Committee to the Conference.

Interpretation: Mr. van ZEELAND (Government delegate, Belgium), Chairman of the Selection Committee — The Selection Committee proposes that the Conference shall not meet this afternoon, so as to allow the Governing Body to meet and finish its agenda. The Selection Committee proposes that the Conference shall meet at 10 a.m. to-morrow to continue discussion of the Acting Director's Report, and that the Conference as a whole meet as a Committee on Collaboration at 3 p.m.

The PRESIDENT (Sir John Forbes Watson) — I take it that the Conference approves the Report of the Selection Committee. If there is no objection, adopted.

(The Report is adopted.)

REPORT OF THE ACTING DIRECTOR:

Discussion (contd.)

The PRESIDENT (Sir John Forbes Watson) — The Conference will now resume the discussion on the Acting Director's Report.

Mr. de VRIES (Workers' delegate, Union of South Africa) — I should like to compliment the Acting Director on his Report, The I.L.O. and Reconstruction. It contains many useful suggestions and helpful hints on how reconstruction may be effected.

Representing, as I do, the workers of a country that is actively engaged in doing its share in winning the war against Hitler, the Union of South Africa, I would refer briefly to what is being done in the way of tripartite collaboration at the moment, and our planning for post-war reconstruction.

Soon after the outbreak of war, the recognised leaders and representatives of the trade union movement assured the new Government under General J. C. Smuts that they would do everything possible in assisting the Government in the country's war effort. Organised labour received the assurance from General Smuts and his colleagues that there would be the closest consultation with trade unions on all matters affecting labour and working conditions, and problems that would arise in manufacturing war material and supplies. Later, it became necessary to introduce emergency labour (or dilutees, as we call them) in the engineering industry. The trade unions concerned were naturally gravely perturbed about the ultimate results of what could be described as "wholesale dilution of apprenticeship". Realising, however, the grave difficulties with which the Government was faced in obtaining workers for the making of munitions, the mechanics' trade unions admitted into their crafts persons who could be trained within a short period. At a special conference, convened by the Government, of interested trade unions and employers, it was agreed that an organisation known as the Central Organisation of Technical Training be created, on the distinct understanding that the Organisation would pay certain agreed rates of wages within a stipulated time, and with strict control over that class of labour in consultation with the trade unions.

Now, regarding "co-operation", it should be noted that our Government's War Supplies Directorate is now being advised by competent representatives from employers' organisations and trade unions. The Labour Panel of that Directorate is composed entirely of trade unionists, and there are at least two other panels with equal employers' and workers' representation that have been given the task of assessing costs and fixing the prices of war supplies.

Early in 1941 it was found necessary to appoint a Controller of Industrial Man-Power. General Smuts entrusted the Secretary for Labour, a lifelong trade unionist, with that post. The Controller has the power to declare any industry temporarily redundant if the plant is needed for manufacturing war supplies and if that does not seriously inconvenience normal
requirements. He may also transfer any workman to another workshop where his services can be more usefully applied. Organised labour has accepted this control in principle, and the Controller has the co-operation of many employers and trade unionists acting as his advisers.

But in spite of the present emergency, organised labour in South Africa has seen to it that the well-being of the workers is not only maintained but actually improved. Evidence of that is found in the bringing into operation this year of a new Factories Act, providing for a forty-six-hour working week — it was forty-eight hours before — increased maternity benefits for female workers, payment for four statutory holidays, and twelve days' annual paid leave for all factory workers. In addition we have succeeded in persuading the Government to take over the entire administration of workmen's compensation.

On the question of reconstruction after the war, we support the following statement made at the British Trades Union Congress last year:

In any post-war planning, one of the biggest problems will be the financial problem, and if we allow the vested interests to stand in our way and obstruct the large reconstruction programme which will be necessary after the war because they cannot make a large profit out of it, we shall fail in our desire to build a new world.

The Government of the Union of South Africa has admitted that what we do need is to provide work and decent wages for all. These were the words of our Prime Minister last December. He agreed that economic inequities and social injustices are the breeding ground of social unrest, Fascism, Nazism, and Communism; and he gave his assurance that the Government intended to set about seeing that there was social justice and a decent living for the under-dog.

Whilst our Government intends to improve the status of low-paid workers, which can be accomplished if there is a real desire to do so, particularly on the part of the employers, the problem is likely to be increasingly difficult when the demobilisation of our fighting forces and war supplies workers takes place. Numerous industrial undertakings have sprung up in the Union of South Africa, and many commodities formerly imported are now being made by our own efforts. It is said that industry will have expanded so greatly that there will be work for all. Assuming that will be so, there is then the question whether there will be enough demand for the manufacture of those industries in order to keep them going. So far as the Union of South Africa is affected, it is clear that General Smuts' plea for the better payment of the low-paid worker is the obvious solution: double the purchasing power of the workers, and a market is found right in one's midst. To ensure success, however, we are of the opinion that the introduction of minimum wage legislation by all Governments is of paramount importance.

It is almost certain that the war may end before the aforementioned desirable legislation becomes operative or is generally applied; yet the post-war problem of wide-scale unemployment is not being tackled with enough vigour, probably because there is so little unemployment to-day and an existing wishful belief that nothing will happen.

In South Africa we are not allowing matters to rest until the time comes. A body, known as the Civil Re-employment Board, has been created, the Board being under the chairmanship of a Minister, with one employer and one worker member, besides two other members appointed by the Government. It is the function of the Board to advise the Government on the re-establishment of constructive work for war industries; securing of employment for demobilised soldiers; provision of employment for those replaced by demobilised men; and the planning of useful employment to prevent unemployment.

We believe the Board has been assured of the allotment of various sums for development work on railways, irrigation, and afforestation, but in the aggregate this does not amount to much. Organised labour has asked for the setting up of a national development fund as a means, and to be used for post-war construction. An initial amount of £50 million, in other words $200 million, has been mentioned.

The foregoing is some indication of South Africa's intention to cope with the vast problems that will probably confront or overwhelm most countries at the end of the war. Each country may have its own particular and specific problems or methods in dealing with that situation. There will certainly be several States so utterly exhausted and bankrupt as to warrant the application of a scheme of international "lend and help". To that end, we support the underlying suggestion in the Report of the Acting Director. Briefly, that suggestion amounts to the setting up of a commission whose immediate task will be to devise ways and means of dealing with the reconstruction problems, at both the domestic and the international levels, which will affect the entire social order. In that connection, we further support the view of the American Federation of Labor, that the commission should be equally representative of Government, management, and labour, and should draw upon the experience and information of such agencies as are studying post-war labour and social problems and the transition from a war to a peace economy.

In order, however, to make the work of such a commission fully effective, it is necessary that due recognition thereof should be provided for in any peace treaties or understandings that will eventually be arrived at between the countries concerned, and that proper provision be made therein for putting into effect the proposals and recommendations of such commission. To that end, we believe that the International Labour Organisation should have some part in the discussions and conferences that will no doubt take place before finality in respect of peace conditions and adjustments is reached. By the great sacrifices it has made and the magnificent effort it is making in order to win the war for democracy, organised labour has earned the right to a place at the peace conference table, and the right to exer-
cise a great influence on that final adjustment; and one of the best channels through which that right can be wielded is through the medium of the International Labour Organisation. We are most anxious that the errors of that right can be wielded is through the me-

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delegate, India) — Although this is the first occasion on which I have had the privilege of representing the Government of India at a Conference of the International Labour Organisa-
tion, I had the pleasure of taking part in more than one Session of the Conference at Geneva as a representative of Indian industry. I should like, at the outset, to congratulate the Acting Director on having successfully managed and maintained the traditions of the great Organisation at a time of supreme difficulty. To him and the devoted staff of the International Labour Office the thanks are due of all those who have attached importance to the work of this Organisation.

I am sure I am giving expression to the sentiments of all who are present here when I refer to the service which Mr. John Winant has rendered to this Organisation. It is to his far-sighted and anxious effort that we must attribute the continuance of the labours of the Organisation at Montreal. Thanks to the well-known hospitality of Canada, the International Labour Organisation has found a second home in that great country; and we hope that in its new surroundings, the Organisation may not merely continue to maintain the splendid traditions of the past, but work out the programme that awaits in the future.

It has been said very aptly that the con-
vocation of this assembly at this critical juncture is an act of faith on the part of the Member States. The faith of which this gathering is a symbol is the faith of the vast majority of the people of the world in a rule of law and in the ultimate triumph of humanity and justice. It is a comforting thought that there is after all a kindly light that leads us amidst the gloom that encircles the world to-day. There is a unity of purpose that binds to-
gether all the delegates assembled in this Con-
ference. That purpose is the grim determination to fight to the end the forces of evil that have been let loose on the world, to re-establish the rule of law and morality. I assure you that my country will take its full share of responsibilities in this undertaking and in this determination. In spite of our own domestic problems, there is a unity of purpose which characterises the war effort of my country. As you all know, the Indian forces have already seen action over large sections of the battle-front in Egypt, East Africa, Iraq, and Iran, and are now on guard on these and other fronts, ready to shoulder still greater burdens.

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able importance to the work of the International Labour Organisation from its very inception. I can bear personal testimony to the abiding in-
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The importance that India attaches to the work of social and industrial reform has recently been demonstrated by the creation of a special Ministry of Labour in the Viceroy's Executive Council. Though there has always been a separate Department of Labour in the Government of India, it is only recently that a special Minister has been appointed solely in charge of this portfolio. The delegates of this Conference will be glad to learn that the Viceroy has chosen for this important post Sir Firoz Khan Noon, who has been actively connected with the work of this Organisation in recent years as a member of the Governing Body and is wholly familiar with its workings.

I am particularly glad to note that the Acting Director in his masterly Report has referred to the possibility of the development in the coming years of machinery for the regional requirements and the conditions of the Asiatic Continent. That is a suggestion which, as he himself has stated, has already been made on various occasions to past Conferences. It may be found possible to make a beginning in the development of the regional machinery in association with or on the lines of the organisations established following the Eastern Group Supply Conference held at Delhi during last autumn. Faced with the necessity for co-ordination, a number of countries in Asia together with Australia and South Africa have taken steps to pool their resources for war purposes. Though this co-ordination is the direct outcome of the present war emergency, I hope that the importance of this organisation will persist into the post-war reconstruction period. I would therefore suggest that the Office should examine in greater detail the possibilities of preserving and maintaining this regional effort, so that the task of post-war reconstruction may be undertaken on a well-ordered plan. I have no doubt that any proposals that the Office may make in this direction will be sympathetically viewed by the Government of India.

One other suggestion that merits the attention of the Acting Director and the Office in determining the future policy of this Organisation is the possibility of providing facilities by more vigorous international action for raising the standard of living of the workers of Eastern countries in respect of housing; nutrition, health, and education, including technical and vocational training. If in practice it is found that arrangements can be made in wartime for the supply of large quantities of munitions and other war materials to distant zones of operation, it should be no less practicable to make similar arrangements for the purpose of building up the collective prosperity of the Eastern nations. It should not be forgotten that in India and China alone amongst the Eastern countries there are 900 million human beings. Should such international help be forthcoming to this vast humanity who are capable of benefiting by it, it would thereby be enabling them to promote the world's trade more effectively by producing more and consuming more, with results that in the end would be profitable to all alike. I should like in this connection to record the expression of the appreciation of the Government of India of the help given by the British Minister of Labour, Mr. Ernest Bevin, in providing facilities to Indian workers for advanced technical training in Great Britain.

Notwithstanding its relative industrial importance, India is still predominantly an agricultural country, and the well-being of the rural masses in India is closely bound up with the condition of the world's markets. One of the reasons why the Government of India, after giving careful consideration to the question of price control during the months following the outbreak of war, decided not to take action for the time being was the desirability of letting agricultural prices move to a higher level, in the interests of the primary producers who had not yet fully recovered from the effects of the depression. The International Labour Organisation has devoted more of its attention to the welfare of the industrial workers, but it should not be forgotten that the economic stability of the world depends on the prosperity and the purchasing power of the vast agricultural masses. The further development of industries is being urged by public opinion in India as a means of redressing the national economy and has been accepted by the Government as their policy, subject to the necessary safeguards for the protection of the interests of the primary producers. I am glad to note that the Acting Director has called attention to this matter in his Report. As an indication of the present industrial expansion in India, I may mention that the total value of our exports of articles wholly or mainly manufactured increased from 476,100,000 rupees in 1938-39 to 812,400,000 rupees in 1940-41. This increase is no doubt due to the increased production of the necessities of war. The Government of India are, however, aware of the magnitude of the task that awaits them in switching our wartime economy into the peace economy that must necessarily follow. The Department of Commerce in India is already engaged in working out a plan for the re-employment in peacetime industry of workers who are at present engaged in the production of war materials and who may be thrown out of employment at the end of the war.

The Government of India are fully aware of the importance of international co-ordination for the successful enforcement of all such plans in the post-war reconstruction period. In this field the International Labour Organisation has worked of great importance to do in the near future. This work will be an invaluable service to all countries by facilitating such co-ordination on scientific lines, provided, however, it is recognised that it would be both unwise in the common interest of the world and unfair to the Eastern countries if the Western countries were to place obstacles in the way of the industrialisation of the Eastern countries. I may, in this connection, recall the remarks made by my distinguished predecessor, Sir Atul Chatterjee, at the 1931 Session of the Conference. He asked the Conference to ponder over the phenomenon of the noticeable development of industry that had taken place in the Asiatic countries in the preceding few years, adding: "I am firmly convinced that you will not be satisfied with securing what you want in the industrial conditions in the West unless you can take the Asiatic and other
overseas countries along with you." Reverting to this subject at the 1933 Session, he observed:

It is hopeless for you to expect that you would be able to stifle the self-expression of Eastern countries in modern forms of industry. If industrialisation proceeds in the East, as we all hope it will . . . if industrialism is bound to come in the East, as I believe it is bound to come, it should be the function of this Conference to see that it is accompanied by an improvement in the conditions of work and in the standards of living . . . It should be the task of this Organisation to see that the industrialisation of the East is not checked, and at the same time to help towards the attainment of improved conditions and improved standards of living in the Eastern countries. I think everyone now recognises that if this Organisation is to achieve permanent results, it must think and act not only in terms of the West, but also in the terms of the East . . . It is not a case of conflict, but it is a case of conciliation. The true interests of the East and West are not divergent but coincident.

The events of the present war have abundantly justified these observations of Sir Atul Chatterjee, for as a result of the increasing development of industrialisation of India in the last twenty years, the country has been in a position to furnish to-day invaluable supplies of materials to the hard-pressed armies of democracy on the Eastern and Western fronts, with which they can confidently meet the on-rush of the mechanismed columns of the enemy.

I have laid some emphasis on the problems of the Eastern countries because I have a feeling that the importance of these countries in the economy of the world has not yet been fully recognised in the West. We in the East often get a feeling that when European statesmen speak of democracy, self-determination, and standards of living, they have mainly the white races of the world in their minds. If for no other reason, at least from the point of view of numbers, you cannot ignore us, the Eastern nations, in any plan of political or economic reconstruction of the world. In spite of the great idealism that inspired the founders of the League of Nations, the scheme of collective security has failed for the time being, because collective prosperity has not yet been established in the world. Collective security in the political field can be established only by creating collective prosperity in the economic field. How can you bring about the collective prosperity of the world if the standard of living of the vast millions of Asia is not brought up to the standard that you are aiming at for your own people in the West? It is well-known that the strength of a chain is in its weakest link. The appalling poverty of the masses in India and China and the other Asiatic countries is to-day the weakest link in the chain of international economy. It will be the task of this great Organisation to strengthen that weak link in the years to come. I hope and trust that the labours of this Organisation will be devoted more pointedly and more earnestly to this great task.

The Acting Director has given a beautiful and significant title to the concluding portion of his Report. He calls it "A Challenge and an Opportunity". This, to my mind, sums up the present position of the International Labour Organisation and the task that awaits it in the years to come. The totalitarian powers of the world have thrown out a challenge to the fundamental principles of democracy and freedom on which this Organisation has been built up. I have no doubt in my mind that the International Labour Organisation, which is the symbol of the collective faith of the better mind of the human race, will take up that challenge boldly and in the opportunity thereby furnished for testing that faith, it will help the world to evolve a social order based on justice, security, and prosperity for all the nations of the world and for all the individuals that constitute those nations.

The President (Sir John Forbes Watson) — I now propose to call upon the Right Honourable Clement R. Attlee, Member of Parliament, and British Government representative. In doing so, I am sure you will allow me to say the great pleasure it is to me as a fellow-countryman of Mr. Attlee's, to have the honour of asking him to address this Conference and of conveying to him the deep appreciation of this Conference for his having come to New York especially to be with us on this important occasion.

(Miss Perkins takes the Chair.)

Mr. ATLEE (Government representative, British Empire) — It is a privilege to be here to-day at this Conference of representatives of the free peoples to take counsel with you on problems which concern not only every Government, but every nation and every individual citizen. It is especially a privilege to meet under the presidency of one who has so long and distinguished a record of service in the cause of social advancement.

I speak to you to-day as a member of a British War Cabinet which is engaged day and night on the pressing questions which face a nation grappling with a formidable enemy in a life-and-death struggle. I am a member of a Government which is composed of men and women drawn from all political parties, of men and women drawn from different social classes, a Government which in itself symbolises our national unity and is the expression of the inflexible will to victory of all our people. I come from a nation vowed to the principles and practice of democracy where, even in the midst of war, freedom of speech and conscience is preserved, and where despite enemy bombing Parliament meets regularly and the freely elected representatives of the people question and criticise those to whom they have entrusted power. I come to you also from a country where constant consultation between organised bodies of employers and employed has become an essential part of the machinery of industry and where the closest co-operation between both those bodies and the Government has proved of inestimable value to the
efficiency of the war effort, as it has also done in time of peace.

I claim that in the ordeals through which we have already passed, Great Britain has afforded a striking disproof of the Nazi allegation that democracies are feeble, irresolute, and inefficient. I am glad to be here also with the representatives of the Dominions and of India, two of whose members have made such admirable contributions to our discussion this morning, because I believe that the British Commonwealth has demonstrated that the bond of a common loyalty to the ideals of liberty and democracy is stronger than the enforced unity of dictatorships, and that it is possible to live under and effect action by the members of the Commonwealth, while leaving each unit free to choose the methods which it thinks most suitable for the common purpose.

A War Cabinet is necessarily concerned in the main with the immediate responsibilities of carrying on war. Far-reaching decisions have to be taken from day to day, not only on matters of war strategy in the light of the information which it alone possesses, but on every kind of problem; for it is the essence of modern war that it affects every department of Government, it affects the lives of every citizen.

These decisions and the actions consequent upon them produce changes in the economic structure of the country and in the position and social habits of the citizens, the effects of which cannot be limited to the period of the war. Some measures are of transient effect but others may carry far-reaching consequences into the post-war era. No hard and fast line can be drawn between the war and post-war periods. Naturally, therefore, the British Government has had to give some of its attention not only to the immediate problems which will arise on the cessation of hostilities, but to those long-term problems of the post-war settlement which will arise when victory has been won; for we do not envisage any end to this war save victory.

But we are determined not only to win the war but to win the peace. Plans must be prepared in advance. Action must be taken now if the end of the war is not to find us unprepared. My colleague, Mr. Arthur Greenwood, has been specially charged with this task. But the problems of the peace cannot be solved by one nation in isolation. The plans of a post-war Britain must be fitted into the plans of a post-war world, for this fight is not just a fight between nations, it is a fight for the future of civilisation. Its result will affect the lives of all men and women—not only those immediately engaged in the struggle. It is above all, as is so well understood in our country, a fight on behalf of the common people in every country who seek to preserve or to secure those four freedoms of which the President of the United States has so finely spoken—freedom of speech, freedom of conscience, freedom from fear, and freedom from want.

It was therefore a peculiar satisfaction to the British Government that it has been found possible to hold this Conference of the International Labour Organisation. The British Government has always advocated that its activities should be carried on to the fullest extent which the war allowed, and should be in the position to play its full part in the formulation of the economic and social work of peace.

We are all grateful for the hospitality extended to the Conference by the United States of America, and may I say, too, by Columbia University, in whose halls we meet. The invitation which the Conference has now received to visit Washington marks the interest in its work taken by President Roosevelt, whose contribution to social progress has been so outstanding. May I also add a word of appreciation of the action of the Canadian Government for receiving the Organisation when circumstances compelled it to leave Geneva, and for the many acts of kindness and help which it has extended to it. I must also recall the loss sustained by the I.L.O. through the transference to the United States Embassy in London—to our great gain—of the former Director, Mr. Winant.

This great Organisation has been built up on the triple representation of Governments, employers' and workers' organisations, a unique basis, which is a principle that is very dear to the hearts of all of us democrats, the principle that the activities of men and women are manifold and cannot without grave detriment be confined and restricted by the all-prevading domination of a totalitarian State.

There can be no surprise in the fact that Germany and Italy left the Organisation, for totalitarianism is incompatible with its membership. Trade unionists in all countries can never forget that one of the first steps taken by the dictators on achieving power has been the destruction of the workers' organisations, built up by so many years of sacrifice and endeavour. In every country to which the power of the dictators has extended, the leaders of organised labour have been subjected to prison and death. I recall here as a most recent example the brutal murder of trade unionists in Norway. The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church. These men will not have died in vain. Trade unionism will not die with them, and just retribution will overtake the criminals.

Organised labour in Britain recognised from the start that Nazism and Fascism threatened its existence. It has unhesitatingly ranged itself behind the Government in the fight for freedom, it has co-operated powerfully in the war effort, made many sacrifices for the cause. But all trade unionists know from long experience that the destruction of their movement in one country is an injury to all. The totalitarian system is also destructive of employers' organisations, for all independent initiative is anathema to the Nazis.

We are gathered together here as representative of Governments and economic organisations, but I am sure we are all conscious that governmental and economic activities are not ends in themselves but only means whereby the human spirit shall be given space for free growth and development. That spirit can only grow in the atmosphere of freedom. Our meeting here in this great City of New York is more than an affirmation of our belief in freedom; it is a challenge to all who would destroy it.
Many speakers at this Conference have already referred to the clauses in the Atlantic Charter which deal with economic questions. I shall have some words to say about them later, but first of all, I would remind this Conference that the clauses of that Charter form a coherent body of principles which are not separate but complementary. If, as I believe, it is a necessary condition for the establishment of continuing peace that its economic foundations should be well and truly laid, it is equally true that this cannot be secured unless the fear of aggression is removed. It is certain that until the crushing burden of armaments throughout the world is lifted from the backs of the people, they cannot enjoy the maximum social well-being which is possible. We cannot build the city of our desire under the constant menace of aggression. Freedom from fear and freedom from want must be sought together.

As against that conception of a world drilled and dominated by a self-styled master race to which all others are inferior and subservient, we stand for democracy among the nations. We wish to see free peoples freely co-operating to make their particular contributions to our common civilisation, but we recognise that just as in a city or State the freedom of the individual is secured by the enforcement of the rule of law, so in the modern world, so closely linked together, acceptance of a law superior to the will of the individual State is a condition of freedom.

The International Labour Organisation was created as an instrument for the improvement of the economic conditions of the workers. Its tripartite character is a recognition that a combination of freedom and order is required in the economic world. Its creation marked a stage in the abandonment of the optimistic assumption of the nineteenth century that absolute and unrestricted competition would of itself produce economic equilibrium and economic justice. It marked also the abandonment of the concept of the individual. And if past mistakes have taught us that the alternative to nudism is not the strait waistcoat but reasonably fitting and comfortable clothes. Our task is to work out a system whereby economic and political freedom is preserved by preventing its abuse by any. The conception of labour standards lies at the root of economic prosperity and industrial stability. The world experienced ten years ago a terrible economic crisis. It saw the spectacle of poverty in the midst of plenty. It saw the denial to millions of the opportunity to work. Few will doubt that the bitterness and frustration of those days provided the soil in which the rank growth of Nazism flourished. We have to see to it that when we utilise the discoveries of science and the bounty of Nature to obtain a great volume of production, we do not stultify our efforts by failing to provide for its consumption by those who need it. The maintenance of labour standards is a powerful means towards this end and is also an instrument for introducing into economic processes a greater measure of stability. Here, again, we must beware of allowing our desire for stability and security to stifle initiative or our enthusiasm for development to destroy security.

While combines and cartels which are directed to the creation of monopolies whereby all others may be held to ransom are inimical to economic progress and to good relations between nations, the orderly production of commodities is necessary in order to avoid over or under production and catastrophic changes in price which are destructive of our economic life and social security. But it is essential that all such arrangements should be based not on the creation of scarcity but on the utilisation of abundance.

In his most interesting Report, the Acting Director has called attention to the significance of the emergence of the social objective and its incorporation in a notable statement of principles made by the leaders of two great democracies, and he has rightly stressed the change in public opinion in the last twenty years indicated, by it. The joint expression of aims common to the United States and the British Commonwealth of Nations known as the Atlantic Charter, which has since been endorsed by many other nations, includes not only purposes covering war but outlines of more distant objectives. It binds us to endeavour, with due respect to our existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great and small, of the economic processes of universal improvement of standards of living and nutrition shall not be neglected as they were after the last war owing to preoccupation with political problems. I agree with the view recently expressed by Mr. Sumner Welles, that planning for the post-war period cannot be left until the end of the war, and we are therefore in the United Kingdom considering our plans now. We are determined that economic questions and questions of universal improvement of standards of living and nutrition shall not be neglected as they were after the last war owing to preoccupation with political problems.

Those whose joint efforts will in due course surely overthrow Hitlerism must collaborate no less closely when that object has been achieved. They must not be content with destroying the Nazi system of tyranny and oppression. They must continue to work together so as to build up a world of freedom and security.

The fact is that wars do not enrich but impoverish the world, and bold statesmanship will be needed if we are to repair the ravages of war and to ensure to all the highest possible measure of improved labour standards, economic advancement, and social security, to which the Atlantic Charter looks forward.

So far as we can see now, the measures to
be taken will fall into two categories — first, urgent measures to relieve want and meet difficulties in the immediate post-war period; and secondly, longer term arrangements for the future. Methods which may be appropriate and difficulties in the immediate post-war period; and urgent measures to relieve want and meet difficulties in the immediate post-war period; and the two stages will overlap and cannot be kept in water-tight compartments.

Plans must be prepared for meeting the immediate post-war needs of Europe, and having regard to the vastness of the problem, international co-operation will clearly be essential to bring those plans to fruition. It will be no less essential for the practical realisation of our hopes for a more secure and prosperous future for mankind.

To carry out the principles of the Atlantic Charter which we have taken as an expression of the things for which we fight will require the earnest co-operation of all nations and of all men and women of good will. It will demand hard thinking, in order that the ideal may be brought within the range of the practical, but there are many things which can be done now and there are things which are being done now.

There will always be sceptics who say that high aims proclaimed in times of stress will be forgotten when the emergency is past. Action is the best way to convince these doubters. In Britain, even in the midst of war, there have been remarkable advances in social security, advances not made by the State alone, but by the State, management, and labour in cooperation. I will not weary the Conference by reciting them at length, but I would like to mention one or two instances.

We have taken measures to ensure that henceforward the men who load and unload ships will enjoy a guaranteed weekly wage. That principle is being applied to the merchant navy and other occupations, such as building. We have made juster provision for men, women, and children who for various reasons need assistance from public sources. A review of all our social services is now being undertaken in order to weave into a complete system services which have grown up haphazard in response to particular needs. Steps are being taken to ensure that all children shall be adequately fed. Nor have we neglected to take action directed towards raising the standard of life among our colonial peoples.

It is perhaps difficult for other people to realise the extent of the social changes which the war has brought about in our country. Let me give one example. War taxation is affecting the distribution of purchasing power enormously. The proportion exacted from the very rich is so high now that a man in Britain must have an income of over $300,000 in order to have a spendable income of $25,000. He has left to him only two and a half cents out of every dollar.

Sacrifices are being made widely by all sections of our community in order to win the war, and we are resolved that all our people shall share in the blessings which the establishment of peace on sure foundations will bring.

Meanwhile, let no one be deceived as to the magnitude and scope of the danger that threatens our civilisation. Hitler's new order is only a phrase for the enslavement and exploitation of mankind in the interests of a gang of ruffians. All planning for a world of peace and social justice is just lost labour unless Hitlerism is destroyed.

When this Conference closes, many of us who are banded together to destroy this evil thing will return to the battle line to take our place with our fellows fighting for freedom by land, on sea, and in the air, in the fighting forces, in the workshops, yes, and in the homes of the people and in the lands which Hitler has overrun, heartened and strengthened by our meeting.

We shall return confident that in that fight which now rages from the plains where the Russian people are so bravely defending their homeland, to the seas of the Western Hemisphere, where our mariners continue to bring us the resources of the New World, though the strength of the enemy is still very great, our cause, the cause of freedom, democracy, and humanity, will triumph.

The President — I am sure that Major Attlee realises from the warmth of this applause how grateful we all are for the courage which he has shown and which all of his people have shown, and which is contagious to us, and also that we are grateful for a certain courteous challenge which runs all through his remarks, a challenge which I think all of us feel at this moment in the Conference, to get down to the realities of the situation. We are all in favour of international co-operation for the building of a better world. We have said so, and to-day I think we are just about at the point in our deliberations where we must begin to direct our purpose towards realistic understanding of how we shall take the first steps.

Mr. Chu (Workers' delegate, China) — It was only twenty-eight months ago when we were sitting in conference in Geneva, we were discussing the Report of the former Director, Mr. Winant, which described for us a condition of "near war" such as prevailed at the time.

I then took occasion to trace the disaster as originating from the Far East and implicitly warned against its spread. The holocaust has since fallen upon mankind, in barely three months after the conclusion of that Conference. Over a dozen independent nations have thus far been overwhelmed by brute force. Free peoples, belligerent and non-belligerent alike, hurriedly race to accelerate their production and patch up their defence. Against such a tragedy, all records of savage conquests pale into insignificance. And now, we are here meeting again to take stock. Our Acting Director has laid before us a well prepared inventory. We see that in some items, such as social insurance and employment, we have gained. In most of the others, we have lost. He, however, opens to us a vista that envisages generous possibilities. We are shown a path to the reconstruction of the world, in the economic and social spheres, after peace is regained. To him, as to former Director Winant, we are indebted for his efforts in steering the International Labour Organisation through the tempest and vicissitudes.
The Acting Director has, in Part II of his Report, suggested the I.L.O. as a part of the reconstruction machinery that would be set up when aggressions are arrested. I fully endorse the proposition. This is for the reason that — allow me to quote the words of the Acting Director — "the International Labour Organisation exists as an official body with its constitutional provision for workers' representation, and with detailed knowledge of the international aspects of social questions at its command."

The very first paragraph of the Constitution of the I.L.O. stipulates that "peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice". Social justice, I submit, is based on economic security. To safeguard that security, the workers should be given a voice in the reconstruction conference that is going to reshape the world after the war.

This is a foregone conclusion. The Joint Declaration of President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill expressly provides for "improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security", as well as for "freedom from fear and want".

However, in the programme of economic and social reconstruction, I should like to stress two points: Firstly, economic stability and social security should be for all. It should be for all citizens and for all citizens of all nations. Point Five of the Roosevelt-Churchill Declaration reads: "They desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security".

In the second place, social security should be enjoyed by all individuals as free citizens, free from, subjection to the will of another. Economic security would be meaningless without political independence. The Report is right in saying that "economic security could conceivably exist — with a high degree of material prosperity in the slave State but at the price of slavery". "What the Governments of the Members of the Organisation are determined to seek is economic security for all citizens, achieved in a manner which respects individual dignity and liberty."

The Acting Director has made out a comprehensive list of the main points and principles of a "Social Mandate". Given equality and universality, the Mandate would indeed ensure peace and civilisation. These it should be the endeavour of the I.L.O. to achieve through international social legislation and international political collaboration. Hitler's methods of exploiting the conquered peoples should in any case be avoided.

While discussing the subject of The I.L.O. and Reconstruction, it may be well to say a few words about the prerequisite to reconstruction, and that is, victory over the aggressors. We must redouble our efforts in the prosecution of our war against the Axis, including Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and Militarist Japan. In China, we have been holding at bay a partner of the Axis for no less than fifty-one months, crippling her finance and economy, and bogging down over a million of her soldiers, and thereby preventing her from joining her Nazi ally in an adventure either towards Russia or the Southern Pacific.

In this gigantic struggle, in which over five million Chinese troops are involved, along a line that extends over two thousand miles, Chinese workers are contributing their utmost efforts, side by side with their compatriots. They are rendering all sorts of war services and collaborating with the Government and the employers in the acceleration of war production. They are striving to attain political independence on the one hand and social freedom on the other. For them, there is only the choice between emancipation and slavery.

In their invasion of China, Japanese militarists have repeatedly declared as their aim the establishment of a so-called "Co-Prosperity Sphere", which would embrace China, including Manchuria, the Netherlands Indies, the Malay Peninsula, French Indo-China, Thailand, the Philippine Islands, Australia, and New Zealand. Within this so-called "Co-Prosperity Sphere" the economic structures of all other countries are to be subordinated to the needs of Japan. In point of fact, wherever Japanese occupation extends, industry and trade are monopolised — to the exclusion of all legitimate foreign interests. The livelihood of the native population is reduced to the status of a colonial economy. In short, Japan's design in creating a so-called "Co-Prosperity Sphere" at the expense of East Asiatic countries is a counterpart of the Nazi plan of alignment of European economy, which seeks to guarantee a maximum of economic security for the Greater German Reich. Such an attempt at economic subjugation is manifestly unacceptable to the principles of democratic economy.

China is a vast country of vast potentialities, with a population of 450 million and a territory of eleven and a half million square kilometres. She has a coal deposit of 250 billion tons and over a billion tons of iron in store, in addition to all of the principal raw materials. But for the present, she is engaged in a war against aggression. In this war, she is fighting against the same enemies as all democracies are fighting, namely, Hitlerism, Japanese militarism, slavery, economic subjugation, and social insecurity. The war in China and the war in Europe are but different fronts of the same war. It is a war for political democracy as well as for economic stability.

When this war is won — and we must spare no effort to win it with the least possible delay, in order to mitigate human sufferings — when this war is won, and with the world's resources, markets, human intelligence, and labour, with all these elements pooled together, we shall reconstruct a new world. All mankind will then enjoy political democracy and a richer, fuller, and freer life for all citizens. Towards the reconstruction of this new order, workers, not least the Chinese workers, will contribute their support to the International Labour Organisation.

The challenge is formidable, but the opportunity is equally great. The way is open and broad, a way which, if persistently pursued, would lead to social justice and world peace, and all mankind will benefit.

Mr. van den TEMPEL (Government delegate, Netherlands) — Dutch Government
delegates, employers and employees are familiar with the conferences of the International Labour Organisation. For many years Geneva was to them a word with real significance.

Since the last occasion when Dutch delegates attended a conference of the I.L.O. and our present meeting here, a major catastrophe has occurred, the greatest disaster which can befall a country. You will understand my feeling at this moment, for I consider myself the spokesman of those countless Dutch friends of the I.L.O. who follow from the depth of their distress the proceedings here in New York, and to whom the message of this Conference is a promise of better days to come. I should like to use this opportunity to thank all those who during the last days have expressed their friendship and sympathy for the Netherlands' cruel fate.

Since the last century the social movement in the Netherlands had rapidly increased in influence and scope. The organisations of employers were highly developed, and so were the trade unions. Collective bargaining became a practice between the leading organisations of employers and unions. Direct contact made an honest attempt to tackle the great difficulties between the leading organisations of employers and unions. Collective bargaining became a practice between the leading organisations of employers and unions. Direct contact made an honest attempt to tackle the great difficulties of employment, including farming. Legal insurances protected the workers against illness, disablement, and old age. One of the deficiencies of our elaborate system of social insurance was an insufficient provision for old people. But a start had been made in the right direction to solve this problem. The trade unions were the bearers and executors of the elaborate unemployment insurance. A Bill providing for paid holidays for all workers, which I introduced, was passed by the High Council of Labour shortly before the invasion. I need not dwell here on our housing policy; it is well known to specialists all over the world.

When I joined the Government as Minister of Social Affairs, it was my sincere desire to continue to build on the solid basis which had already been laid. We were strongly convinced that we stood at the beginning of a period of progress, and continually improved. The Netherlands possessed an elaborate legislation with regard to working hours and conditions of safety and health in industry. It also had good workmen's compensation legislation for workers in all branches of employment, including farming. Legal insurances protected the workers against illness, disablement, and old age. One of the deficiencies of our elaborate system of social insurance was an insufficient provision for old people. But a start had been made in the right direction to solve this problem. The trade unions were the bearers and executors of the elaborate unemployment insurance. A Bill providing for paid holidays for all workers, which I introduced, was passed by the High Council of Labour shortly before the invasion. I need not dwell here on our housing policy; it is well known to specialists all over the world.

During the depression, we had to cope with a serious unemployment situation, but our democratic State tackled this grave problem on a large scale. I regret that I do not have enough time to describe to you the social progress of the Netherlands East Indies during the last twenty years, which also has been spectacular. It was quite natural that the Netherlands should be eager to participate in the international movement for co-operation and brotherhood. Holland always has been a faithful Member of the League of Nations. We were a devoted Member of the I.L.O. Our trade unions had some very good friends in the international labour movement. It was a sound movement with high ideals, full of hope for the future, and inspired with the honest desire to honour our country by co-operating internationally in order to make this world better, more prosperous and happier.

Then, in the night of 10 May 1940, the hordes of Hitler invaded Holland. For nearly a year and a half, the Netherlands has now been occupied. From the very beginning all the Netherlands of the Netherlands has been commandeered for the German war effort. Severe hardships were imposed on the population. What is happening in the social sphere is also particularly interesting. The enemy put a Dutch Nazi in charge of the Dutch Federation of Trade Unions. The funds of the trade unions fell partly into Nazi hands. The Dutch labour movement possessed valuable cultural institutions, including many splendid establishments for health, rest, and the high ideals, furthering the country. With one blow all these were requisitioned for Nazi purposes and Nazi propaganda. A few months later the Catholic and the Protestant Christian trade unions were nazified.

The conclusion to be drawn is clear. Freedom of organisation for the working people no longer exists. The trade unions are now an instrument in the hands of the occupying force. This is an essential characteristic of the "new order" with which Hitler and his satellites intend to bless Europe — and the world.

The Nazis always claim that under their régime unemployment steadily decreases. In Germany they have indeed eliminated unemployment. But this is solely the result of their long preparations for the present war. According to the latest figures available, in the period from June 1940 to July 1941, nearly 150,000 Dutch workers were put to work in Germany, out of whom some 26,000 returned for some reason or other. The exploitation of the labour of workers from the occupied countries is a second characteristic of the "new European order" of the Nazis. The worker is deprived of the liberty to dispose of his own person. Notwithstanding these measures and the forced labour of 150,000 Dutchmen in Germany, unemployment in Holland has not decreased under the Nazi régime.

Particularly alarming is the fact that during the German occupation, the standard of living of the Dutch people has seriously deteriorated. And this downward movement is gathering speed increasingly. The food situation is bad; moreover, a hard and bitter winter lies ahead of our people.

However, worse even than the material distress is, no doubt, the moral suffering of the Dutch people. I will not attempt to describe here, not even in the merest outline, their misery and the acts of violence of the enemy. There is no prospect in their dark life — except confidence in the ultimate victory of the Allies.

One thing is certain, and it is confirmed by all our information — an intense hatred against the usurpers prevails in our country. The Dutch
people are deeply convinced that we must fight undauntedly until complete victory has been won.

I want to express my greatest satisfaction at that deep sense of unity — which indeed always existed, but which is once more so clearly demonstrated in this crucial hour — between the Netherlands East Indies, the West Indies, and the Mother Country. Under the guidance of our beloved Queen, the Kingdom of the Netherlands is strongly united in this war against the enemy.

We should like to make a few remarks concerning the meaning of this Conference and its social perspective. While the war lasts, the need for useful war must have our foremost attention. Every one of us is deeply convinced thereof. Without complete victory, there is no real chance for democratic and free social action.

It is not, however, useless to consider even now the great problems of peace and the future, because it is of great value to the course of the war itself.

The world is so deeply affected and upset intellectually, morally, and socially that, if the victorious democracies should not find ways and means for a thorough social reconstruction right after the war will be over, then, in my opinion, a great disaster may menace our civilisation.

Considering future social reconstruction, there are, in my opinion, four principles which we want to stress. First, the community of the future will be a democratic community. Second, inherent to the true conception of life for the true democratic nations is the inspiring desire to work continually for the general progress of the people of all classes. Third, science and technique have revolutionised our whole economic and social life. Fourth, the large-scale production and the extent of international trade, the enormous development of communications and the interdependence of States and nations, make permanent international co-operation, especially in economic and social fields, imperative.

Within the framework of these four principles, we must consider the future aspects of social development after the war.

Is it useful and urgent to prepare now a schedule for desirable social reforms? The Acting Director in his interesting Report has outlined these social reforms. Undoubtedly, everyone with experience of social matters is well acquainted with the schemes for such social reforms. There was a very valuable basis for social provisions, before the war broke out, in nearly all modern countries, as a result of a prolonged social struggle. Let us establish in this connection a fact of prime importance.

Neither the Fascist nor the Nazi régime was able to give new impetus to these social achievements of the democratic period — neither in Italy nor in Germany before or during the war, nor in the occupied countries. Neither the much advertised Wirtschafts Hilfe (help in wartime), nor the much advertised performances of Kraft durch Freude (strength through joy) were genuine substitutes. In this respect, the Nazis were completely sterile. Everywhere they were compelled to carry on with the old institutions and achievements of the democratic régime, so fearfully condemned in their propaganda.

However, I am strongly convinced that, above all the social needs, achievements, and expectations referred to before, there is one question which will predominantly characterise the near social future. That is the problem of security of existence, the problem of social security.

In normal times, social insurance in its different aspects contributed notably to the security of existence of the poorer classes, but it has not been able to counterbalance the terrible insecurity of existence directly resulting from the economic crisis of 1929. A fundamental condition for a steady social development and expansion of culture still remains — the restoration or strengthening of security of existence, social security, that is the opportunity for all honest people to earn or to obtain by legal means the necessities for a decent existence.

Of course, much can be done within national boundaries to control unemployment and its social consequences. But control of unemployment on a large scale and with lasting results is only possible through the stabilisation of economic life. In this age of industrial development and international trade, such stabilisation can only be effected by permanent, close cooperation, by duly considered action by an international authority, upheld by different States and nations.

International co-operation is one of the leading principles of the Atlantic Charter. This fundamental agreement between the democracies is of great importance and justifies our hope for the future. Notwithstanding — I say this on my own responsibility — I wonder again and again whether, even in those circles which support the ideas of the Atlantic Charter whole-heartedly, the conviction is as strong as it should be that the only solution for the period ahead of us — the only possibility to prevent a new worldwide disaster — is elaborate, intensive international co-operation under the auspices of authoritative bodies in order to stabilise as much as possible our extremely dynamic economic life.

Before long, the problems of social security and unemployment will become, more than ever, the centre of general interest in social policy. There is ample reason to fear that, immediately after the war ends, almost all Governments will be confronted with these problems in their crudest form. Temporarily, new difficulties will be added to old ones. The prospect of such overwhelming difficulties is not only a subject for theoretical and statistical treatises; what is needed now is to draft a series of practical plans.

This problem is of such urgency that I proposed to establish a special Committee of the I.L.O. with the approval and assistance of the collaborating Governments, to study these problems. It will not be sufficient to procure relief work for the many unemployed millions discharged from the armies or war industries; nor will it be sufficient to provide a reasonable unemployment allowance for them. Application of these methods may be unavoidable in many cases, but they should remain emergency measures. These millions are entitled to a respectable and safe existence for themselves and
their children. They are told by the leaders of to-day that after the war a new world will come into being, that the past with its consequences will have gone forever, that between nations a new unity and solidarity will be acknowleded, and that social solidarity of a nation will include the working classes. It is our conviction that the I.L.O. has an important task to perform in this field.

Mr. McLARTY (Government delegate, Canada) — It cannot but be a source of inspiration to have heard the address that was given by the distinguished delegate from the Netherlands. It is also a source of inspiration to have heard the remarks made by the popular delegate from China. It shows that the embers of freedom are still burning in this world, and the fact that we have with us to-day, a matter of special privilege, Mr. Attlee from Great Britain, shows that not only are the embers going to burn, but the flames will leap and freedom will be preserved in this war-torn world. The fact that Mr. Attlee has come here at this time when weighty problems require his attention — and we in our country know well that they do — shows the importance which the Government of Great Britain and, I think, the Commonwealths of the Empire attach to the deliberations of this assembly.

We in Canada occupy a rather special position. We are members of the British Commonwealth of Nations and, as well, we reside in the Western Hemisphere. The one is a geographical accident; the other is a matter of choice. We occupy a borderline extending for 3500 miles, along which there is nothing but a body of water separating us from this great country, together with a parallel of latitude known as the Forty-Ninth Parallel. This parallel is nothing but a line fence, and may I suggest that since the Ogdensburg and Hyde Park agreements there is no barbed wire on that fence.

Might I suggest, that, on account of this proximity, we can perhaps most appropriately offer our congratulations to you, Madam President, on your election as President, not only by reason of the high services that you have performed in your official position as Secretary of Labor of the United States, but also of the splendid private and personal work you did before you occupied the office.

I was impressed, Madam President, with the fact that one of the British Empire delegates, Mr. Assheton, in moving your presidency of this assembly, remarked that every person who headed a Department of Labour must be the legitimate subject of criticism and never of praise. I think, Madam President, that that is probably true, but we except you.

I extremely regret that the Prime Minister of Canada could not be personally present at this time. It was only for the most compelling reasons that this was impossible. I believe that my colleagues from Canada will completely agree with me that no man has endeavoured more honestly and more sincerely to promote those causes which are dear to the heart of labour than has the present Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Mackenzie King. For that reason his absence is, I know, all the more regretted.

As one of the Ministers from Canada, I believe it to be a matter of gratification that in this Conference we have selected as chairman of the Government group the Minister of Labour from the Republic of Chile. It is not so long ago that South America appeared far away. But to-day, with the development of the radio, with the progress of aviation, with the thought that we are facing a common menace, these Republics have become very close to us indeed. I would like consequently to express to our South American friends who are gathered here in very substantial numbers, the thought that we in Canada will welcome the opportunity of cooperating with them in what I trust will be the not too distant future after this war is won and this world has been remade.

But I must suggest to you a note of regret. Canada, as you know, has an especial interest in the International Labour Organisation. Since its retirement from Geneva, where, if anywhere, the doves of peace might float with peculiar fondness, we have been extremely glad to offer a haven of refuge to this great Labour Organisation. I was almost going to say that we could offer it a safe refuge, but nothing is safe in these perilous days, even in a Canadian city — the city of Montreal.

While large in area, we are not great in population. We are a country of about eleven million people; but in Switzerland, where, in an atmosphere of complete peace, the International Labour Organisation carried on for so many years, there is not a large population either. If you look over the course of history, until the coming of this modern Genghis Khan into an otherwise peaceful world, you will, I believe, find that nations small in population — nations like Judea, Greece, and the Dutch Republic — have given to this world the men and the ideas that rule it to-day.

But after listening to the words, the generous words, of the Governor of the State of New York, the helpful and constructive statement of the Mayor of this great city, the splendid address which you, Madam President, delivered to us, I feel that while it is a matter of regret that, at a time when the head office of the International Labour Organisation is in the city of Montreal, the Conference was not held there, we are willing to relinquish any right we might have to this meeting to the United States of America in general, to the City of New York in particular, and perhaps to this University which is our host in greater particular.

I would like to refer to a phrase in that splendid address given by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, the highly esteemed President of this University. He explained that the University had now reached nearly the hundred centuries since its foundation. He reminded us that at least two revolutions of great magnitude had occurred since this University was founded. The first was the American Revolution, when certain rather improvident Americans threw tea in the Boston harbour. But to-day, you have about 130 million citizens who enjoy the blessings of liberty, of happiness, and of compulsory freedom. Dr. Butler also mentioned the French Revolution, which started about thirteen years later. The suggestion was at that time made that if the people could not eat bread, let them have cake. Liberty, in a wide measure, was won again, not immediately,
but as an ultimate consequence of the revolutionary method adopted by France.

But liberty has been won not alone by revolution but by evolution.

It is not necessary to remind the members of this Conference that it was only a little over one hundred years ago, namely, in September 1834, that the Tolpuddle martyrs suffered. May I remind you, too, that Robert Owen only failed in his experiment in 1840? May I remind you, too, that the right of peaceful picketing was only assured in 1874? May I remind you that the major rights which labour now holds dear have been won in the last hundred years? May I remind you, too, that democratic rights on this continent are suffered. May I remind you, too, that Robert Owen only failed in his experiment in 1840? May I remind you, too, that the right of peaceful picketing was only assured in 1874? May I remind you that the major rights which labour now holds dear have been won in the last hundred years? May I remind you, too, that democratic rights on this continent are suffered. May I remind you, too, that Robert Owen only failed in his experiment in 1840? May I remind you, too, that the right of peaceful picketing was only assured in 1874? May I remind you that the major rights which labour now holds dear have been won in the last hundred years? May I remind you, too, that democratic rights on this continent are suffered.

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In the midst of the painful crisis through which humanity is passing just because it has broken the ties of solidarity, the Brazilian people, far from losing its faith in the value of co-operation, believes to the contrary that today, more than ever, salvation lies in the establishment of the spirit of interdependence among nations in order that each may free itself by science and technology from the slavery of nature and draw nearer to the ideal of reason, creating from the existing inequalities a new equality.

The work which constitutes the main objective of the International Labour Organisation deserves special attention from the Brazilian Government, which, principally in the last ten years, has carried out and is still carrying out a vast programme of social reforms with the purpose of perfecting man by raising the social level, by ennobling work, considered as a social duty, so that it may bring forth a society having a full sense of its responsibilities and its human solidarity.

This is the significance of the political, social, and economic changes initiated by the 1930 Revolution, under the direction of President Getulio Vargas, which marked a new phase in the life of the Brazilian nation, characterised by a deeper consciousness of the national problems and their solution in an adequate way, not fragmentarily but in an organised and co-ordinated form, in view of the comprehensive development of the Brazilian nation.

Once more the fact was verified that changes in the forms of economic production and progress in the forms of organisation are always preceded by political decision. The change in the political structure was followed in Brazil by the economic transformation in the direction of an economy principally based on industrial production, instead of on agricultural production as before. This is the capital fact in the present phase through which Brazil is passing. Without having that fact in mind, it is not possible to explain the deep changes which are every day more patent in the economic and social structure of Brazil. The industrial output has exceeded the agricultural output. Hence the enormous growth of the internal market and the recomposition of foreign trade, which, although it has grown, represents every day a smaller share of the national economy. The preceding period of the Brazilian economy was characterised by a marked dependence on foreign trade. The present moment shows the emancipation from that dependence and the formation of an economy having a better structure and having in view not only a larger production but also a larger consumption by the people of the article produced. The Brazilian people do not produce principally to export but to consume, which signifies that production is more and more diversified in order to satisfy the growing needs of a population of forty-one millions.

Brazil has reached, then, its economic emancipation and with it a deeper sense of reality. Interests are being modified by the growing predominance of the industrial class which has determined a readjustment of the active forces of the nation. This circumstance explains the appearance of a new mentality, more energetic, better prepared, more preoccupied with economic and social problems, more imbued with positive knowledge and having a deeper sense of human solidarity.

Social justice, which not only means that everyone should receive his due, but that everyone should do his part, became the main objective of the Government. In little more than ten years, the Brazilian Government formulated and carried out a programme of labour legislation and social assistance which embraces the protection of the employee, the guarantee of freedom of association, the limitation of hours of work, the weekly rest and paid holidays, the prohibition of child labour, minimum wages, medical and sanitary assistance, protection of motherhood, social insurance, and the special labour courts.

This legislation, which is in full operation, was not the result of labour agitation but was due to the comprehension of the Brazilian Government, which knew how to foresee its necessity. By so doing the Government established the basis of a true economic culture, consisting of the ordering of society in a way that each may fulfill, under favorable conditions, his disposition and capacity by means of a division of social labour, the essential factor of social harmony.

The Acting Director has presented in a little more than one hundred pages a penetrating analysis of the evolution of the International Labour Organisation and of the problems of reconstruction. It is a document which honours the Organisation by its objective spirit, by the broadness of its viewpoint, and by clear vision of the facts. Writing in the middle of a cataclysm without compare, its author did not lose his serenity nor his confidence in the incomparable power of recuperation and redemption of the spirit. "The better world to which millions everywhere look forward can only come as the result of free co-operative effort." In these few words, Mr. Phelan sums up the bold programme of reconstruction which must be the result of international collaboration. It is necessary that this work be approached with optimism. History reveals a slow unfolding of reason in the world through the cultural progress of humanity from its early palaeolithic period until to-day. Although this progress does not show a perfect continuity, there is an ever-increasing expansion of culture, a participation of a larger number in the cultural elaboration to a point at which we can already foresee the possibility of a uniform culture for all mankind.

The destiny of the human race is to form a single body, uniformly cultivated, through a painful process of evolution made up of the struggle against nature and a harder struggle among men. Man's most cruel enemy is himself. But nature and human passion, which apparently work against the achievement of this destiny, in fact serve it. No condition of humanity is definitive but must be considered as a means to attain a better world, as a starting-point for a greater perfection. No progress is achieved without resistance to the free activity of men. The naive conviction of the simple man who considers our world as a place of trial and improvement coincides with the conclusion of the more advanced philosophical thinking which sees in the events which make up our life other means for the realisation of reason.
There exist only two irreducible attitudes of mind before reality: the materialistic and the idealistic. The world which emerged from the first world war was essentially a materialistic world in which human destiny was reduced to achieving the improvement of certain material conditions of life. But soon it recognised the impossibility of limiting the forces of renewal and resurrection of the spirit. It is necessary to die in order to live, said Christ. Only by encountering resistance is the spirit revealed. The world which is taking shape from this war, and which is slowly becoming conscious of itself, will negate the opposition of the first but preserve its definitive conquests. Therefore it will be a better world. In its formulation America will contribute with its immense reserve of idealism, with its unalterable faith in the perfecting of man, not only of the material man but of the spiritual man. We shall then recognise the profound truth once uttered by a Greek philosopher, "reason governs the world."

Mr. LANGSTONE (Government delegate, New Zealand) — Madam President, may I extend to you my most cordial congratulations on your being elected for this high office? It is fitting and proper that, as Secretary of Labor in the United States Government, you should have been awarded the honour and the dignity of being elected President of this International Labour Conference. It is also a personal tribute, and I am sure that this Conference, under your guidance, will achieve real, tangible results in bringing into closer relationship and collaboration the Government authorities, employers' and workers' organisations.

To-day your country is the great arsenal for democracy.

Thou, too, sail on, O ship of State,
Sail on, O Union, strong and great;
Humanity, with all its fears,
With all its hope of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate.

These words of Longfellow, which President Roosevelt selected in his personal message to Prime Minister Churchill, show a profound and intimate understanding of the great crisis through which the world is passing. May the results of this Conference bring everlasting benefits to the human race. This will be your greatest reward.

When this war is over, and democracy with its system of free selective Governments has triumphed over Nazism and dictatorial regimented authority, the world will be faced with the tremendous task of economic and social reconstruction, which, to be successful, must be carried out in close collaboration between Governments acting as central authorities and the organised forces of production, distribution, and exchange. The International Labour Office, by its set-up and function, is particularly and uniquely adapted as an organised medium for collecting, collating, and preparing information and data for this stupendous task. This work involves time, a technically trained staff, and money, and I trust that the democratic nations, although involved in this war struggle, will give the financial support to the International Labour Office to enable this work to be carried on.

The basis of each nation's economic and social structure is the production and exchange of usable wealth. Every country has over the years developed and organised its economy of production, distribution, and exchange according to its economic possibilities, psychological reaction to its internal and external trade relationships, and the bonds of political and social affinities which custom and kinship have created.

For many years the tendency of many countries has been towards establishing economic self-sufficiency for the benefit of their economic and social order, and it must be admitted that all self-governing nations possess the undoubted right to pursue their own policy in their own way. The expansion of trade is the key to world peace and higher standards of living for their people. There can be no permanent, well-established economic and social order unless it is rooted in a common well-regulated system for the production, distribution, and exchange of commodities and services.

Rights and privileges, in our democratic freedom, carry corresponding duties and responsibilities which oft-times are too prone to ignore and forget. The right of collective negotiation, through organisations of labour with organisations of employers, cannot be treated lightly by either party. Government, representing the people, is a co-partner in all things that contribute to the material and human welfare of its citizens, and democracy is to function better than any other form of government — and it can — then the causes of industrial conflicts and disputes, with their attendant hatreds and jealousies, must be eliminated. Democracy to-day means intelligence applied to man's relationship with his fellow-man. It means more than majority rule. It means that we are all engaged in administering a trusteeship, and to be true to that trust, we must all unite in co-operation. Money, power, privilege, and ownership must not be allowed to impede the public good.

In 1914-1918 the war was won, but the peace was lost. This time we must win the war and win the peace. Why did we lose the peace? I venture to assert that it was because a faulty method was used then in dealing with post-war problems. This war is the price we are paying, a terrible price, for past mistakes, which must not be repeated. The all-important question to-day is — are we going to be in any better position after this war? Prime Minister Mackenzie King has said: "If the new world order is not already on its way before the war is over, we may look for it in vain." No useful purpose can be served at this stage by attempting to place the blame for the failure of Versailles. The fact is that the war to end war did not do the job. Peace will inevitably bring with it serious problems and difficulties. Moreover, this generation owes it to the next to use more common sense in order that we may forge on the anvil of experience an economic order which will make for good neighbourliness, good citizenship, and a lasting peace.

The carving up of Europe, the creation of new national boundaries, the imposition of in-
demnities and conditions, the formation of leagues of nations and of bilateral and unilateral pacts and agreements, are so much subterfuge unless we face the issue fairly and squarely.

It is only by the constituted authority of Governments that trade agreements and arrangements can be made between one nation and another. The economic factor is as vitally important as the political factor, because it is through trade relationship with each other, in "the exchange of goods and services", that nations and those engaged in trade are brought into close collaboration. Therefore, both must be considered in any post-war settlement. Political shuffles or understandings without a sound economic set-up are bound to end in failure; it happened before. It must not happen again.

The world has marched a long way along the road of progress since the last world war, and the quickening of life in most countries arising out of war activities is bound to bring changes within our democratic economy that will long outlast the war. The inventive genius of man will not and must not be muzzled; science and invention will not stand still; new methods and better organisation of production, more efficient management of industrial plants and labour will continue to be evolved, and will result in huge increases of commodity production. When the war ends, planned production for peace must supplant production for war; otherwise, each nation will be faced with the stupendous problem of unemployment, which must be avoided at all costs. Some purely wartime plant may be put "in the grease", as an insurance for future national protection, but orders must be given for goods, equipment, and materials if other plants are to be kept busy and jobs provided for workers, or industrial and social unrest will soon result.

The purpose of production is consumption. Surpluses which cannot find a market cease to have any exchange value, or have so low a value that producers are ruined, factories are closed, and unemployment increases. Now, production means trade, internal and external, and this brings me right to the kernel of my question: How are the nations going to face up to this problem? We cannot go backward. There is no such thing as normalcy. We must go forward.

Before the outbreak of this war, world trade was becoming choked up, and many nations were pursuing policies of "little nationalism", self-sufficiency, quantitative restrictions, and customs barriers, all aimed at bringing about a restriction of trade. Well-ordered trade is to the human body. The larger the quantity of goods produced, the more numerous the services provided, the more goods and services exchanged both internally and externally, the higher will be the real incomes and standards of living of the peoples.

It is an axiomatic fact that there cannot be a buyer without a seller. Debts are discharged by the exchange of goods and services: the production of more goods and the rendering of more services must therefore be the basic foundation of any sound and progressive economic and social order.

Most countries are well equipped to produce goods and services; in fact, they were never better equipped, and will be still better equipped as the years run along. But if a nation is going to sell her production, she must buy the production of others somewhere and somehow; or she must just give her wealth away, which is bad for both giver and receiver; or she must curtail her production, which means self-stultification and is contrary to the best national and international instincts and traditions.

So each country must trade and make it possible for others to trade, either directly or indirectly. It just so happens that some large countries -may be so geographically situated that they could be relatively self-supporting. We must recognise, however, that all the people of the world cannot live in those countries, and that because any country is endowed by Providence with rich supplies of resources and raw materials, it does not follow that these were put there for the especial benefit of that country's inhabitants. Political and economic ownership and control bring corresponding responsibilities. Points 4 and 5 of the Atlantic Declaration of President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill put the issue thus:

(4) They, (the United States and the United Kingdom) will endeavour to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;

(5) They (the United States and the United Kingdom) desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field, with the object of securing, for all, improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security.

The problem is to determine how best the world's resources can be made available to those requiring them. It seems that the common-sense thing to do is to have a survey made of what commodities different countries can and do produce best and of the surpluses, in volume and value, of such commodities that are available for export; also of the kinds and classes of goods and services each country requires in return, for its economic and social well-being. Most of this information, or at least the statistical data from which it could be compiled, is already available and easily obtainable.

It should be possible then, if sufficient time and study were given to the question, and provided the co-operation of nations was forthcoming, to devise a means of ascertaining and distributing surpluses on a basis which should eliminate to a large extent, apart from uncontrollable factors, the uncertainty attaching to production and distribution of export commodities.

This might necessitate the setting up of an organisation in the nature of an International Clearing Bureau, whose responsibilities would be to co-ordinate information relating to surplus commodities and to direct their flow.

I might call attention to the Havana Conference in this connection. It is worth while noting that at the Havana Conference, which met in July 1940, and at which twenty-one
States of the Americas were represented, some very useful preparatory work was carried out, particularly in relation to the proposals considered for an effective system of joint marketing of the important staple products of the American Republics.

Clauses (c) and (d) of the resolution endorsed by that Conference read:

> To create instruments of inter-American co-operation for the temporary storing, financing, and handling of any such (surplus) commodities and for their orderly and systematic marketing;

> To develop commodity arrangements, with a view to assuring equitable terms of trade for both producers and consumers of the commodities concerned.

One might anticipate that when the principles and the objectives formulated at Havana have been translated into action, the programme of economic and financial co-operation outlined at the Conference should prove of immense benefit to the people of the Americas. It is desirable, however, that all nations should be afforded the opportunity to take part in such arrangements.

With the experience of the last twenty-eight years, a workable programme could surely be hammered out which would unite the nations, create good neighbourliness, and avoid war and the continual danger of war. It is useless talking in general phrases about the new world to be, liberty, freedom and democracy, unless we deal with the foundation and principles upon which these institutions must be based.

New Zealand’s participation in the war was no haphazard happening. We were very conscious from the beginning that, to preserve our freedom and carry on, we were indissolubly bound up with great Britain, that our destiny and our safety and security were irretrievably bound up with hers. We knew Hitler’s aim of world domination was to bring all democracies under his control, that the Nazi system permitted of no self-government or freedom or rights for which our forefathers would be taken from us by the detestable German trading system, and little would be given in return, and that conquered countries for generations would pay, and pay dearly, with goods and services for the German war. We took the resolve at once that we would rather die upon our feet than live upon our knees. We have received a heritage of freedom from our predecessors, and it is our bounden duty to them and to our children to maintain this freedom unimpaired for our successors. New Zealand has pledged all her wealth and resources to winning this war for democracy and freedom. New Zealand has mobilised a fifth of her population in defence services. We do this because it is our duty. In Greece and in Crete, our New Zealand soldiers fought like demons and covered the name of Anzac with deathless glory.

It is the policy of the New Zealand Government, while carrying out a vigorous progressive administration of our economic policy of work, production, and trade, also to remove the fear of want and poverty from the daily lives of our citizens. To this end we have enacted social security legislation, which provides for age benefits for those of sixty years of age and upward, with a limited income, and a universal progressive benefit for all citizens, irrespective of income, of sixty-five years and over. Every widow with children under sixteen years of age is provided for, and a mother’s benefit is provided for widows who are under the age of sixty, but whose children are over sixteen years of age. The blind, the invalid, and those unable to work are provided for. Hospitalisation, medical attention, and medicines are free to the recipients. Maternity care, pre- and postnatal attention, is free up to liberal amounts for expectant mothers. The annual cost to the nation of providing these services and benefits is £14,673,000, or £73,365,000. By these humanitarian provisions, in cash and in kind, we have abolished fear, poverty, and want from the minds of our people. It is a record of achievement of which the New Zealand Labour Government is justly proud. The finance is provided partly by a five per cent. tax on salaries, wages, and other incomes, and the balance is contributed from our Consolidated Fund.

Wages have been increased and conditions of labour improved as economic conditions warranted. Collective negotiations have been encouraged even during the war period. Strikes and lockouts have been practically eliminated. In co-operation with organised labour and employers, an Industrial Disputes Committee has been appointed to deal with these matters and the results have been most satisfactory. Where necessary, in particular, hours of labour have been increased, but only as a wartime measure, and shifts are being worked in many factories engaged in war production. To ensure that wages retain their purchasing power, a Price Tribunal has been operating in New Zealand. Prices cannot be increased unless such increase is approved by the Price Tribunal, and the result is that the cost of living has increased only by 6½ per cent. since the outbreak of the war. Other means of keeping the price of bread, sugar, coal, and fertiliser down to the original pre-war level have been instituted by way of granting subsidies.

Post-war planning: Our Prime Minister appointed a Cabinet Committee on Reconstruction, comprising those Ministers who will be most concerned with the problem of post-war reparation — housing accommodation, land for settlement, establishment of new industries, expansion of existing industries; of hydro-electrical development, irrigation and afforestation, soil erosion, dairying, and viticulture; and legislation has been placed upon our statute books to deal with this phase of our economic life.

New Zealand is peopled by men and women of progressive thought. We are very conscious of our position in world affairs. The New Zealand Labour Government realises that unless our surplus goods can be exchanged for other materials and equipment, it will be possible to increase or even to maintain our existing standards. The New Zealand Government feels that over the years our Dominion has contributed much to the culture and understanding of difficult social and economic problems. In fact, it has been truly said that New Zealand has been a world laboratory for social
science in the art of government. We desire to go forward; to do so means that an expansion of trade must be made possible.

Trade must be mutual. The old shibboleth of “buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest” is infamous and cruel. It brings about its own condemnation and must ultimately impoverish the seller, so that he ceases to be a buyer, and thus creates the very disasters in our economic system which we are all so anxious to avoid. This must be eliminated from our canon of logic in our trade curriculum.

The eight broad points enunciated by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill must be written into real, practical workaday policy; otherwise, they remain mere pious words without the vitality of meaning or application.

The principle of political equality, which lies at the very basis of our democratic system, loses its value and efficiency if it is not translated economically into the life of the individual citizen. A healthy democracy therefore implies an adequate economic standing for its members; and since conditions no longer exist in which it could be hoped that this would be provided by the interplay of blind economic forces, self-preservation dictates that national and international policy must be directed deliberately to that end.

Economic security for the individual in this sense implies more than the old slogan of “the right to work” or “work or relief”; it implies more even than the prevention of unemployment by such economic measures and policies as may produce that result, and thereby eliminate insecurity from the life of the average worker. It aims in addition at enabling him to secure for himself and his family all that is necessary to enable him in youth, through his working years, and in old age to enjoy peace and dignity in the life of the community and to make to it whatever contribution his gifts and capacities may render possible.

Tis weary watching wave by wave
But yet the tide heaves onward;
We climb like coral, grave by grave,
To pave a pathway sunward;
And where driven back for our next fray,
A newer strength to borrow;
And where the vanguard rest to-day,
The rear shall be to-morrow.

MESSAGE FROM MR. ERNEST BROWN

The PRESIDENT — We have received here a telegram which I think will be of interest to many of you; it bears again a message of good will which all of us are conscious of as coming to us from all over the world. Mr. Ernest Brown, who was formerly Minister of Labour in Great Britain and is now Minister of Health, so well known to all of us in Geneva as a faithful adherent of the principles of the I.L.O., sends a cablegram from England.

Every good wish to the I.L.O. for a successful and fruitful Conference.

(The Conference adjourned at 1 p.m.)
Thursday, 30 October 1941, 10 a.m.

Report of the Acting Director:
Discussion (cont'd.)

Interpretation: The President (Mr. Domenech)—The discussion of the Director's Report continues.

Mr. Morawetz (Employers' delegate, Czechoslovakia)—More than four years have passed since I had the honour to speak on behalf of the Czechoslovakian textile manufacturers at the Conference at Washington. It was on this occasion when I emphasised the necessity of removing the terrible tense atmosphere under which we were living in Europe. No Conference, no parliament, no institution whatever, could bring an improvement of the standard of life of the working people, and quite contrary to that, we have to expect a steady worsening of the actual income of all classes of human society if these enormous expenses for defence are going to last.

Terrible things have happened since. Czechoslovakia, where the burden of expenses for armaments was not only met by taxation, but to a remarkable extent by voluntary contributions, which were gladly given from the smallest savings accounts, was one day without any friend, betrayed by her allies, and surrounded by enemies. The tragedy of my country has been mentioned with great sympathy by the delegates from Mexico, Yugoslavia, and other countries. May I express in the name of our delegation our deepest gratitude for words which cannot and will not be forgotten.

It is obvious that under the prevailing circumstances, delegations of countries which are occupied by the enemy will follow the discussions about war economy with only theoretical interest. However, there are things which most probably will influence the situation after the war, and I consider as one of the most important the effort to avoid inflation. We people of Central Europe have seen what inflation means. We saw how in countries like Germany or Austria money lost nearly all its value and how in other countries 80, 90 per cent. and more were lost.

It was entirely wrong when people thought that these problems should worry only the capitalists—just the contrary was true. The menace of inflation ruined, first of all, the middle class and the worker. Of what use was it for him to get a higher pay on Saturday when prices on Monday were again much higher? His small savings, his life insurance, the result of many years of saving and starving were lost, and his actual income was deteriorating in spite of the higher payrolls.

But inflation brought still other and very serious social developments. People lost all interest in saving, and as long as they had money to spend, they spent it, even in the most useless way, always being afraid that to-morrow again less could be bought for the same amount. So, while it was and is of the greatest interest for the State to see people reducing their purchases to the utmost minimum, just the contrary happened. A book could be written about all the economic and social destruction caused by inflation in Europe during and after the war.

The efforts which have been made against the menace of inflation in Canada, prohibiting advances of prices as well as of wages generally, and allowing an adjustment of the present figures only in cases which are absolutely justified, are of the greatest interest and it is only to be hoped that they will be successful. I just hear that Switzerland, the only remaining democracy in Europe, is also trying to prevent inflation by similar methods.

The question whether and to what extent the Government should influence the collaboration between workers' and employers' organisations is of course of the greatest interest for the future. I think the mere fact of your presence here is proof of your willingness to collaborate. Let us speak about this problem quite frankly. We men who represent either side in collective bargaining must have a lot of courage. You who represent the workers will certainly more often hear blame than praise, but, believe me, we employers have just the same troubles. There will always be people with very radical ideas on both sides, and it will remain our difficult task to take upon our shoulders the responsibility for a reasonable solution and to fight for it in our own homes.

Just remember the foolish idea of the German manufacturers, who were told how everything would go according to their wishes in the new Nazi order, and think of their disappointment. Just read the book of Mr. Thyssen. The extreme wings of the workers got the
same lesson. You certainly know how the position of the workers in Germany has developed, and yet there were so many who were quite enthusiastic about the promised new order. Is it not so much easier to sell radical ideas than to fulfil hopes which have been created? In Czechoslovakia, the Communists did similar things. They attacked the socialist parties, accusing them of betraying the sacred rights of the workers; and in fact they had at the start some success, but it did not last very long because, as the workers found out who their real friends were, they went back to the Socialist Party.

I am happy to say that in my country, Czechoslovakia, the collaboration between workers and employers developed in a very satisfactory way. There were unions in all big industries. However, one day we faced the difficulty that some manufacturers thought it was very clever not to join an organisation. There were not many of them; yet, it was enough to cause trouble. They were happy to save the fee for membership and at the same time time to pay lower wages. This, again, made it possible to compete successfully on the basis of lower costs of production.

It was therefore in full co-operation between both parties that a law was adopted which made an agreement compulsory for all persons employed in certain districts if this agreement was made by organisations representing more than a certain percentage of all workers. This eliminated the unfair competition of people who were not members of the organisation. The results were very satisfactory and strengthened the peace with labour.

Of course, just like all of you, we had sometimes difficult negotiations, arguments against arguments; but we never had strikes of far-reaching importance. And still to-day I was very glad to say that I was for years the trustee of the manufacturers of one of the biggest industries that next to me are sitting the former Minister of Social Welfare, the secretaries of trade unions, and that we are all negotiating not only in confidence but in friendship.

Lastly, I want to draw your attention to a task which I consider as most important. It is the supply of Europe with food, with all kinds of commodities, after the end of this terrible war. Please remember our experience of the last war, and let us do all we possibly can to avoid the mistakes which happened then, and which created a chaotic situation. It does not matter what the peace treaties will be like, but one thing is certain — everything must be done to secure food and labour for the population of Europe as quickly as possible. After the last war, it took a very long time until deliveries started upon a reasonable scale, and a great deal of starving might be true, but you can find excuses: that nobody wanted this war and that the Governments hoped to the last moment to settle things peacefully. But to-day we know that there will be one day the end of this tragedy — so let us do all we can to help prepare the great work of reconstruction and to help with all possible speed the millions of people who have suffered so much and will be anxiously waiting for better times.

Mr. MOORE (Workers' delegate, Canada) — I shall confine myself to a few very points in the Acting Director's Report because others have already spoken and many are still to speak, and I do not consider it necessary to duplicate what they have stated. I wish, however, to associate myself with all of those who have commended Mr. Phelan for the splendid Report that, as Acting Director, he has prepared and presented to this Conference. I speak to-day as a representative of a country whose organised workers early sensed the menace of aggression and even before Munich urged our Government to call a special session of Parliament to deal with this matter and to pledge its support to all of the countries ready and willing to challenge the growing power of the Nazi and Fascist States. Though this was not done, yet when the storm broke, our Government, in declaring war, were fortified by the knowledge that they had the full and unqualified support of the workers. Since then, Canada has been a united country in carrying on an "all-out" war, to the full extent of its resources, material and human.

Yesterday our Minister of Labour, the Honourable Norman McLarty, gave us information as to some of the things we have done, and I do not intend to elaborate on that except to add that when the story is finally written of this titanic fight for freedom, the part played by Canada will be one that no nation of less than twelve million people need be ashamed of. I mention this in corroboration of the brief reference in the Acting Director's Report on page 4, reading:

Great Britain's determination to fight to the end did not waver at the darkest hour in her history and has been hardened and deepened by the ordeal through which she has passed. It is a determination shared by Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and India.

It would be misleading, however, to assume there are no differences of opinion in Canada, but they are not as to whether the war should be fought but only as to the most effective method to achieve the quickest victory and preserve freedom.
A lot of people get excited about strikes and class every stoppage of work as a species of sabotage. Sir John Forbes Watson, speaking yesterday, has put this in its proper perspective and shown that under democracy and with a sense of freedom, it is perhaps impossible to stop all these. But we should emphasise that no one wants strikes and every effort should be made to prevent them.

In this Canada has been fairly successful. There is, however, a more serious loss of production estimated at many times the loss by strikes — in our country over seven times the amount of that loss — to which the Director properly draws attention on pages 38 and 39. With respect to this he says:

Both belligerent and non-belligerent Governments have become increasingly alive to the necessity of doing everything that the circumstances allow for the prevention of industrial accidents as a measure for the conservation of man-power.

I would like to add to what the Director says that while Governments can do much by the enforcement of factory inspection — prevention of excessive hours of work and similar measures — the greater responsibility for prevention of this enormous waste lies generally with employers and employees. It is they who can maintain plant safety by what we refer to as 'good housekeeping'. Green hands should not be put to work on intricate machines without instruction and efficient supervision. A regard should be had to all those other things — bad lighting, poor sanitation, etc. — which produce fatigue. To prevent accidents is a far greater contribution to national defence than any steps to suppress strikes by the arbitrary authority of the State.

Even a country at war cannot afford to avoid its obligation to maintain and where possible improve the social security of the citizens, and I wish to commend the Acting Director for his chapter on this subject.

Also, we must start now to build for the new world that is to be. I agree with my colleague, Mr. Watt, U. S. A. workers' delegate, that to do so will not detract from our present duty to do all in our power to provide the requirements of war, but on the contrary, it will strengthen even more the 'will to victory'. The first phases of reconstruction are already upon us in Canada, and I assume also in other belligerent countries: that is, the rehabilitation into civil life of those who are discharged or may be demobilised from our fighting forces.

In Canada, this is being met not only by provision of pensions for the disabled, but also by further provision to assist others to fit themselves for self-sustaining employment. Plans already adopted provide for:

(a) Pay equal to payments under our unemployment insurance scheme until employment is secured; payments are $9.00 per week for single men, and $13.00 for married men;
(b) Similar pay while undergoing training under any approved scheme;
(c) The same pay while resuming interrupted higher education;
(d) Payments while becoming established on a farm or in a small business;

and, finally, arrangements whereby those securing work will be merged into the unemployment insurance plan after being employed fifteen weeks, and given full benefit in that plan for the whole period of their service in the active forces.

This, however, is only the beginning of the tasks ahead, and we should examine closely the proposals incorporated in Part II of the Acting Director's Report dealing with future policies. He has pointed the way, and it is our duty to examine the possibility of fulfilling our responsibilities for national planning for the post-war period and for co-ordinating these as an international entity. For this purpose, the I.L.O. must be given our unqualified support and made our instrument of international planning for the future.

As is so well stated in the beginning of the Report, the large number of delegations present at the last Conference two years ago represented — I quote from page I of the Report — "perhaps more'a desire for peace finding its expression in a peaceful institution than an acute interest in the technical questions on the agenda'. The desire to plan for future peace is no doubt as strong at this Conference. I would point out, however, that it is because we in Canada love peace that we are now at war. We know full well that there can be no future peace until the evil forces now seeking world domination are totally destroyed, and that only then can there be opportunity again afforded to free men to work out their destiny with justice to all.

Mr. HINDAHL (Government delegate, Norway) — The Norwegian Government has taken a keen interest in the convening of this Conference of the International Labour Organisation. It is our hope that the Conference may have a stimulating effect upon all men and nations of good will now engaged in the fight to put an end to Nazi tyranny and to destroy the evil forces which are trying by the most brutal and criminal means to achieve world supremacy. It should also prove most helpful in the tackling and solving of the practical problems for the post-war period.

One thing cannot too often be stressed, namely, this: without complete Allied victory over the Nazi aggressors, the ideals for which the International Labour Organisation and its Labour Office stand cannot be reached. Social justice and security must be based on human freedom. They are incompatible with slavery and oppression. The German vandals now terrorising large parts of the world must be beaten by the combined efforts of all freedom-loving countries. This is the first task that must be solved as an absolute condition for the proper solution of all other problems confronting us in our efforts to create a better future for all.

Together with their Allies, the Norwegian Government and the Norwegian people are now engaged in the life-and-death struggle with German Nazidom and Hitlerism. There can be no compromise. On 12 June this year, this was solemnly confirmed at the Inter-Allied
meeting held in London in St. James' Palace, where the Allied Governments unanimously resolved: that they will continue the struggle against German or Italian oppression until victory is won, and will mutually assist each other in this struggle to the utmost of their respective capacities; that there can be no settled peace or prosperity so long as free peoples are coerced by violence into submission to domination by Germany and her associates, or live under the threat of such coercion; that the only true basis of enduring peace is the willing co-operation of free peoples in a world in which, relieved of the menace of aggression, all may enjoy economic and social security; and that it is these Governments' intention to work together and with other free peoples, both in war and in peace, to this end.

When the Report of the Acting Director cites German statements as to how the Nazis propose to organise their European economic system, it brings to mind President Roosevelt's words about the German "new order" — which is not new and not order. From Norway, where the Germans, with the aid of a few Quislings, have now for more than a year given object lessons in the new order, we know that the German idea of economic collaboration is ruthless exploitation. My country, like other occupied countries, has been systematically robbed of practically everything which can be taken away. Its commerce is crippled, its industries weakened, its commodity supplies footed, its national finances undermined. The people's rations are decreasing far below requirements, clothes and fuel are insufficient, human want and suffering are constantly increasing. The workers are being enslaved, their unions taken away from them, their leaders arrested and executed.

We know from the utterances and writings of Nazi leaders that these developments are not only caused by conditions of brutal war and economic exploitation, but are closely linked up with the Nazi ideology of the German master race, whom all others are to serve as subordinates and slaves. Norway is to revert to a sort of modernised Hanseatic system of ruthless economic exploitation. Under such conditions, all talk of economic organisation and social planning and improvement is a mere deceit. It is like the organising of a big jail.

The Norwegian people, as you know, have, like other oppressed peoples, put up a splendid fight against the aggressors. The national patriotic front comprises at least 98 per cent. of the population. The Norwegian Government, now temporarily in London, is directing the fight for Norway's liberation. It maintains far-flung organisations and activities all over the world. Norway is still a going concern, an active ally of Great Britain. Our biggest contribution to the common cause so far is the large and modern Norwegian merchant fleet of nearly 800 ships manned by about 25,000 men, constituting a great part of the bridge of ships so vital to the Allied life lines.

Mr. Phelan in his Report remarks that adequate provision for the welfare of seamen when in port has become a matter of great urgency under war conditions. The Norwegian Government and its various agencies have systematically endeavoured to continue to adapt, and even extend, the provisions for social welfare and security which have previously been established. The Norwegian Department of Social Welfare and the Departments of Commerce and of Shipping and Supplies have collaborated in establishing and operating a series of seamen's homes, hostels, hospitals and club-rooms in important ports in the United Kingdom and in the United States.

The Acting Director has given a remarkable summary of the problems of reconstruction and of future social and economic policy. The post-war period undoubtedly will present many wholly or partly new practical problems, but many of them, and perhaps the biggest, will remain the same old ones with an importance which will cope with and solve in the years before this second world war. The old saying holds true, "The more it changes, the more it remains the same thing."

My country, before the invasion, was a country in a state of quite rapid and stable economic and social progress. It was a democracy and at the same time a dynamic country. There were strong elements of social initiative, control, and planning in Norwegian economic life. The main thing for us now is to get our country back and thus be able to continue our efforts to achieve that synthesis of freedom and security which was at the bottom of our social aspiration and politics, and which is perhaps the chief problem of the world in modern times.

The war has wrought much destruction, and certainly will bring more before it ends. My country is now stricken, but fortunately, there is a correlation between the power to destroy and the power to rebuild. Under effective democratic rule, with the whole people employed in useful and necessary work, the damage of war will probably be repaired much sooner than supposed. Improved collaboration between the various nations as well as an extended international organisation will, of course, speed and assist the work. During this planned development towards the organisation of a better world and a more secure future, the International Labour Organisation is called to play an even larger part than in the pioneering period of the new social techniques.

Interpretation: Mr. PRADENAS MUÑOZ (Government delegate, Chile) — My country approves and welcomes the Report given us by the Acting Director of the I.L.O. But there is one small rectification which should be made concerning my country. The Report says that compulsory arbitration exists in Chile for all labour disputes. This is an error. There is in Chile a Conciliation and Arbitration Board, but arbitration is voluntary, being imposed neither by law nor by the authorities. In practice, however, 99 per cent. of all disputes are settled through this procedure.

The present Government has introduced a Bill in the Chamber of Deputies providing for compulsory arbitration only for those workers and employees who are covered by the Act prohibiting strikes in public utility undertakings; in this case the workers are at a disadvantage because they cannot obtain justice if the employer refuses to listen to them. Hence the present Government's proposal to
modify the law so that the legitimate demands of these workers can be met.

I should like to refer briefly to the work achieved in Chile by former Governments and by the present Government for the betterment of the state of the working classes, in conformity with the aims of the International Labour Organisation. There is a Compulsory Social Insurance Fund which gives health services to workers. There are old-age pensions and invalidity pensions, and provision for compensation for industrial accidents. An annual paid holiday is compulsory, varying from eight to fifteen days, according to the length of time worked by the worker.

The Government has now sent to the National Congress various Bills intended to embody social measures recommended by the International Labour Organisation. One proposes one month’s compensation for every year’s service in the event of dismissal.

Another Bill would provide for every worker throughout the Republic a minimum wage which should be enough to secure for him the necessary food, clothing, and hygienic living conditions. Our aim is that every worker should be sure of earning sufficient for his daily needs and that his wages should not be dependent on the whims of the employers. Legislation on family allowances is also contemplated.

My country has tried so far as possible to take part in the international work of this Organisation, and to take its place among the defenders of the democratic régime throughout the world.

It welcomed several thousand refugees after the collapse of the Spanish Republic, and the Chilean Republic is proud of this international collaboration; these poor refugees appealed to us, and we gave them help; and yet (why should not I proclaim it?) there were democratic countries which denied refuge to these people. Their collaboration in the cultural and labour activities of Chile is a contribution to the progress of the country.

It is essential, in my country, that the democratic régime, which is based on the freedom of speech and the right to organize, be really democratic. It is necessary that this régime be free from any influence of the party system, which has no place in our democratic system. The political parties are forbidden to interfere in the work of public administration. The President, in particular the President, Mr. Pedro Aguirre, attaches great importance to the question of workmen’s housing. Five thousand six hundred new houses have been built for the workers in two years, as against six hundred in six years under the preceding administration. There are now before Congress two bills appropriating very large sums for housing construction. We propose to appropriate 17.5 per cent. of our national budget to housing with a view to improving the living conditions of the Chilean people. In 1942, we hope to build 16,000 houses for the workers in my country.

I have heard things said in this Conference about imperialism. I wish, as Minister of Labour of Chile, to express my view on this question. We Spanish-speaking Americans often complain of exploitation by the large capitalistic companies, particularly as regards wages and working conditions. I ask for all American workers the same treatment as the United States workers receive. I do not understand why the mine worker in the United States should earn five or six dollars a day, while in Chile or in other parts of America he earns only 80 cents or a dollar a day. I also want to put on record the fact that Americans do not always understand each other’s problems, nor do we always explain to one another the reasons for these problems and their background.

I refer in particular to the exploitation of our workers by capitalistic companies, including those of the country itself. In our countries the agricultural worker in particular has been the victim of exploitation without parallel in modern times, and because also has been the source of malnutrition, high infantile mortality and tuberculosis, and therefore a falling off in the quality of our human capital.

I believe that this Conference should adopt a resolution asking all countries in America to establish a minimum wage. It is not possible to continue paying workers five and ten cents an hour, as such a wage does not enable them to eat, to clothe themselves, or to live under hygienic conditions.

I may mention that certain foreign companies in our country pay higher wages than those paid by industrialists of our own country.

I also think the Conference should adopt a resolution which would give practical form to the desire for fundamental agrarian reform in America. So many of our countries are in the position of having small populations for large areas. In Chile, we produce 10 million quintals of wheat a year, while in France there were produced, in 1937, 108 million quintals of wheat, and in Germany 120 million, both of them countries smaller than Chile in area. In America, with an enormous area of land but with a small population, we have not been able to produce as much food as we need for our own peoples.

The principle of the reform should be: no land without men, and no men without land.

My Government is in agreement with the principles of democracy. The President of the Republic was elected in a civic contest and therefore represents the sentiment of the majority. We are ready to collaborate in the defence of democracy, and because of this we have the conviction that democracy should be more than a demagogic phrase used for ulterior political motives; democracy must be a reality, both economic and social. It is a sad truth that the American countries have practised only political democracy.

Democracy should be a synonym for justice and action, and in this sense it seems to me that best represented by President Roosevelt. When he was faced with so many millions of unemployed in the United States, he initiated the policy of raising wages. He understood perfectly well that if the worker did not possess the necessary purchasing power, economic activity would be paralysed.

The South American countries must also understand fully their historical mission; their wealth of human and natural resources must be used for the welfare of humanity.

There have been speeches in this Conference on the problems of the post-war period. I believe that Governments which are now at war or which will later enter the war must be prepared for cruel sacrifices both during the war and after. We cannot suddenly demobilise millions of workers from the defence factories, the Navy, and the Army without upsetting economic systems. If for example the present
Governments spend a hundred thousand million pounds sterling each year of the war, they ought to count on spending the same amount for a year after the war, so that no worker may be demobilised until he is secured work.

Chile supplies large quantities of iron and copper and nitrates to the United States. Like other South American countries we need semi-manufactured or manufactured goods in exchange for the raw materials that we furnish. As a result, we should like the Conference to adopt a resolution asking that the economic necessities of the South American countries be recognised by the Government of the United States.

Mr. SHAW (Employers' delegate, China) — As the Employers' delegate from China, I would like first of all to convey to you hearty greetings from my fellow manufacturers and businessmen in Free China. Secondly, as one who graduated from Columbia University some fifteen years ago, I am exceedingly glad to avail myself of this opportunity to express my profound appreciation for this great institution of free thought and high ideals, under the eminent stewardship of our esteemed President, Nicholas Murray Butler. Last but not least, I wish to express my deep sense of respect and satisfaction for the inspiring leadership which Miss Perkins is giving us in piloting this important international conference.

As an observer of recent trends of wartime economic tendencies, I sincerely endorse the report prepared by our Acting Director, Mr. Edward J. Phelan, of which the title, The I.L.O. and Reconstruction, reflects his far-sightedness in recommending for our discussion the promotion of social reconstruction in the post-war world, utilising the I.L.O. as an essential part of the reconstruction machinery. It presents at once a challenge and an opportunity for this Conference and the International Labour Organisation to deliberate and formulate a feasible programme which will be worthy of our joint efforts.

In order to fit it into this general picture of post-war world reconstruction as stressed by Mr. Phelan's report, I wish to present for your consideration a post-war reconstruction programme for China in the light of events and happenings during the past few years.

Without a declaration of war, Japan has since 1937 brought extensive hostilities into the maritime provinces of China, wherein were China's chief industrial and trade centres, from Tientsin to Canton. Disregarding every rule of international law and every consideration of human decency, Japan has bombarded and barded China's industrial and trade centres indiscriminately, seeking to destroy, and destroying, not only China's factories, electric power plants, water works, and workshops of all kinds, but also educational and religious institutions and private homes, irrespective of military objectives. Even in such areas as the International Settlement of Shanghai and other foreign concessions habitually enjoyed by third-party nationals doing business in China, wherein Chinese cotton mills, silk factories, machine shops once prospered, Japanese militarists have imposed what is styled Sino-Japanese partnership or joint ownership upon the Chinese owners, with the result that the real proprietors are ousted ultimately from their own business. It amounts virtually to transfer of ownership by force instead of free contract. On top of this, huge Japanese State-owned enterprises, such as the North China, Central China, and South China Development Companies, were formed, with the aim to monopolise industry and trade in all the so-called occupied areas, to the exclusion of Chinese and third-party nationals alike.

Moreover, in the so-called occupied areas, Chinese labour has been conscripted under duress and most deplorable conditions of treatment, bordering on abject slavery, to work not only in ordinary Japanese industrial plants to increase production of their needed war supplies, but also on military jobs against the letter and spirit of the international law of war.

In the fifth year of her life-and-death struggle, China not only continues to improve her fighting strength, thanks to the support of the democracies, but also at the same time develops the bountiful resources in the interior with which nature has endowed her. Despite continued bombings which have been carried far into the interior parts of China, industrial plants, factories, machine shops, and mines redouble their efforts in supplying the needs of Free China. When the factories in the maritime provinces were bombed and burned down, hundreds of thousands of industrial workers were thrown out of work and made homeless. They joined the march of millions of war refugees from the coastal cities to the interior. As new factories were built and new machine shops erected, these migrating workers, skilled or semi-skilled, were provided with work and homes in the new industrial centres in the interior.

The result of these new enterprises as evidence of collaboration of three groups, namely, the Government, the employer, and the worker, shows that within a few years of establishment, the annual productive capacity of the industrial and mining enterprises in Free China has already reached the figure of more than 5,000 million Chinese dollars. We are doing everything possible to produce not only war supplies but also daily necessities for the masses. A new industrial base has thus been created in the hinterland.

Under the leadership of Dr. H. H. Kung, Vice-President of the Executive Yuan and concurrently Minister of Finance, China has already effected important financial reforms both before and during the war. Enjoying the confidence of friendly and sympathetic Powers, we have secured financial assistance to strengthen our currency and finance our military purchases. The Currency Stabilisation Board and the Chinese Defence Supply Organisation are among the most effective instruments in strengthening China's financial structure with American and British cooperation. Financially, as well as politically, China enjoys the confidence and support of the democracies and finds herself in a position far more favourable than that of her enemy.

The war that has been forced upon us has proven to be a blessing in disguise not only in hastening the process of industrialisation in the interior provinces, but also in bringing
about a complete national unity under the leadership of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

In the midst of the second world war, I cannot help thinking of the prediction made by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Father of the Chinese Republic, immediately after the first world war. He warned the world that, if the economic causes of war were not removed, a second world war would be inevitable. In his immortal work, The International Development of China, he said:

The recent world war has proved to mankind that war is ruinous to both the conqueror and the conquered, but worse for the aggressor. What is true in military warfare is more so in trade warfare. Since President Wilson has proposed a League of Nations to end military war in the future, I desire to propose to end the trade war by cooperation and mutual help in the development of China. This will root out probably the greatest cause of future wars.

The world has been greatly benefited by the development of America as an industrial and commercial nation. So a developed China, with her four hundred and fifty millions of population, will be another New World in the economic sense. The nations which will take part in this development will reap immense advantages. Furthermore, international co-operation of this kind cannot but help to strengthen the brotherhood of man. Ultimately, I am sure, this will culminate in its being the keystone in the arch of the League of Nations.

After this preamble, Dr. Sun laid down a comprehensive programme for the industrial reconstruction of China. The programme consists of a number of gigantic projects, which include the development of communications, construction of harbours, building of modern cities, utilisation of water power, erection of iron, steel, and cement works, irrigation and afforestation, mining and shipbuilding, etc.

After the first world war, unfortunately, this programme was not carried out, owing largely to international rivalry. After the present second world war, we sincerely hope that our Government will be able to carry out this programme successfully with the technical and financial assistance of friendly nations such as are represented in this Conference of the International Labour Organisation.

In conclusion, may I express the wish of Chinese industrialists, bankers, and businessmen, that when this brutal war ends—as sooner or later it must—a new era will dawn, in which international rivalry will give way to international co-operation, economic barriers and discriminations will be removed, and markets and raw material sources will be open to all peoples on fair and equal bases. We hope that the Atlantic Charter, recently proclaimed by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill, may be supplemented by a Pacific Charter, whereby China can make her contributions to post-war Asia as well as to the post-war world. Confucius says: "Within four seas, all are brothers." This shows clearly to us that world brotherhood can be realised in deeds instead of words. In the spirit of "friendship to all and enmity to none", we should endeavour to revitalise the League of Nations or organise a Federation of Nations, as our colleague, Mr. Henry I. Harriman, has appropriately suggested in his speech, thereby paving the way to world harmony. And the collaboration between Government authorities, workers' organisations, and employers' organisations, which is the chief theme of discussion in this Conference, will make this a better world to live in. Instead of world domination, as aimed at by the totalitarian nations, world harmony will play its role in the years to come, and I feel certain that victory for the democracies is absolutely assured.

Mr. STANCZYK (Government delegate, Poland) speaks in Polish.

Interpretation — History has not spared difficult and woeful experiences to my country. The long history of the Polish nation is marked by cruel persecution and self-sacrificing struggles for freedom. In the struggle for the liberation of their country from the oppression of three partitioning powers, the Poles have not died only on the battlefields of their homeland, but everywhere where freedom's fight was being waged.

Polish insurgents and revolutionaries filled the prisons of Tsarist Russia and Imperial Prussia and Austria. Polish "convicts" were exposed to the bitter cold of Siberia, from which as a rule no one ever returned to his homeland. Do you realise, gentlemen, that the gallows, that symbol of disgrace in other countries, became in Poland during the rule of Tsarist Russia, the martyr's cross of the Polish people? There were periods in Warsaw when the Tsarist executioners put to death on the gallows an average of twenty Polish socialists and trade unionists every month. The gallows were busy, and the executioner had his hands full in those days of my country's former bondage. It seemed to us then that God and the world had forgotten us, that the Poles were only remembered by the executioners and the prison guards, that our soil, wrested from us by the invaders, was at their bidding bearing gallows instead of trees.

And yet, gentlemen, all that my nation experienced and suffered during more than a hundred years of oppression under Russian, Prussian, and Austrian despots pales before the immensity of the crime perpetrated at present on the Polish nation by Nazi Germany. I do not wish to take your time by describing the war in Poland, when German bombers razed to the ground our towns and villages, burying civilian population under the debris, when German fliers machine-gunned women, children, and old men. I will not describe how Polish soldiers, armed with rifles, fought against German Panzer divisions, and I will not mention the heroism of Poland's capital, Warsaw, which, almost without arms, without food, without fire or water, for four weeks fought Hitler's armies amid the ruins of the devastated city. It was an inferno, but it was the inferno of war, the inferno of total war devised by the Nazi German staff and applied for the first time in Poland.

But Hitler did not only devise total war. Nazi Germany also applied total oppression to
the subjugated nations; total extermination of the people, of the national culture, and the destruction of its monuments is Hitler's aim.

In Poland, the Germans lay waste the country and exterminate the population with peculiar ruthlessness. They oust tens of thousands of Polish peasants from their lands and homes without any indemnity, forcing Germans on to their farms and their soil. In 1940, the Germans deported into forced labour in Germany and the territories adjacent to the front 750,000 industrial and agricultural workers, and in 1941, already about 800,000. These slave-workers have to perform the heaviest labour for a pittance of food and miserable shelter. They work like slaves under armed guards and have to wear a patch — meaning "Pole" — sewn on their clothes. After a short period of such forced labour, a percentage of these modern slaves die from overstrain and undernourishment. Some of them are being sent back to their former homes, sick and unfit for further labour. After a short time they die, leaving behind them stronger men to face the same fate in the future.

Those who have avoided deportation to forced labour are harnessed to work in the provinces occupied by Germany, for the lowest possible wage, and are reduced to utter destitution and gradual starvation. Food rations for Polish workers are only one-third of those given to Germans. The wages of Polish workers are 50 per cent. less than those received by Germans for the same work.

All labour unions were dissolved immediately after the German occupation, their assets and property confiscated. All workers' insurance funds, all sickness benefits, social insurance, and pensions have been done away with, all their assets confiscated. Now German regulations oblige the Polish workers to pay all kinds of insurance premiums, the benefits of which go to Germans only.

Gentlemen, the architecture of Hitler's domination in Poland comprises concentration camps, prisons, mass murders of my fellow countrymen. The Gestapo shoots workers, peasants, engineers, and intellectuals. In Skarżysk the Gestapo shot more than 300 workers who went on strike. Seventy-five workers were killed for going on strike in one of the coal mines. About 300,000 Poles are slowly dying in concentration camps at the hands of the Gestapo.

I can show you documentary proof of the barbaric German terror in Poland. Here are pictures I have received from Poland through secret channels: As you will see, the German executioners take pride in having their pictures taken alongside of their hanged and murdered victims. Not so long ago, I received information about the release of one of my friends from the concentration camp at Dachau. He was a man of athletic build, a healthy miner. He returned a ghastly spectre. Replying to his friends' questions, all he could say was: "I don't remember anything. I only know I have been in hell... People who have been through hell lose their sense of feeling and memory. I don't remember anything, I don't feel anything". Several weeks later he died. His wife committed suicide in despair. The two children were taken in by some good people.

You may wonder, gentlemen, why I relate all these bloody acts of crime and utter terrorism inflicted on my people — at an International Labour Conference.

Gentlemen, after reading our report of what we have done and what we intend to do in the future for civilisation and social progress and democracy, I wish to make a few observations on the Report of the Acting Director, and to indicate what the organised working class of Chile thinks of it.

Mr. IBAÑEZ AGUILA (Workers' delegate, Chile) — In this discussion, I wish to make a few observations on the Report of the Acting Director, and to indicate what the organised working class of Chile thinks of it.

The Report is an excellent survey of the political, economic and social situation at the present critical moment. It also contains a review of the activities of the International Labour Office during the war and a valuable contribution towards the elaboration of a plan for world reconstruction. I do not intend to analyse this Report in detail, but to make some general suggestions on the future of the Organisation, on the supposition that democracy will triumph.

The League of Nations was a romantic institution which arose on the ruins after the end of the last war. Its object was to avoid future conflicts, but its foundations were not suffi-
If we are sincere democrats and anti-fascists, let us act as such and practise the principles of democracy in our own countries. This means that the workers' organisations should be allowed to develop in freedom, and that steps should be taken to solve social problems. Let us therefore require every Member of the International Labour Organisation to do these things. Also, if we are sincere enemies of Fascism, let us not tolerate fascist methods of aggression on this continent; let us not tolerate oppression on the part of strong nations against weaker ones; let us insist on the peaceful settlement of disputes.

We workers want peace in America, so that we can work here more effectively for the triumph of democracy in Europe, and we want our Governments to make their contribution on the basis of social justice, and so to strengthen their moral position in the discussion of peace and reconstruction after the war.

In Chile, we are fortunate in overcoming our difficulties. The existence of the present Government, which maintains a fair and impartial attitude, is enabling the workers to win better conditions. The existence of strong and responsible employers' and workers' organisations, acting with a maximum autonomy, is also contributing to the settlement of many conflicts and is having an excellent effect on the development of the national economy. This, together with the social legislation that Congress is drafting, will enable us to raise our standards of life and to improve conditions all around. Social insurance against old age, invalidity, sickness, accidents, and death is already in existence, but we shall soon have a system of unemployment insurance, and compensation for dismissal will be extended to all workers. The employment of women and children is being regulated so as to protect them against all social injustice. Our Minister of Labour has already told you that we are striving to extend all the benefits of social and labour legislation to the workers on the land.

Our country will thus be in a position to make an effective contribution to the definite triumph of democracy. We wish to see the triumph of civilised man over the barbarian. We workers are fighting for a new social system. We want to see work a pleasure and not a curse. We realise that the world's existing industrial resources are quite sufficient to spread general happiness and well-being to all men on earth. Hitherto, the world's resources have been used for selfish ends; to-morrow, they must be used for the greater dignity and development of all.

We must put all our industrial effort into the work of winning the war against Fascism; but after the war is won, we must beat our swords into ploughshares, we must use all our resources to win well-being for all men everywhere. This will be the last war only, if our victory is turned to the right end. We workers in Chile are determined to work for this ideal.

Interpretation: Mr. SANTOS MUÑOZ (Government delegate, Argentine Republic)—It is no mere formality if I begin with a fraternal and affectionate greeting to the people of the United States and a respectful tribute to its great President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, on
behalf of the Argentine delegation. Our feelings for our sister nation in the North are as friendly and intimate as those that we feel towards all American countries. We form one single great family and each of us feels the dangers and difficulties of the sister nations. Therefore we express our thanks to the American Government and the University of Columbia, which, amid the serious problems of the present critical days, find time to give us this magnificent hospitality.

The time at which we are meeting gives cause for most serious alarm. No one can say how long the present war will go on, or what changes it will lead to in every sphere of human activity — political, economic, cultural, and social. Despite this uncertainty as to how far the plans we are making now can be realised, we must still go ahead and make them, since the generation of to-day must concern itself with the future and the problems of the generations to come. The efforts to secure improvements must be continuous; we must never be satisfied; the mere fact that we are not working in our own interest, that we are disinclined in the absence of selfish motives, should enable us to take a higher, a more impartial view of the problems that we have to consider.

In due course, our delegation will have to make its observations and express its views in detail. Will you allow me, however, at the moment, to express a few general ideas on the Acting Director's Report? I should like to say, in the first place, that we are extremely glad that this general Conference of the International Labour Organisation, like the previous regional Conferences and the seat of the institution itself, should be on American soil. The fact that the Conference has come to America helps to make us look to the Office as something that is still more our own, more intimately connected with our own problems and our own ideals.

My Government has made a special effort to contribute to the maintenance and the improvement of the International Labour Organisation, whose activities are considered by my country as extremely important, and it has viewed with the greatest sympathy the holding of the two American Conferences convened by the Office. We take the view that this movement should be continued, and that special attention should be paid to particular problems such as standards of living, conditions of nutrition, housing, technical and vocational education, etc., problems which are of direct and fundamental importance to the worker and his family.

On the initiative of the Argentine Government, two conferences of this nature were held in 1939 — the first, a Pan-American Conference on Popular Housing, and the second, an international one on nutrition — which thus studied two social questions of special importance for the majority of the American countries and for the healthy life of America's working masses. It is a pleasure to recall that in the Havana Labour Conference, resolutions referring in favourable terms to the two conferences I have just mentioned were adopted, and, in particular, that it was decided to ask the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to continue its studies concerning workers' housing and to consider the possibility of including this question in the agenda of a future session of the International Labour Conference, with a view to the adoption of a draft Convention or Recommendation on the subject.

This problem must be thoroughly studied. For some time past, the solution of this question has been a matter of concern to the most advanced countries, and some of them, I think it is fair to recognise, have made great progress and secured valuable results. My Government is not satisfied with the quality of workers' housing in the Argentine Republic. Both in the towns and in the country, this is one of our most serious and urgent problems. We understand that a similar situation prevails in practically all American countries and in many others as well. It should also be remembered that in the European countries housing will be one of the most urgent of the reconstruction problems after the war. For these reasons, my Government would like the International Labour Organisation to devote special attention to the request put forward by the Havana Conference.

In March 1942, there will be held in Santiago, Chile, under the auspices of the International Labour Office and on the invitation of the Chilean Government, a conference on questions of social security. Needless to say, my Government considers this meeting with the most active sympathy. In this connection, I may mention that it is organising for next year an Industrial Safety Exhibition on a continental basis.

As regards the wishes of my country, I say that it would be very useful for the twenty Latin American countries if the publications in Spanish and the staff recruited in those countries by the Office were to be increased. We should also like to have more of the valuable technical assistance of the experts of the International Labour Office in studying and helping to solve our economic and social problems. Lastly, we should like to see more frequent regional conferences of a technical character.

The aim of us all is by degrees to raise the standard of living of the working masses in town and country, and this requires favourable economic conditions. Since a healthy national economy is an essential condition for social improvement, the Argentine Government has taken steps, both nationally and by international agreements, to improve the economic situation of the country in order that, when the right time comes, the social reforms with which the President of the country and other members of the Government are constantly concerned may be extended. In this connection, I may mention that, notwithstanding the economic losses that the war is causing us, all our social legislation has been maintained in force with regard to hours of work, the weekly rest, wages, etc.; sixteen international labour Conventions have been ratified, and free collective bargaining has been encouraged as the best means of securing agreement and collaboration between employers and workers.

In order to improve our economic situation, we must make sure of being able to sell our produce abroad. New commercial treaties have therefore been entered into with various coun-
tries of the American continent: Brazil, Canada, Cuba, Colombia, and the United States; and the study of a far-reaching commercial treaty with Great Britain has made good progress. This is a policy which has been vigorously pursued for some years past and which will be continued. Lately these treaties dealing with foreign trade have been supplemented by detailed provisions concerning the distribution of foreign exchange in accordance with the necessities of the import trade in raw materials and manufactured products, thus helping to maintain employment and the standard of living.

On the occasion of the signature of the commercial treaty with the United States of America, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Republic confirmed that the Argentine Government wishes "to promote the development of reciprocal trade between the countries of this hemisphere, particularly between neighbouring countries, and to improve economic conditions in the countries themselves by encouraging national and foreign investment in new industries which are suited to local resources and possibilities", and that it is the intention of the Government "to promote the reduction of import duties as between Argentina and neighbouring countries, with a view to arriving ultimately at a customs union between those countries".

This policy, which is making progress in America, and the principle of which was co-ordinated with Brazil, received early in the present year at the regional conference of the countries of the River Plate, the approval of Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay; and the Chilean Government has also expressed a favourable view, so that all the southern countries of the South American Continent are at present working towards the creation among themselves of a wide zone of free trade. This will work to the advantage of workers and employers in their double capacity as producers and consumers. We are convinced that if this same policy could be put into practice in other parts of the world, commercial regions on a sound economic basis would be created, and this would contribute greatly to the reconstruction of the world after the war.

It is only by realising our past mistakes that we can make progress in the future in the sphere of international co-operation. Hitherto, as our Minister of Foreign Affairs said, we have been living in a period in which sectional interests have prevailed in the economic sphere, as against the interests of the entire community. In future, and without sacrificing any genuine local interest, we must abandon our policy of excessive protectionism and must adopt a policy of mutual understanding and the co-ordination of conflicting interests.

Finally, fellow delegates, I should like to say, in the name of the Argentine delegation, that we fully support the praise that has been expressed by other delegates concerning the work of Mr. Winant as Director of the International Labour Office, and we greatly regret his departure; but it is consoling to know that the Office is at present in the experienced and able hands of Mr. Phelan.

Mr. HORN (Government delegate, Union of South Africa) — It is a great honour and privilege to me to be able to participate for the first time in a Conference of the International Labour Organisation, and I am sorry that my first duty in addressing you is to express the regret, both of my Government and of Mr. Close, the Minister Plenipotentiary of the Union of South Africa in Washington, that he had to forgo the honour and the pleasure of delivering the following message in person, as the Government and he had both desired. Unfortunately, urgent and important matters demand the Minister's unremitting attention in Washington at this time and he has therefore charged me with the duty of delivering to the Conference the following message from Field Marshal Smuts, better known to you all as General Smuts, Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa.

The Prime Minister had asked Mr. Close to convey the greetings of the Union of South Africa to the Conference, and in doing so, to stress the value attached to the Conference of the International Labour Organisation by the Union Government. This is evidenced by the attendance of a full South African delegation, notwithstanding present transport and other difficulties and the limitations for making the necessary arrangements. The Prime Minister had also asked Mr. Close to reiterate the assurances already conveyed to the Governing Body and to the International Labour Office, of the Union's full support of the International Labour Organisation.

I know I speak for Field Marshal Smuts also in asking you, sir, to convey to Miss Perkins the Union's hearty felicitations upon her election as President of this Conference, and to congratulate the Conference upon having chosen so distinguished a person as the Secretary of Labor of the United States to guide its deliberations.

I should like to take the opportunity to pay my tribute to the Acting Director for the valuable Report presented to the Conference. He must by now be completely satisfied that his Report has achieved its first objective, which was surely to stimulate thought and discussion on the problems now facing the world.

It has been suggested that in view of the preoccupations of the belligerent countries it might be unwise at this time to consider also the questions of post-war reconstruction. It is clear to all of us that a Nazi victory would render obsolete any idea of co-operation and any thought of securing for humanity as a whole the four freedoms enunciated by the President of the United States. The Union of South Africa, in common with the other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations and her allies, does not conceive of any other result of this conflict than the complete overthrow of Hitlerism, and, with sure confidence in that outcome, the Government and people of the Union of South Africa have already started to consider the problem of reconstruction.

It may not be out of place to remind you that, again in common with other democracies of the world, South Africa found herself totally unprepared for this war. The defence vote in South Africa in the year preceding the war was less than two million pounds sterling—$8 million at the current rate of exchange. That represented, even for our small country, not much more than a police protection. As a
result, we have been compelled completely to reorganise our whole system, both militarily and industrially. Greater emphasis is perhaps at this time placed on increasing production than on the training of man-power, but it must not be overlooked that the active forces of the Union, drawn from both sections of the European population, now approximate close upon 10 per cent. of the total. In addition, large numbers of non-Europeans are contributing their share to the non-combatant services.

As an indication, however, of the industrial effort which has to be made, you will be interested to know that this year the Government proposes to spend 72 million pounds sterling on defence — $288 million. This, of course, could not be achieved without considerable readjustment. Yet, when the war came, South Africa was in the happy position of having on its statute books the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1918. The main objects of this Act are the prevention and settlement of disputes between employers and employees by conciliation, and in certain cases by arbitration. Fair labour standards, the proper regulation of hours of work, hygienic factory standards, and many other advanced systems of industrial and social legislation have been actively pursued in the Union for many years. The result of the war has been, if anything, to intensify the system of collaboration between Government, employer, and worker.

Yet, with all the preoccupations of war, delegates may be interested to note that the Government of the Union of South Africa this year asked a heavily burdened legislature to spend the necessary time to consider and enact two important social measures — the Factories, Machinery and Building Work Act and the Workmen's Compensation Act. These are the two important social measures —

In the framing of these Acts, there was the constant advance in social legislation. The Factories, Machinery and Building Work Act, which supersedes the Factories Act of 1918, provides, among other things, as follows: normal hours of work are reduced from forty-eight to forty-six per week; payment for overtime is to be at the rate of one and one-third times the normal rate, instead of one and one-quarter; two weeks' annual leave with full pay are to be granted to every worker; the minimum age for admission to employment is raised from fourteen to fifteen years.

In the framing of these Acts, there was the fullest consultation and collaboration — both formal and informal — between the Government and both the employers' and workers' groups.

There has also been instituted in the Union a National Supplies Control Board, whose function is to fix food prices, prevent hoarding and profiteering, etc. Under this Board are functioning a number of local committees which include representatives of employers' and workers' organisations. In addition, a more recent decision taken under the Emergency Regulations, provides for a cost-of-living allowance for workers in receipt of wages not exceeding seventy-four shillings per week.

These facts are, I submit, evidence of the active support of the Union of South Africa of the aims of the International Labour Organisation to which Field Marshal Smuts referred in the message which I had the honour to bring to you.

Mr. KOSINA (Workers' delegate, Czechoslovakia) — Only two days ago I came to this beautiful and proud city of yours directly from another beautiful and proud metropolis, now covered with glory, which has become my temporary home, from London. And I feel it is my duty to try to express in human language what we feel when remembering the great things we saw in London. When one day the history of this gigantic struggle will be written, the people of London and other blitzed British towns will be described as heroes. And heroes they were, those ordinary men and women who resolutely refused to play the part which the tyrant had allotted to them — and they won. Mankind will always be greatly indebted to them. The splendid behaviour of the people of London has greatly contributed to the firm belief in victory which we all share.

Only yesterday one of the leaders of these people, Mr. Attlee, said from this platform that it is not only the war we must win, but also the peace afterwards. A simple sentence, but a great and difficult task.

And as for our present work, let me say this: May we show even a small fraction of that tenacity, endurance, and determination in our work that the people of London have shown in those dark days of the heaviest bombardment, and our job must be crowned with success.

Now let me say a few words about my own people and about the struggle they are carrying on. A cruel fate has denied us the privilege to fight our common foe on the battlefields, but Czechoslovakia is not last among those who fight — not with less courage and determination — in a different way, which is very disagreeable to the enemy of the free nations. Sabotage in the factories, on the railways, and on the roads is a very useful weapon, which is greatly endangering the war effort of our enemy. It is again the common men and women who are heroes in this sort of warfare. We are also paying a heavy price for it. Our trade unionists, leaders whom some of you certainly knew, and the rank and file alike, are being executed daily. We shall never forget them.

This great struggle, ladies and gentlemen, is nothing else but the fight for the rights of all the common men and women all over the world. And they know it by now all over Europe at least as well as you all know it.

We often speak about social security, social welfare, etc. We must always realise that economic prosperity is the backbone of all those ideals which this organisation, the International Labour Office, is trying to achieve. The whole economic structure of the world is constantly changing and it is particularly the role of the State which — as our Acting Director states in his Report — is constantly becoming more and more important; and here lies the crux of the problem, to bring all the elements of our economic life into harmony and thus achieve the better life for all the members of human society.

But we must not only fight to defend these
democratic ideals which we deem sacred. Our difficult task is to keep our political democratic rights and also to obtain economic democracy as well. Our enemy is trying to build up a system — a system based on slavery and serfdom. And he knows precisely how to do it. We must erect a noble edifice of a real new order, based on justice and democracy, on the rights of the common people, instead of their subjugation. Are we quite clear how to do it?

Well, we realise that here lies the most difficult task. And I believe that here is an opportunity for the International Labour Office. This Organisation must do its share in this active programme which must be worked out.

The economic balance of the whole world has been shattered, and we are, I believe, only in the initial stages of this process. The immediate task is to prepare plans on how to prevent chaos when the forces which are now trying to shape economic and social life according to their own picture will be crushed. The starving and disorganised peoples of Europe must not be left to themselves when this moment arrives. They must be guided and helped in the same way as a patient who, after a serious illness, is trying to walk again. Otherwise, disastrous things may happen. We must not fall victims to the illusion that after a victory things will come back into the old ways again. They never will. Whatever is gone, is gone forever.

I believe that all the nations which are now fighting for our common cause, together with those which believe in the ideals as we do, should unite to make the necessary preparations. I believe that the International Labour Organisation should not only be present when the bases of the new order of things are laid down, but that it should have definite ideas what should be done and how. Could the Organisation do it now if called upon? This Organisation has survived all the difficulties with which undoubtedly the present and past situation have endangered its existence. It has proved its vitality. It must also prove — more than it has done up till now — its utility.

And this utility can be measured by one thing and one thing only — by the share it can contribute to the welfare of the common men and women, to the welfare of all the nations, to the welfare of all mankind.

Interpretation: Mr. MILOSH (Workers' delegate, Yugoslavia) — On the occasion of this Conference of the International Labour Organisation, in the name of the workers of Yugoslavia, I want to extend my warmest greetings to the workers’ delegates of the various nations represented at this important gathering and to those who, on account of war, have not been able to come. I want to stress that the workers of Yugoslavia are going through a period of criticism in their history, that they are always ready to sacrifice their lives for the high ideals of liberty and social justice.

Our country has been carved up by the enemies of free human life. It is the working population, the workers and the peasants, who are suffering most, whose labour is being used for various known and unknown designs of the ruthless conqueror. Our workers have become legions of slaves who have been sent to Germany to work in German factories and fields and keep the Nazi war machine going.

The workers of Yugoslavia, conscious of the ideals of social justice and social rights, have entered upon an open struggle against the aggressor and are now playing their full part in this gigantic battle against the forces of Nazism and Fascism.

The gains made by Yugoslav workers in respect of social legislation, health and accident insurance, conditions of work, have all been destroyed and the workers have been reduced to the status of slaves. Our leaders — those whom you have frequently seen at the Geneva meetings of this Organisation — are in the prisons and the concentration camps. We, representing the Seamen's Union of Yugoslavia, are here to raise our voices in protest and to give expression to the true desires of Yugoslav labour. We want to remind you that Yugoslavia has always been a loyal and faithful Member of the International Labour Organisation, and that Yugoslav workers have always taken a full share in the work of this institution. Yugoslavia is one of the very few countries where the decisions adopted at the Geneva meetings have been put into practice.

We, the workers of Yugoslavia, are confident that in our struggle, the struggle of our comrades who must bear the yoke of Nazi and Fascist occupation, we have on our side the workers of the free world as well as the workers of the oppressed countries. In that hope, speaking for the working people of Yugoslavia and for the working people of the Balkans, we bring to this international gathering the silent greeting of our oppressed brothers.

Interpretation: Mr. ALMADA (Government delegate, Uruguay) — In rising to speak in the name of the Uruguayan Republic, whose Government I represent, in the course of the discussion on the admirable Report which has been presented to us by the Acting Director, Mr. Phelan, I admit that I feel a certain hesitation. There are various reasons for this; one is the smallness of my country, another the magnitude of the other countries represented, and finally, there is the fear of tiring you.

I should like to express my hopes for the great success of this Conference, which is a challenge to the flames of war which encircle it. The Chancellor of my country, Dr. Guani, told me, when he gave me my instructions, that every effort must be made to save the work of international rapprochement from the flames of destruction which are raging throughout the world.

This Organisation was born as a twin sister of the League of Nations, but has been able to live longer than the League. The forces of aggression have placed their destructive heel on the international institution which had grown up in Geneva, and they thought that they had broken its spirit and left it lifeless. But in their criminal blindness, they did not realise that there were still those left who are capable of carrying on the work begun and maintaining the international community of free peoples.

We could say what Mr. Sieyès said when he was asked what he had done during the
Terror. "I lived," he answered. We too might have said, we also merely "lived". But, with our eyes fixed on those countries, large and small, which are blocking the way of totalitarianism — and not the least wonderful is this marvellous Republic which is now giving us its cordial hospitality — we have come here at the call of the International Labour Organisation to present our viewpoint for the defence of the democracies and, in the very midst of the battle, to begin the work indispensable for the economic and social reconstruction of the world. We have come to express our desire for international understanding and also to offer our mite to the common cause. We only ask to be allowed to contribute what we have.

Here and there in the brilliant Report prepared by Mr. Phelan there are references to the rise of new industries in the South American countries. These new industries will fill and are indeed already filling the vacuum which has been caused even in nations as economically powerful as the United States by the displacements necessarily resulting from their own military preparations and from the extensive aid which is being given to the belligerent nations. Our effort, that is, the efforts of my country and of the other countries of the South American continent, can apply itself to this form of economic substitution, but only on condition that the policy followed is adequate and appropriate from the technical point of view. It is not enough that all of us Uruguays should applaud the heroism of Britain and the virile attitude of Washington and that we should declare our solidarity with the martyrdom of the occupied countries. It is not sufficient that every day we sing a new hymn of praise of the democratic dogma. We must take more effective and more concrete action. Unfortunately, we cannot achieve useful, practical, and fruitful results without the technical and economic cooperation of the great economic countries of the world. We have, however, at our disposal an instrument in the International Labour Organisation and other bodies representative of international solidarity in the political, economic, and social fields; they are able to help us to find our way to the goal we have in view.

My small country has often been in the vanguard of social progress; for example, the eight-hour working day was introduced more than three decades ago, and protection through social insurance was initiated in 1838, eight years after the adoption of our first Constitution.

While we were flying above the Andes and the Panama Canal and the smiling meadows and fertile plains of North America, my Parliament was discussing the necessity of establishing a system of wage boards which would at the same time fix minimum wages and deal with the question of arbitration, through tripartite bodies, in disputes between employers and workers. A Bill has also been introduced to give the workers a right to paid holidays. These measures have been introduced on the initiative of the Minister of Labour and Industry, Dr. Canessa.

Speaking personally, I wish to express my own desire to collaborate and my own enthusiasm for the solution of these social problems. A plan has been evolved and will soon be carried out in practice whereby the social insurance institutions which I direct will have the assistance of technical bodies of the same tripartite character as this International Labour Conference. Even if these periodical meetings had no other value, the tripartite system is in itself no small achievement and of immense importance. Even if we disagree on many points at meetings like this, at least we can show that we have the will to get together and to understand one another, and at least we learn what is happening in other countries through the debates that we listen to.

There is another significance which I wish to give to this Conference. We see here what has been salvaged from the shipwreck of Geneva, and by our presence we show that we are ready to support the rebuilding of the social structure for the extension of democratic principles in all countries — those democratic principles which will one day ensure an equitable distribution of the material and cultural wealth of the world amongst all mankind, irrespective of nationality and latitude.

(The Conference adjourned at 1 p.m.)
REPORT OF THE ACTING DIRECTOR: DISCUSSION (concluded.)

The PRESIDENT — The Conference will continue the discussion on the Acting Director’s Report. Mr. Shaw, Argentine Government delegate, wishes to raise a point of order.

Mr. SHAW (Government delegate, Argentine Republic) — We have been assembled here now for well nigh a week and listened to a number of speeches, fine, remarkable. We have not much time ahead. I do think I am voicing the opinion of a number of fellow delegates in asking that speeches from now on be limited to six minutes; on the other hand, as undoubtedly very many fine speeches have been prepared which are worth while listening to and, more so, worth while remembering, I also propose that all the speeches which would have to be cut down be handed to the Secretariat, who will then publish and distribute them. I am sure in this way we will shorten our proceedings, have more time for work, and at the same time will not lose the benefit of all the careful thinking and writing which has been going on and which ought to have been delivered verbally.

Mr. BRUCE (Workers’ adviser, Canada) — While there may be a degree of merit in what the speaker proposes, still I feel that, in justice to those who are not present because there was an employers’ delegation and a workers’ delegation meeting this morning, the matter should be postponed at least until there is a full representation.

The PRESIDENT — Very well, then I will not ask the Conference to take a decision until later in the morning.

Mr. MOSTON (Government delegate, New Zealand) — I desire first of all to pay a tribute to the Acting Director, Mr. Phelan, for his very able and informative report. I quite appreciate the views expressed in the Conference this morning that speeches should now be short, and I intend to make mine very brief indeed.

My colleague, the Honourable Mr. Langstone, has already covered the ground very fully on the work that has been done in New Zealand both in our war effort and in bringing about better conditions in industry and also in establishing the fullest possible collaboration between the State, the workers’ and employers’ organisations.

At the same time, I would like to comment on the future policy of the International Labour Organisation, referred to in Part II of the Acting Director’s Report. We all agree that the first and paramount objective is to bring the war to a victorious conclusion. The speeches already made during these discussions leave no doubt as to the whole-hearted determination on the part of the democratic nations to collaborate in destroying those totalitarian ideas that have plunged the world into such bloodshed and misery, and there can only be one conclusion: that is, the ultimate victory over the powers that would subjugate countries into vassal kingdoms.

I have not the eloquence of previous speakers, nor, in any case, is it my intention to deal with the issues of war. I want rather to stress the need for preparation for a peace that will give to the world for all time freedom from all the horrors of war and that will give effect to the hopes expressed by the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom for the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field, so as to secure improved labour standards and economic advancement, and to ensure that all peoples can live out their lives in freedom from fear and want. We want clearer and more definite understanding between opposing forces, whether in the international economic or industrial field. We want the fullest opportunity to collaborate on all issues that will make for peace and human happiness.

I have already from this platform stated that the country of New Zealand, which I have the honour to represent, has gone far to foster the idea of collaboration between the Government, the workers’ and the employers’ organisations, and it is not necessary for me to repeat the measures that have been adopted, except to say once again that New Zealand has the
proud distinction of having introduced nearly fifty years ago, for the first time in the history of the world, the method of conciliation and arbitration as a means of collaboration between the State, the workers' and the employers' organisations in determining conditions of employment and in the settlement of industrial disputes.

The legislation was introduced as an experiment without any real anticipation of its ultimate growth. Yet, while changes have been made, some of them important, the main principles underlying the original legislation of fifty years ago are in the law to-day; and the fact that over ninety per cent of the workers who have come within the scope of the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act of New Zealand are to-day working under conditions prescribed either as a result of agreement of the parties, or by an award of the Court of Arbitration, is evidence of the general satisfaction felt with the conciliation and arbitration system.

I would like to join with the other speakers and emphasise the great responsibility that rests upon the International Labour Organisation at the present time, greater, perhaps, than at any time in its history. The Organisation should be given all the support and encouragement possible to enable it to adopt a strong and courageous policy in the formidable task of post-war reconstruction. It would indeed be unfortunate if, as suggested by the Acting Director on page 86 of his Report, the work of the International Labour Office were restricted or delayed because of the lack of finance. The Office should have the best technical experts and staff necessary to pursue without delay the tremendous task of collating all the evidence and information available. The war may last a long time, but it is not one moment too soon to proceed so that the Organisation can play its full part in establishing the new order as laid down in the Atlantic Charter, and for which so many of our brave people have given and are giving up their lives.

I feel confident that the Governments of those countries whose sympathies are with the International Labour Organisation and who have encouraged the ideals of collaboration in bringing about a greater justice and social order will see to it that the necessary funds are available so that the Office can carry on its work.

Interpretation: Mr. DOMENECH (Workers' delegate, Argentine Republic) — The war is creating all over the world a special situation which calls for the attention of Governments and peoples. Here the International Labour Organisation has a great part to play, which will demand all the loyalty and equity of which the forces of capital and labour and the organisations are capable. If this civilisation is to subsist and to progress, there must be understanding among men, transcending the special interests of party, language, race, and nationality; they must realise that they need each other, to make peace and democracy work, and to save the precious legacy of a hundred generations which have given us the type of life humanity has been able to attain.

The workers are the first victims of the war: because it is we who have given the flower of our youth to be sacrificed on the battlefields; it is we who are losing all our conquests and social reforms in the flood of destruction and death; it is we whose organisations and trade unions are losing their rights, as if the forces of reaction are in preference, at eliminating the conquests of the lowly.

When the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation affirms that labour must not be considered as an article of commerce, we have there in modern society the realisation of an ideal which is worthy of support in every corner of the civilised world. It means that the producers of social wealth are now given the recognition which was refused them until after the last war. It marks an advance, although some Governments and employers have been slow to follow it up, while not all workers have understood its great value as a means of obtaining their legitimate claims.

Labour has its own rights. Let Governments and employers realise that society can only be well organised when there is a large measure of right accorded to labour. It is also certain that peace will only be a reality when the workers are strong enough and free enough to work for higher ideals.

In the Argentine Republic, we have for long been working towards such an end. We cannot say, unfortunately, that we have achieved it as yet, but our trade unions are growing in numbers and responsibility and possess means of action which some day will lead to this. We have graduated from the high school of the revolutionary early days, to follow other roads more in accord with social understanding. In my country employers and workers, with the help of the State, have achieved this understanding so far as the large trade associations are concerned; but I must say that it should be still wider and more generous and should include every group.

We think that we have taken the right road. If we are to be able to continue in it, not only must the workers organise, but the Government should encourage and help us, looking with sympathy on the efforts that we are making, efforts that are in the interests of the nation, and the employers should cease to regard their privileges as sacrosanct and should understand the aspirations of their workers. Otherwise, the same thing will happen in America as we have seen in Europe.

America is young and must profit from the experience of Europe and not make the same mistakes. It must realise that so long as workers and capitalists do not understand each other, there will be disruption within the nation; and so long as nations do not understand each other and do not sincerely promote good neighbourliness and trade among themselves, there will be wars.

It is a duty that machinery should not displace man and condemn him to unemployment because new technical advances release humanity from toil as that some can have all the good in this world while others live in want. This anomaly must be abolished at the same time as war. We cannot let this state of things persist. We must use all our energies so that it will not.

We Americans are now beginning to understand...
stand the great value of the work allotted to us. We feel more than ever that we must do what Europe would not or could not do. The duty of Americans is to understand each other. We must now set about cultivating those international relations on this continent which have been somewhat neglected because each one of the countries was looking towards the Old World, was trading with the Old World, and getting its culture from the Old World. Present events will force America to discover itself, to expand its commercial interchanges, open its harbours and sail the seas, to intensify its agricultural and industrial production.

The workers have always proclaimed the principle of economic liberty. We have proved recently that our desires have not been in vain, since we have seen the achievements of the trade agreements between this great country and Argentina. It is to be hoped that this practice of trade agreements may be extended in this hemisphere.

As a basis for a fruitful and constructive policy for all the countries of the world, America must better its democratic regime and defend its freedom. The distribution of wealth, the right to live and to work may be reached by all alike and not remain the privilege of conquerors, or self-styled superior races. At this time, nobody can be deceived as to the real significance of this war. Here we have two systems confronting each other: on one side, the régime of the dictator, headed by Nazism and Fascism, and on the other side, liberal and democratic opinion in the world. The workers of Argentina, although far away from the scene of the fight, have already energetically and clearly expressed their full and unconditional support of those who are fighting for democracy and liberty. This is not a merely sentimental expression on the part of the Argentine workers, but it is based on the whole tradition of our country and on the principles defended by the great men of the Republic, not only as concerns internal policy but also in the international field.

I am sure that this feeling of the Argentine people is paralleled in all of the American nations, which are arriving at economic and social independence and civilisation, thanks to the action inspired by the living thought of San Martin, Moreno and Sarmiento in Argentina, of Washington and Jefferson in the United States, of Bolivar in Venezuela, of Hidalgo and Juarez in Mexico, and of O'Higgins in Chile, to cite only a few names. These democratic ideas of America, will, if circumstances so require, be defended, even to the sacrifice of our lives, since none of us can think of social riches, its free institutions, its conscience and, in mind, forging their own destiny. On the other hand, peace must be no fiction; real peace must be sincere, and therefore freedom of association, freedom of assembly, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, must be genuinely guaranteed, as they are guaranteed in the letter of the Constitution of many countries of America and of the world.

In conformity with these principles, which are basic to contemporary society and coincide with the thought of all Argentine workers, the Governments and employers will find in us efficient collaborators to build a better civilisation. If they adhere to this aspiration, I am sure that difficulties will be avoided not only internally but in the international field.

In these principles lies also the reason why the Argentine workers regard with great sympathy the International Labour Organisation, which is the only thing that has been saved since the conflict of 1914-1918. Our country has approved several international labour Conventions which have no doubt a great social value. But there are many others, which have not been ratified by Argentina, and even though the Report published by the Acting Director gives an impression of achievement, the Office cannot accomplish everything for which it was created. It is therefore necessary to study the methods through which its action can be made more positive and efficacious. The workers of America will have to assume their due responsibilities internally but in the international field.

The setting up of the Office in Argentina shows that this organisation can work only in peace and in labour. America has received it with open arms, and we all hope that this Organisation can continue to serve the interests of human progress. Also, we should be glad to see its influence spread in all the countries of the continent, making us all feel more directly the good effect of its decisions and its conclusions on the important problems which it must solve.

We applaud the ideas set forth by Mr. Phelan in his Report. We agree altogether and approve without reserve, since we feel that it is a faithful and complete survey of the development of human labour in the last few years, and that it interprets the aspirations of right-minded men when it draws attention to the essential points for the future, when we again enter on a period of peace.

America is generous and knows that the work is for humanity. But America must prepare for the time when the war will finish, and the time comes to feed the minds and the stomachs of the exhausted peoples. The International Labour Organisation, installed in this continent, will have to respond. It will have the greatest task ever assigned to any institution. It must have a decisive influence in constituting the society of the post-war world. It will be necessary to bring together the best intelligences, the best brains that the different nations possess in order to determine the legal, social, and political structure of a society in which hellicose adventure will be impossible.

Science must serve the advancement of civilisation, not destruction and barbarity. Governments will have to limit their functions to those which are most noble. The peoples must conserve their liberties and their right to choose their rulers. For their part, the workers will have to assume their due responsibilities in order to merit the respect and consideration of Governments and employers. They will do
so, and will take their rightful place as fundamental factors of social progress.

If we had not the courage to tackle this enormous programme, I warn you that we would be simply impotent witnesses of the end of contemporary civilisation, since the same situation as that with which we were unable to deal in 1918 will arise. We must show ourselves capable of building up the world which all of us here so ardently expect.

Interpretation: Mr. SUAREZ RIVAS (Government delegate, Cuba) — In rising to speak in the course of the discussion of the Report of the Acting Director of the International Labour Office, I am not merely actuated by the desire to make a speech but wish rather to take advantage of the opportunity thus offered to explain the position of the Government of my country with regard to the various questions which are so admirably presented in the Report.

Mr. Phelan divides his Report into two main parts. In the first of these, he analyses the political background, the economic background, and the social background of human life, and within each of these goes on to develop the idea of the recovery of the principle of human dignity, of justice and natural right; that is to say, the restoration of a genuine democracy based not on materialism, conventionalism, hypocrisy, and egotism, but on the law of love, justice, brotherhood, and peace in a régime of liberty; in other words, on the lofty democratic conception of life which, in the formidable historical antithesis of to-day, stands opposed to the totalitarian and neo-pagan conception: that is the mission of America. If she fails to fulfil it, she will be guilty of a crime against humanity.

America, by the ineluctable exigencies of the eternal law of order and of her spirit of humanity and democracy, never has been, is not, and never can be, neutral in this war, because it is not a war waged for local objectives and interests of a secondary nature, as previous wars have been, but a war waged by barbarianism against civilization, a war of acquired social gains against their absolute negation, a war unloosed for the conquest of the world and the reduction of all races and nations to slavery by an armed philosophy which aims at the reversal of all the moral and legal values on which human society rests, which denies all rights of the individual, absorbs him, and sacrifices him pitilessly to the terrible Moloch of the totalitarian State. Such a programme and such aims have only one meaning — aggression, and redoubtable aggression, against America and her fundamental institutions, against humanity in its vital principles. This is the reason why it is the duty of America to do what she is doing, what she has begun to do too late because she refused to take seriously the destructive programme of a philosophy. This I say is the reason, and not — be it said with due respect for the eminent gentlemen who conceived the idea — not that new conception of neutrality, both unnecessary and dangerous, which has been formulated by the Attorney General of the United States of America and submitted to the first Inter-American Conference of Lawyers, recently held in Havana.

This is the supreme reason for the imperative and urgent duty that lies upon America to be not merely the principal agent in the restoration of a better world in the future, but at the same time, the decisive instrument for the annihilation of those who have temporarily enslaved so much of the world and have taken possession of peoples and States, destroying their social achievements, in Germany, Italy, and other countries.

America is awaking to-day from a deep sleep. The cry of alarm, “Hitler is at the gates”, has echoed in her soul and has opened her eyes. She has looked around her and is now fully conscious of herself, of her duties, and of her lofty destiny. Her soul is moved to its depths in an intense longing for spiritual unity, forecasting that fundamental legal unity which is taking shadowy form and will become daily stronger and clearer, and also the future moral, social, economic, and political federation of all her peoples. America is a powerful potential unit of culture, although as yet the results of this formidable truth have not been fully appreciated.

To bring out the rich potentialities of the American soul, to mould them, for the good of her peoples and of all peoples of this kind, into legal institutions and formulas, to prepare and assist in the construction of the new order which must rule everywhere when, in the words of Mayor La Guardia, the forces of evil, powerful and rampant to-day, have been destroyed forever by the free men of the earth: that, Americans, is the lofty task which as peers of justice and right, it behoves us to perform at this critical hour of the world’s history.

Let us reveal the potentialities of the American soul, and its magnificence, to a world which finds itself to-day in a situation of the gravest peril. Let us put into practice whatever may help to remove in the political, in the economic, in the social, in the legal, or any other sphere, the supposed opposition between Latin America and Anglo-Saxon America which tendentious propaganda endeavours to use for its own ends.

We should at once organise a constant and effective interchange of all products of our culture among the peoples of this hemisphere and intensify mutual sympathy and knowledge of one another. Let us cultivate our home culture and cast off foreign culture, especially the Spanish, so far as it is lacking in real human and universal values. The members of the Council of Spanish Culture must realise that their labours must be in vain, because there is no common bond between their Spain and us, nor is understanding between us possible. We are separated by our respective conceptions of the world and of life. Those who have destroyed the Republic and enslaved the Spanish people must know, once and for all, that we repudiate the myth of race, and that nothing separates us from the United States of America, the British Commonwealth of Nations, and other democratic countries, because we have the same conception of life, of mankind, and of human rights, the same spirit and the same ideals.

We must pave the way for a political, economic, moral, and cultural inter-American federation, to facilitate a future universal fed-
eration of all peoples of the earth in a régime of international liberty and collaboration, similar to that inaugurated by the International Labour Organisation.

The President — A little earlier in the morning, when the attendance was very scattered, a proposal was made by Mr. Shaw of the delegation from Argentina that from this time on, delegates who rise to address their remarks to the Director's Report should confine themselves to six minutes; and because of the value and importance of the addresses which had been prepared, he proposed that the Secretariat should receive those speeches in full and print them for distribution to the delegates, so that full study might be given to the remarks and the comments which could not be made in person owing to the six-minute limitation. Because of the fact that the attendance was scattered at that hour, I did not ask the Conference to make it an order of business. If there is no objection—

Mr. Hallsworth (Workers' delegate, British Empire) — I object for one.

Sir John Forbes Watson (Employers' delegate, British Empire) — I also object.

The President — Is there a motion to put it to the vote?

Sir John Forbes Watson (Employers' delegate, British Empire) — I propose that the matter be left to the discretion of the President.

Mr. Moore (Workers' delegate, Canada) — Also with a request to the delegates that they try to take note of the evident desire of the Conference to limit speeches.

The President — As I understand it, then, it is left to my discretion, and my discretion is to refer the matter to the Selection Committee for a ruling which we may perhaps put into effect from to-morrow morning. But I do urge upon those who are yet to speak that it is now eleven o'clock on Friday morning. When we must finish the business of this Conference by Wednesday evening next, that very early sessions are taking place of the Workers' and Employers' groups and that late evening sessions are taking place among all sorts of groups here, and that the principal future work of this Conference has still to be done as we attempt to define what is our purpose in the present and in the post-war programme for the I.L.O. and for our participation and collaboration in building the details of a better world in the post-war period. So that when we come to the consideration of the resolutions. I feel we must have time enough and the comments which could not be made in person to refer to a six-minute limit. Beyond, and to confine myself to two or three observations which I think are essential, and on which I believe that the Conference ought to speak clearly.

The most important and interesting point and the very basis of the work of this Conference is the declaration that the post-war period must see and shall see a great effort towards progress and social justice. I know that there is no need in an assembly like this to stress the reality and the truth of this declaration for the countries at war. For the peoples who have known the horrors of war, there will not be enough progress and social justice. No social programme can be advanced enough to repay them, to compensate them for the sacrifices, the terrible sacrifices, that they have made during the war. Therefore, let us not discuss at length the proposals made to us: right to a minimum standard of living, social security, housing and wage policy: all that cannot make up for the sufferings endured.

But how to achieve all this? In my opinion, there are two points on which we must speak out. I am glad not to be speaking here as Minister of Foreign Affairs but as Minister of Labour. I shall be able to say more frankly what I think. I want to say to this Conference that in my mind, there is for the achievement of social justice one essential: that Britain and her allies win the war.

There is a sort of social progress — I do not say social justice, but a sort of social progress — which we do not want. It would be an error to say that Nazism has made no social reforms. On the contrary, the experiments carried out by totalitarian countries have taught us that certain social progress can be achieved under such a régime, but that the price paid is liberty and life. We do not want that kind
of social progress. One of the most magnificent things in this tortured world is the refusal of social progress by millions and millions of workers who need such progress, who need to better their conditions of work and life, but who, rather than pay this price, refuse to have anything to do with it and fight against it, fight against the régime which brings this social progress but which demands too high a price.

The war must be won by Britain and her Allies: that is the first point, and in saying that, I know that as representative of Belgium, representatives of a country now occupied by Germany, a country whose Government is in London and is taking part in the fight alongside the Allies, I feel that I have a duty to perform. I feel that here before the representatives of free countries I must pay to Britain and to the British people the tribute of my admiration and the tribute of my gratitude. For if one day we find our countries free, if one day after the war we are allowed to establish social justice and social progress within the framework of democracy and human respect, it will be thanks to England that we shall be allowed to do it. For six months of last year, Britain stood alone, abandoned by the whole world. Not only the British Army, but the British people as a whole, every one of them, held out resolutely against barbarism, all classes united, spending their nights in the shelters and in the subways. It is to their magnificent courage that we shall one day owe our liberty. Will this Conference have the courage to say that? I hope so, and I ask it to do so.

There is a second point. Everyone is agreed on social progress to-morrow. But may I say to you that I feel that everyone is a little too agreed? We are now in a realm where contradiction is almost impossible, for who would dare now, here, before the people and their heroism, who would dare to contest the necessity of social reform? But I fear that this Conference may miss the central point.

Social progress is an end, a result. Social progress will only be possible if the economic framework into which it must fit is created. Is the world which is ready and decided and agreed to give help to social progress, is it agreed as well to carry out — I do not wish to use a word which might frighten some people but it expresses fairly well what is in my mind — is the world ready to carry out the economic revolution which is absolutely necessary so that the social progress of to-morrow may be achieved?

By this discussion, which I believe is a discussion without opposition, we are going to promise the world and the working classes everywhere that to-morrow they will have a decent standard of living; we are going to tell them that we shall fight unemployment, that every unemployed worker will be helped. We are going to promise them social insurance, a housing policy.

May I ask you how we are going to do all this, and why, if the world is to remain the capitalist world of yesterday, we should have better results to-morrow than we did yesterday? Is the Conference ready to stress that the real problem is not to draw up a social programme, on which we are all agreed, but first to study the programme of economic transformation, or, if you like, revolution, which must be made if we are to be able to carry out this social programme? I do not think that to-day, to-morrow, Wednesday, next week, we can find a definite solution, but I would like at least to take one step forward, that we should decide that there is an essential obligation now to create — side by side with, or perhaps in, the I.L.O., in any case working in collaboration with it — the economic bodies which will enable us to study the economic world of to-morrow and to achieve our social programme. If, when we leave behind the Conference, we cannot say that we have surmounted the machinery which will enable us to study this essential problem, then our work will not have been useless.

I belong to a generation which entered political life immediately after the last war. At that time, I had no pity for my elders. I bore them a grudge for not having spared the world the horrors of war, and still worse, for having made a bad peace. To-day I am more indulgent. I am more modest. My generation has not known how to avert another war, a war which is far more horrible than the last one.

We have one chance of winning back our own self-respect. It is to achieve a peace which will ensure human progress. Let us act at once; we must not wait too long, because if as soon as the war is over, we do not enter on the right path, we shall return to all the errors of the last war and we shall have a third world war. We have no time to lose. It is not enough to talk. It is not enough to proclaim our ideals. We must act. I hope that before the end of next week, the Conference will have acted.

Mr. YU (Government delegate, China) — As a Government delegate from China, may I express my profound appreciation of this opportunity to join my fellow delegates in the deliberations of this Conference. Looking into the past commendable work of the I.L.O., I am certain that my fellow delegates will share with me my admiration of the excellent task performed by Mr. John G. Winant during the years when he was our Director. While we regret that we have been deprived of his personal guidance, we find consolation in that he is now representing one great democracy in another democracy. In a larger measure, he is working for the same cause; in spirit he is with us even at this moment. We recall with genuine satisfaction that he directed the affairs of the I.L.O. with wisdom and tact when the policy of bringing social and economic justice to the workers of the world was supported and reaffirmed.

It also gives me pleasure to speak of the work done by our Acting Director, Mr. Edward J. Phelan, who assumed his heavy responsibilities at a critical time of our Organisation, namely at a time when its destiny was hanging in the balance and when half of the world was aflame. He carried on the work of the I.L.O. with quiet courage and ability and prevented it from being frustrated and destroyed by the seemingly unsurmountable difficulties that war conditions had created. His successes are known to the Governments, employers, and workers alike of every country that is represented here. After reading Mr. Phelan's Report, especially that
section concerning the reconstruction work when peace is restored, I cannot but voice my opinion that it is one of the best reports we have had. It is clear, concrete, and realistic. It is a blueprint for the future. It points out the road we have to follow and does not underrate the tremendous obstacles that we have to encounter and overcome. The section on future policy in his Report is of particular value. Let us all strive for the social reforms therein suggested.

Moreover, I consider that we are particularly fortunate in having this year Secretary Perkins as our Chairman. The ability, earnestness, and charm with which she steers the activities of the Conference is only a logical expression, and a natural counterpart, of her experience in and knowledge of social and economic affairs. Needless to say, her contribution to the Conference and her amiable personality will be remembered by all of us long after the Conference is over.

Finally, may I pay tribute to Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, a leader of intellectual freedom of our time, and a man of men endowed with an international mind. I am told that within two months’ time he will celebrate his eightieth birthday. In voicing my appreciation of his hospitality and that of one of the world’s most liberal homes of learning, of which he has been the head for decades, I, as an alumnus of Columbia University, wish him good health and many happy returns.

In the mind of some well-meaning individuals, this Conference may not seem to be very significant because of the peculiar and uncertain conditions all over the world. But it appears to me that its significance cannot be overemphasised, if we only realise that we are consulting each other with one conviction, which constitutes the foundation of the happy relationship between the employer and the employees, namely, the conviction that we individually and collectively must strive to destroy the evil influences of aggressor nations. It goes without saying that neither labour nor capital can find peace and justice in a world dominated by force. Consequently, this hall may be considered not merely an ordinary meeting place; it may also be considered a shrine before which the representatives of all peace and freedom loving countries may pledge their sacrifices. No international conference that I know of has had the heart for decades, I, as an alumnus of Columbia University, wish him good health and many happy returns.

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The struggle between good and evil is as old as human history itself. We who are born in this generation and are privileged to take sides in this gigantic battle for human civilisation have every reason to be proud of our sacrifices for good and against evil. The challenge of the time is to sacrifice to the utmost, our lives if necessary, in order to save freedom from enslavement, democracy from tyranny, right from wrong. My people, country, and Government have been answering that challenge during the past ten years, ever since the so-called Manchurian Incident took place, and have been shedding blood more than four years, ever since the advent of the so-called China Incident. During all these trying years our morale grows higher and higher as war against aggression goes on. Why? It is simply because we are determined to sacrifice and sacrifice willingly for the existence of our nation, for the freedom of our people and, Providence knows, for the democratic cause of the whole world.

Our great leader, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, knew at the outset that aggression must not be condoned and tyranny could not be appeased. It was with this realisation that he decided to resist Japanese aggression to the bitter end. I am happy to testify that in spite of the kaleidoscopic changes in international affairs prior to and during the Second World War, China has never wavered and has never taken a backward step. More than ever before we have complete faith and confidence that the final victory will be ours.

Speaking of our willingness to make sacrifices, may I remind you of the heroic trek of the students from the coastal regions to the interior, literally carrying their universities on their backs, and of the mass migration of untold millions travelling hundreds of miles on foot from the occupied areas to free China. You may also recall the unbelievable evacuations of Nanking and Hankow, with practically every piece of machinery that it was humanly possible to carry away. Sheer human labour managed to bring even a steam boiler from the powerhouse of Nanking to the interior. The Burma Road, 750 miles in length, was built in the record time of ten months, not by modern implements but literally by workmen’s finger-tip. On that road, flow into China more than 15,000 tons of much needed supplies every month.

All these have taught us one valuable lesson—that human elasticity, determination, and sacrifice can perform seeming impossibilities. I respectfully submit this lesson to all friendly nations in their dark hours for their ponderance and encouragement.

Of these experiences of painful sacrifice, we have, also, discovered that peace and justice are not possible without complete realisation of the harmonious progress of all social, political, and economic activities. In this connection, permit me to point out the happy experiment we have had with the Industrial Co-operatives. Two years after the commencement of our war of resistance against Japanese aggression, most of our factories and modern industries in the coastal regions were destroyed by the invader. But no sooner had they been destroyed than a great network of industrial co-operatives in free China began to set their wheels in motion. At the beginning there were only 246 such co-operatives, but by the spring of this year that number was already increased to 1,664—some of which exist behind the Japanese lines. Because of this new phase of our war economy, work was found even thrown out of employment, a great variety of foodstuffs and other goods were produced. All in all, the movement helps to build an industrialised New China during and after the war.

Our Government has not only supported this movement but also initiated various social
reforms in face of the ruthless bombing by the enemy. Before the opening of hostilities, our Government had only one office of minor importance dealing with social and labour affairs. But now it has a Ministry of Social Affairs with many experts on labour problems and legislation. Measures for according to the workers more equitable social, economic, and political status have been adopted, and measures for attaining a higher degree of industrial democracy are being contemplated. For example, as recently as January of this year our Government presented regulations to adjust wages of workers in accordance with the living conditions of their locality. To-day even workmen who are driven away from their work into dugouts during air raids receive equitable compensation for their lost hours.

From the foregoing, it is clear that the Chinese Government, the employer, and the employee have worked in complete union during the war and have achieved singular successes, because they all realise that they have a common national enemy to face. Let us hope that all the democratic freedom-loving Governments, employers, and employees represented at this Conference will resolve to cooperate in face of deadly international enemies. It is true that in carrying out full collaboration, one group or another may have to suffer temporary sacrifices, but let us recognise the indisputable fact that such temporary sacrifices are made only for their common and more lasting interests. Social justice is indivisible.

If we are to profit by this Conference more than by any other Conference held heretofore, we must not merely pledge ourselves to carry out what is so ably recommended in the Acting Director's Report, but also to bring home with us that conviction that during this period of international crisis, we, as representatives of Governments, employers, and workers, are above all freedom-loving citizens of the world, fighting shoulder to shoulder against aggression, injustice, and enslavement. It is all-important to plan for post-war reconstruction. But it is far more important that we win the war for humanity and accomplish the task that will be a noble monument for unborn generations to come.

Interpretation: Mr. LAMURAGLIA (Employers' delegate, Argentine Republic) — This Conference is taking place in very special circumstances. Some countries already involved in the war, others on the brink of entering it; some occupied, others still neutral: that is the real composition of the International Labour Conference, and it is with that in mind that we must consider the question of collaboration which is the only question on the agenda of the Conference.

I have listened with great interest to the various speakers who have preceded me, and have been very glad to observe their unanimity in regard to their desire to study how to stabilise the economic and social system. We must, however, take account of the real situation in each country. It is impossible to establish a really satisfactory comparison between conditions in the different countries. Nor is it possible to compare nominal rates of wages. One must take into account the actual cost of living.

The nominal figures of wage rates are in themselves meaningless unless we take into account such things as the cost of food, housing, clothing, and so on. Every country follows its own historical process of evolution, and this is naturally reflected in the social order. Co-ordination occurs when all aspects of the life of a country are harmonised together. Progress therefore must be parallel and simultaneous. There must be a gradual and general improvement in conditions: population, for instance, must be increased, standards of living must be raised, conditions of employment must be improved. Each Government must take sane and reasonable steps to accelerate this evolutionary process for the benefit of its people. But the measures taken must not be of a purely demagogic character.

I do not think that the most effective thing that the International Labour Organisation could do would be to propose identical solutions for all countries. It will make a real and positive contribution by analysing the means of bringing about social improvement, and trying to adjust them to the needs of each individual country.

Slavery has been definitely eliminated and nobody in America wants to return to it. Social conditions are sometimes more and sometimes less satisfactory, but no one can be called a slave. If there is some degree of social backwardness, this is partly the fault of the blindness of political leaders.

Present experience is showing that we ought to give no less attention to perfecting the machinery of peace than we give to perfecting that of war. To do this might be less costly and more useful to humanity. To-day more than ever, each State should be prepared to consider its own problems in connection with those of other peoples. We must take steps once and for all to give full satisfaction; we must face the situation frankly and with determination and not take half measures.

Social and economic problems should be our chief concern. Our main object should be to secure agreement-concerning economic and international conditions as they affect each country. The Governments should show real and obvious good will in attempting to reach such international agreements.

In the difficult circumstances in which we are meeting, we must weigh our words carefully so as to help this valuable institution instead of hindering it.

It is now more than ever essential to maintain the idea of the universality of the Organisation's work and decisions. This is my profound conviction, and I am speaking on behalf of the Argentine employers. It was because I agreed with them in regard to this that I agreed to represent them, being sure that I would find here others who concur in my view.

The present time is full of uncertainty. Many questions remain unanswered and heaven knows when we shall find the right answers and the right solutions. Meanwhile, the peoples are going through an experience of the greatest suffering and misery.

Those in charge of the International Labour Office realise the responsibilities of the present time and wish to find the most satisfactory so-
lutions for the world's problems. It is impossible to foresee how the problems that concern this Organisation will develop, but it is possible that they may develop in ways that at present we do not suspect. We ought therefore at least to try to influence the way in which they will develop, so far as we can. If we do this, we shall avoid the shocks that were experienced in this respect after 1918. We must congratulate the International Labour Office on having brought us together here and on the efforts it has made to bring as many countries here as possible. We are sorry that some countries that have always made a valuable contribution should be absent—for reasons we all know.

Our Acting Director, Mr. Phelan, has once again shown his profound knowledge of the problems that concern us. His Report shows this. I have read it with great interest, and we all should read it with great interest. In the technical part of the Report, he analyses in detail all the features which influence the economic and social life of the various countries affected directly or indirectly by the war. Chapter III is a valuable contribution and should be considered by Governments and the authorities. It demonstrates the universal character of the International Labour Organisation. The employers of the Argentine Republic, like those of all countries having a sense of responsibility, do not pretend, in a critical time like the present, to be able to accept a single solution for all social problems. We have adapted ourselves to circumstances in a realistic and efficacious manner.

Two recent facts justify what I say. A large number of the employers of my country, realising how the cost of living has risen, have spontaneously offered an increase of ten per cent, in wages. All employers whose business is in a state that enables them to do so have fallen in with this proposal. The other fact is that the Industrial Union of the Argentine Republic, as an institution which includes all the important employers, after a careful consideration by its technical experts, submitted to Parliament a bill for the creation of a pension fund for all salaried employees and manual workers. We hope that our Parliament will consider it favourably.

These two facts should clearly indicate to you the position of the Argentine employers. They are prepared frankly and faithfully to collaborate in the solution of social problems on a practical basis.

I should like to close without expressing our satisfaction at the appointment of Miss Perkins as President of this Conference. Her profound knowledge of social problems and her human sympathy make her a perfect President.

Interpretation: Mr. RODRIGUEZ ANEIROS (Workers' delegate, Uruguay).—In the name of the workers of Uruguay I congratulate the International Labour Office on having brought us together in this Conference and given us the opportunity to discuss the problems which affect the relations between Government, employers, and workers, and in addition, to try to find equitable solutions for these problems in the period of martyrdom through which the world is now passing, in the midst of the terrible war let loose by Nazi-Fascist aggression.

As far as concerns Uruguay, I can say that the announcement of this Conference aroused great interest among workers and the Government, and we hope, that this great assembly would find an answer for the problems with which the peoples of the world are faced today.

This Conference is a symbol. In these days in this Western Hemisphere, in the United States, we are bringing together Government, employers' and workers' delegations to discuss labour problems and free collaboration. Would this be possible anywhere in the territory dominated by the new barbarians of the modern era?

As regards the questions raised in the Report presented by the Acting Director, we consider that this Conference will be able to arrive at positive results as far as it goes to the strength of the problem and is able to give a positive answer to the question which is now tormenting humanity.

I believe that I am expressing the wish and the feeling of everyone when I say: Of what use would be the good resolutions of the I.L.O. if the world is to groan under the Nazi heel? What would remain of all this apparatus for protection of labour? What would become of the I.L.O. be in a Nazi world? To ask these questions does not mean that we are not interested in the problems of collaboration and reconstruction of the post-war period. But these questions lead us immediately to another, which is fundamental at the present time. Can the Conference of the I.L.O. play a decisive part in crushing Nazi-Fascism as quickly as possible?

If the Member States of the I.L.O. here present accept collaboration, it means that they accept democracy; and it has been shown that, in these times, democracy is not something which one simply accepts but it is something one defends even with the life of each individual and with the blood of whole peoples.

Obviously, we know that we cannot speak of reconstruction until we have made an end of Nazism and Fascism. The sooner Hitler is crushed, the fewer and simpler will be our problems of reconstruction after the war.

Churchill and Roosevelt, in their Atlantic meeting, discussed first how to crush Nazism, how to help their ally, Russia, and in relation to this, how to act after the war. The Eight Points are historical. These two statesmen and strategists understood that even the strength was not enough. In Moscow, during the bloodiest battles of history, the Conference between the three Powers sealed the pact of an alliance of the three greatest States in the world in their fight for liberty. There is more. The trade unions of Great Britain, as represented here by Mr. Hallsworth, have made an alliance with their brethren, the workers of the United States, and have promised to fight until the end, until the cannibals have been crushed.

As a worker, I should like to see this Conference pay tribute to these three supremely important acts. This cannot be and is not, of course, a problem foreign to this Conference, as is clear from the speeches of delegates of the countries which have been overrun by Fascism or which are fighting Fascism. What
did Major Attlee say who represents the great British Government? "Let no one be deceived as to the magnitude and scope of the danger that threatens our civilisation. Hitler's New Order is only a phrase for the enslavement and exploitation of mankind in the interests of a gang of ruffians. All planning for a world of peace and social justice is just-lost labour unless Hitlerism is destroyed."

And the same ideas have been put before us by Mr. Spaak, in his morning speech yesterday, by the workers', employers', and Government delegates of the countries whose independence has been destroyed by Hitlerism.

It is as a sign of war to the death against Fascism that we, the workers of Uruguay and of the whole continent, have thought of this Conference, and as workers, we are still full of hope that the Conference can quickly arrive at a basic agreement on the problem on which all necessary level and allow us, however various, must coincide, that is to say, the expulsion of the cannibals of Nazi-Fascism from civilised life.

We say that only traitors, those who have sold their national sentiments for thirty pieces of silver, can refuse to participate in the work that President Roosevelt has called the salvaging of civilisation. Because we workers know that it is this struggle for our social conquests and the independence of our nations are at stake; because in our country we have seen in concrete form the danger of Nazi-Fascist Fifth Columns and have discovered and fought their machinations which were intended to rob us of our independence and our liberties; because, from the earliest times of our history, we have the shining example of Artigas, Washington, San Martin, Bolivar, O'Higgins, Marti and others, who gave their lives to the cause of the fight against oppression; because of all this, the working class is ready to do its share in crushing the greatest enemy of the independence of the peoples of America and the whole world.

Naturally, the workers will expect from the other groups represented here the same measure of sacrifice and of effort. It is because we think of this national and continental unity based on a true internal democracy that we, the workers, look forward with optimism to the future, because we are sure that this unity will make us invulnerable on the battlefield, will promote the opening of a new front which will help to smash Hitlerism, will raise production to the necessary level and allow us to give the help needed by our allies in Russia, England, China, those people who are fighting for their liberties and for ours. This clear and definite struggle is the only way to establish a world of peace, well-being, and social justice.

As a worker and as an American, in leaving this platform, I can only quote the words recently said to me by the Chief of the Confederation of Workers of Latin America, Comrade Lombardo Toledano: "In the New World, let us help to create the new world of the future."

Mr. dos SANTOS CORRÊA (Workers' delegate, Brazil) — I should like as a representative of the Brazilian workers to place on record my greetings to the workers of this gigantic industrial country, assuring them that we, in my country, will watch with the greatest sympathy the development of events in the social and labour world, not only in this enormous democratic community but also in all countries in the world, seeing that the workers of all countries, whatever may be their national flag or the political system to which they are subject, will always be united by their common economic objectives, thus making of the workers of the whole world one single family.

In accordance with the programme for this Conference, which includes the study of methods of collaboration between the State, the employers, and the workers in the solution of economic and social problems, I wish to submit to the consideration of the delegates here present a study on a social reform that has already been approved and adopted by the majority of civilised countries, the right to annual holidays. It appears, as a matter of fact, that, instead of proposing some new reform to be won by the workers, I should come here to submit a study on a question that is already considered as solved in all countries. Certainly, if there is any labour reform in respect of which all — Governments, employers, and workers alike — are in agreement, that reform is undoubtedly that of annual holidays. But there is generally a gulf between legislation and the application of specific items of social legislation. No person of good faith can deny the humanitarian spirit that inspired legislators when they drew up the laws concerning annual holidays. But, unfortunately, there exist everywhere reactionary elements which, obstinately refusing to understand the times in which we live, resist to every measure of preventing the execution, not only of this, but of all reforms that aim at improving the miserable standard of living of the workers. However, as you will see shortly, I am not going to consider this important question merely from that angle, but more especially with reference to the necessity of extending the system in such a way that the simple law regarding annual holidays may be transformed into a powerful instrument for the intellectual, physical, cultural, and civic progress of the working masses throughout the world.

Almost all civilised nations have already adopted that humanitarian form of legislation that concerns annual holidays, considering such a holiday indispensable to the proper working of the human organism inasmuch as it allows it to recuperate the energy lost in a year of work. It appears, as a matter of fact, that it is incomplete and has not achieved its proper object, precisely because, in the majority of cases, instead of affording the coveted rest to the workers, what happens is exactly the reverse. Why is this? It is because the unfortunate workers, receiving absurdly low wages for the most part, do not possess the resources of which the more prosperous classes dispose and which enable them to enjoy their holidays in splendid watering places or magnificent holiday homes.

As a result, we frequently find that many workers return to work before they have exhausted the statutory period of their holiday.
Could any more convincing proof be offered of the failure of this particular social reform? What is the reason for this strange fact? It is that the worker, not having the financial resources that would enable him to leave the town where he works, is obliged to remain there; as he has nothing to do, the days seem interminable, so he decides to kill time by taking a drink here and there. As he is in a position to sleep during the day, he starts to spend his nights in dissipation, often in sordid dens where he fills himself with alcohol, with syphilis, and, not infrequently, gets to know undesirable elements who may drag him down to the path of crime and degradation. At the end of his holidays, he returns to work financially ruined, morally disillusioned with the advantages of the social reform in question, and physically more exhausted than ever. That is what the splendid, the magnificent, the much vaunted privilege of annual holidays has come to mean in practice.

Consequently, there is no reason for surprise if many workers prefer to receive the amount of their wages for the holiday period in cash instead of actually taking the holidays, and although this is a flagrant breach of the spirit of the law, it is nevertheless, for the reasons that I have set out, fully justifiable.

For workers with families, who are the very ones who should be most favoured by the community, the situation is still more precarious, because, financially speaking, the likelihood of their being able to go to a holiday or convalescent home is still more remote, even in the case of proletarians who are not at the bottom of the scale and are receiving relatively good wages.

It is therefore urgent that a practical solution should be found for this most important problem, and the only possible solution is undoubtedly to establish national holiday institutes.

These institutes, which should be regulated by federal legislation and administered autonomously, should have as their special object to enable the workers to enjoy their holidays in appropriate premises, in an excellent climate, with all modern conveniences, for a price within limits which the humblest worker can afford.

For this purpose, special holiday colonies should be created at high altitudes for workers from low-lying districts, and others at the seaside for those who live higher up.

Physical culture and athletic activities in general would be carried on in fields, swimming baths, gymnasium, etc., prepared in advance. Education, in its most general sense, should be fully supplied by means of lectures, the educational cinema, libraries, etc. Medical and dental care should be supplied free of charge. The physical condition of the workers should be checked by means of individual cards when they come in and when they go out of the colonies, and special statistics would be established on the basis of these cards.

All the workers must pass their holidays in such colonies, for which purpose the Government should adopt special legislation to make a stay in such colonies so attractive and inviting that the workers would not hesitate to go to them.

The holiday colonies should be formed in wide areas of fertile land, in a first-class climatic situation. Such land may be acquired by purchase or by gift.

Experimental agricultural stations should be established in these lands, so that, while the agricultural workers of the neighbourhood are being taught the elements of agriculture, all the produce necessary for feeding the staff may be derived from the immediate locality.

Every possible step to make the colonies self-sufficient must be taken, such as utilisation of water power, cattle breeding, and so on, etc., so that the cost of maintenance of the workers shall be the lowest possible.

The cost of holidays in the colonies would be fixed in proportion to the cost of living in the district in which each respective colony is established, taking into account any special reduction due to the production of foodstuffs in the colony itself, wherever this is the case.

In Brazil, the Commercial Employees' Union of Rio de Janeiro has acquired by gift a large piece of land near the city of Friburgo, well known for its excellent climate and the beauty of its scenery. The cost of the holiday of a worker in this district, for a total of seventeen days, including return railway ticket, is reckoned as likely to be less than the tiny sum of 200 milreis — about $10 in United States money — seeing that the land belonging to the colony suffices to produce everything that the colony needs and even enough to sell to outsiders.

The estimated total cost of annual holidays would be divided over the twelve months of the year. The cost may be recovered by three methods: (a) by the payments of the worker alone; (b) the worker and the employer each paying half; (c) the employer paying the whole.

In view of the fact that the cost of a stay in a holiday colony is not very high, as has been seen, and taking into account the fact that payment therefor is made in small monthly instalments, it would be desirable that the cost should be borne by the employer, so as to enable the Government to lay down indirectly that it is compulsory for all workers to take a holiday in the colony in question; since even though they themselves may not be able or may not wish to pay for such a holiday, the sum in question would be taken from a special fund, the method of organising which will be explained presently. The monthly contributions in question may be collected by the retirement institutes, pension funds, etc., at the same time as the other contributions that they collect.

The holiday colonies, once they have been established throughout the whole country, will enable the worker in any one district to take his rest in another, provided that the worker himself is prepared to pay the difference in the cost of travelling. It would be superfluous to refer to the effects of this fact from the point of view of a social and patriotic interchange among the citizens of any given nation.

The sum corresponding to holidays not actually taken by the workers, added to that produced by the colonies, would be applied to meet the cost of journeys from workers to those friendly nations which also possess an identical system of social organisation.

The execution of this plan should not be re-
Let us consider, for instance, what its execution would signify in merely one city (that is, Rio de Janeiro), and in respect of only one single group of workers (commercial employees). According to the latest statistics, there are in the city of Rio de Janeiro at the present moment about 200,000 commercial employees. Let us suppose that of this total 150,000 agree to spend their holidays in the colony of Fri-burgo already mentioned. We should then have an average of 6,250 workers every fortnight enjoying together the pleasure of their holidays; and this is the population of a small town. These workers, during the days that they spend in the colony, will be receiving a considerable dose of education by means of lectures, educational cinematograph, etc. When they return to their work, their intellectual and cultural standard will naturally have risen, and they will have quite a different attitude towards life.

Now let us imagine that this is to take place not merely in respect of the commercial employees in the city of Rio de Janeiro, but in respect of all the workers in Brazil, including the agricultural workers. Would not this involve a sudden and startling rise in the cultural, intellectual, and patriotic level of that nation? Besides, there is the material progress that these thousands of holiday colonies would involve for the whole country, because their buildings being, as they should be, sufficiently spacious and modern to house a large number of workers, with their gardens, swimming pools, playing fields, would fill with life and enchantment districts which hitherto have been slumbering in the lethargy of oblivion. The truth is, the coming of the colonies would transform deserts into cities. Moreover, the experimental agricultural stations would bring rational and scientific methods of agriculture to every corner of this gigantic country, so that, in a short time, the new generation of skilled agricultural workers would enormously increase the country's production. And all this would take place with the blessing of millions of persons, without the State having to spend a single cent, because the necessary constructional work would be done by means of long-term loans granted by the retirement institutes and redeemed by the national holiday institutes.

Let us extend the horizon of our ideas still further. Let us suppose, now, that this plan is carried out not merely by Brazil, but by all the countries of the Continent. Then we should have groups of workers, in all American countries, spending their holidays, for instance, in the United States, and vice versa, so that there would arise a new and attractive version of the policy of good neighbourhood, so opportunely recommended by the illustrious President of the United States.
the recent meeting in Moscow between representatives of the United States, England, and the Soviet Union, to establish the necessary collaboration for sending war material immediately.

That, however, is not enough. Hitler has been able to concentrate all his military effort in the East, because so far the necessary effort to create a second front has not been made, and so he has not been obliged to divert part of his armies and of his war machine elsewhere. The victory for which we are all hoping would come more quickly if the Nazis were obliged to fight on more than one front. A second front must and can be created as quickly as possible. The defeat of Nazism depends more than ever on the military effort of the countries which are fighting in self-defence against Hitler. It is now or never. To-morrow may be too late.

If the International Labour Organisation wishes to make a real contribution to social and economic reconstruction after the war, it cannot close its eyes to these problems, which are the key to all others. To assist with all our resources and with all our strength the countries which are carrying on a just war against Nazism is a fundamental task which must be achieved-leaving peace and securing respect for the independence of the nations and social security for the workers, for making social justice a living reality, instead of an empty phrase, for all the countries of the world.

I should also like to refer to other points in the Report of the Acting Director of the International Labour Office, particularly in regard to the economic difficulties arising out of the war owing to the closing of European markets for Latin American countries, including Cuba, whose exports have dwindled, so that the economic situation of our peoples has been very adversely affected. The Acting Director refers to the efforts being made to develop commercial relations among the American countries in order to solve this problem. In this connection the policy of co-operation among the countries of this hemisphere is of vital importance, and the closest possible collaboration between all these countries is absolutely essential, not merely in a military respect, but also in the economic and social sphere. The countries of Latin America, with their single-crop economic systems which are almost entirely controlled by foreign capital, are solely producers of raw materials, and their economic standard is extremely low. Social justice and real democracy depend in those countries on a vigorous policy for the improvement of wages and the conditions of life and work of the largest and most exploited sections of the proletariat, that is, the workers in agriculture, and for the development of national industry.

The raising of the standard of life for the millions of men who are living in truly wretched conditions, without food and without work, cannot be realised unless the advantages which the countries of this hemisphere obtain through trade agreements or credits benefit not only large companies, but the whole working population.

We have had an opportunity of listening to the speakers of various countries, represented in this Conference, where no democratic liberty exists and where the workers' movement is completely unable to carry on any activities owing to the repressive measures taken by those Governments. They come here and they make fiery speeches about social justice and declare their devotion to democracy, whilst in their own countries there is absolutely nothing of what they proclaim here. They talk of democracy for export, but internally they employ the methods of Hitler against the labour movement. In those countries there is no freedom of association or of speech, no collective bargaining, no right to strike, no social legislation to protect the workers. That is why we do not want speeches in favour of democracy. We want deeds, and we want the workers' movement to be able to develop freely in all countries of Latin America.

The effective fight against Fascism demands an energetic and unifying struggle in every country of this continent against the agents of the Axis and its instruments in Latin America, such as the Spanish Phalanx. They are the Nazi Fifth Column in our countries. We agree with the declaration of Vicente Lombardo Toledano, President of the Confederation of Workers of Latin America, supporting the United States blacklist and demanding that all undertakings and properties belonging to agents of the Axis should be nationalised. The defence of the American continent and effective aid to the countries struggling against Hitler can only be realised successfully on the basis of real unity among the countries of this hemisphere, and, in the first place, we need unity in the field of labour, but without sacrificing any of our fundamental rights or principles.

We wish to state that the Cuban proletariat, which feels itself closely bound up with the fate of the workers' movement and the people of the United States, considers that the establishment of labour unity in this continent and throughout the world is very seriously jeopardised by the fact that the C.I.O. is not represented in this Conference on the same footing as the A.F. of L. We should be warmly pleased if the workers of North America belonging to the A.F. of L., the C.I.O., and the Railroad Brotherhoods could find a basis of joint action for the defence of their common interests, which are also ours. We should object to seeing the independence of the trade union movements of Latin America denied, the vast majority of which are freely grouped in the Latin American Workers' Confederation. We welcome the negotiations that have taken place between the trade unions of England and of the Soviet Union. That will be a valuable contribution to labour unity throughout the world and will help the workers to destroy their mortal enemy, Nazism. I hope that the workers of my country, of Argentina, Mexico, Chile, and the whole of Latin America, of the United States, China, and the other countries, can find a way to unite in the same way with the English and the Soviet trade unions to secure the victory.

These are the fundamental problems which in our opinion face us at the present time. If this Conference of the International Labour Organisation is to be able to serve as a means of creating among us a better understanding of these problems, it will help the common cause of all countries and contribute to a better future, once Hitler has been routed, and will lay the
Mr. MONK (Workers' delegate, Australia) — As one of the delegates who has probably travelled the longest distance to attend this Conference — some 12,500 miles — to represent a comparatively small population of seven million people, but inhabiting a country the equivalent in size of the United States of America, I join the delegates who have already addressed the Conference in paying tribute to the Governing Body, and particularly the officers and staff of the Organisation, for providing the opportunity for our meeting together in such a troublous period to thrash out our present problems and endeavour to plan for the future of mankind.

I similarly would like to express my appreciation to Mr. Phelan and his staff on behalf of the trade union movement of Australia for the preparation of his two most admirable Reports presented to this Conference. These Reports, containing as they do such a wealth of information and thoughtful suggestions for the future improvement of our social system and better collaboration, as the trade union movement in Australia, like the collective workers' organisations in all other free countries, stands whole-heartedly behind the Governments of the remaining democratic free countries, stands whole-heartedly behind the Governments of the remaining democratic free countries, and all other countries which perform or are detrimentally economically affected as a result of the war, can only be satisfactorily and lastingly adjusted by a guarantee and fulfilment of social security for everyone.

I viewed with intense satisfaction the Churchill-Roosevelt Atlantic Charter and felt with pride the embodiment of Clause 5 in that declaration, assuring social security to the workers. I refrain from addressing this Conference prior to the speech delivered by the Right Honourable Clement Attlee, Lord Privy Seal of Great Britain, in the belief that he would on behalf of the British Government, give us a profound message on two important aspects of our work.

The first which I anticipated would be dealt with was the future of the I.L.O., its preservation and extension, the assistance it could hope to receive from the British Parliament, and the second, an elucidation of Clause 5 of the Churchill-Roosevelt Atlantic Charter. I regret that his otherwise estimable speech was not sufficiently explicit on these two important issues. The future of the I.L.O. depends upon the good-will and continued support of the two major component parts of the I.L.O. (Great Britain and the United States), and I look forward with hope to a frank and free statement of these countries' adherence to the Organisation, their recognition of the full implications of their commitments under Clause 5 of the Atlantic Charter Declaration, the measures they propose to adopt to deal with post-war reconstruction, and the lines of investigation and action they consider should be pursued by the other thirty-one countries represented at this Conference to bring about world economic security.

The attainment of social security for the workers seems to me to fall under three progressive stages of fulfilment: (a) the immediate improvements which should and can be brought about in the war period; (b) improvements that may develop as the result of long-range post-war economic planning, known as post-war reconstruction; and (c) the major change of all — the abandonment of private ownership for individual profit, and the substitution therefore of the social ownership of all the means of production, distribution, and exchange, used and exercised for the benefit of the whole community.

Dealing with the first point of my observations, in regard to immediate accomplishment of economic improvements for the worker during the present war period, it is necessary to-day we are producing guns, tanks, aeroplanes, munitions, ships, personal equipment, etc., not only for Australian requirements but for India and other countries. Millions of pairs of boots and articles of personal equipment are being produced for India, and troops are stationed in the Pacific.
for me to briefly outline what has occurred in the country I represent. As most delegates are aware, we in Australia for the past thirty years have lived under a system of compulsory arbitration. Our wages have been fixed by an Arbitration Court. We have what is known as a basic or living wage, which at the present time is equivalent to approximately $14.60. This was allegedly fixed as the wage requisite for a man, wife, and three children, but the Chief Judge of the Court this year intimated he felt it was sufficient only for a man, wife, and one child, and called upon the Commonwealth Parliament to institute a system of childhood endowment. In unskilled industries, the female rate is assessed at 54 per cent. of the male rate.

Margins for skill for both male and female workers are superimposed upon the basic wage. Whilst the real wage of the workers has not been improved to any great extent by the Court so far as the basic wage is concerned, nevertheless the Court during the last ten years has greatly extended marginal rates and is all the time extending to new sets of workers margins not previously awarded. The documentary evidence produced by the I.L.O. Secretariat has been of invaluable assistance in attaining a forty-hour week for women factory workers in most instances, and a universal maximum working week of forty-four hours for male labour.

The inauguration of the compulsory arbitration system in Australia has gradually developed a spirit of cordial collaboration between employers' and workers' organisations. Therefore, any decision arrived at by this Conference will not have the effect of bringing about any major change in the dealings between employer and employee. When a dispute has arisen, or resulted in a cessation of work, the usual procedure is for the parent workers' or employers' organisation to seek a conference with the other partner to industry. Invariably, this leads to a basis of settlement for a resumption of work, but not the final determination of the matters in dispute. So inherent a part has the compulsory arbitration system in Australia become in the social make-up of the community that employers will not concede increases in wages or improved working conditions unless granted by the Arbitration Court. The best that happens is that employers agree not to oppose the unions' claims before the Court, or partially acquiesce in the granting of the unions' demands. When a strike does occur, it is followed by an immediate request by the employers to the Federal Government to enforce collaborative with the Arbitration Court. There have been very few major strikes in Australia during the war and they have materially decreased during the last twelve months.

Whilst we have had collaboration for the past thirty years without any great difficulty, it nevertheless has become impotent so far as the settlement of difficulties in the war period is concerned. Federal Governments operating in the war period prior to the advent of a Labour Federal Government in Australia three weeks ago almost spurned any attempt by the trade union movement to co-operate actively in the war effort. This has developed as a result of the hybrid policy of forcing all claims for adjustment of wages and working conditions to be determined by the Arbitration Court.

The Office report on collaboration, page 37, deals with the establishment of a Trade Union Advisory Panel and details the set-up of the present union advisory machinery. Whoever supplied the Office with the information, it is a loss to understand the position or clearly comprehend the inner developments. It was the A.C.T.U. which suggested the Panel, its constitution, and the matters it could deal with. The then Prime Minister, Mr. Menzies, in close collaboration with a few unions, set up a Panel consisting of representatives of only five unions. It is ineffective, rarely meets, and its only interest is to deal with some supposed industrial regulation prior to its gazettal under our National Security Regulations.

Just prior to the defeat of the Menzies Government, the Minister for Labour and myself, on behalf of the trade union movement, agreed upon the formation of a Trade Union Advisory Panel, consisting of a representative of nine industry groups engaged in war industries, together with the two officers of the A.C.T.U., to advise the Government on any matter affecting production in the war period. We proposed that regular discussions should take place between the Employers' and Employees' Panels, with the Minister of Labour as Chairman. This scheme was adopted. Now that a Labour Government is in office, this scheme will undoubtedly be consummated. The attitude of previous administrations was adverse to collaboration on industrial matters, feeling or believing that the setting up of such collaborative machinery would lead to employees' organisations endeavouring to bring about increases of wages through such machinery, or endeavouring to settle industrial disputes outside the aegis of the Arbitration Court. There was also a political background to the problem. The Government of the day carried on with a majority of one independent. It exaggerated strikes for political purposes. Trade union leaders weekly broadcast appeals to workers to use conciliation machinery for adjustment of wages claims and to achieve maximum production. This led to the Prime Minister to stating to me what a perfect political alibi he had given us by permitting such broadcasts over the national network sponsored by the Government.

Collaboration between the present Labour Government and the trade union movement will be complete and effective, making for a united war effort. In Australia, we have our own industrial war problems. They are industrial, primarily, and geographical. Almost over-night, vast secondary industries associated with war production were organised, drawing their labour power from primary industries that were already suffering as a result of marked changes in market and shipping facilities.

We have 300,000 of our men in the armed forces spread throughout England, Libya, Iran, the Dutch East Indies, Malaya and Canada. Many have been lost in the noble exploits of Tobruk, Greece, and Crete. In comparison with the population, the United States would have 30,000,000 men in the armed forces.
In war conditions, our primary producers are in an unenviable position. Markets and shipping are lacking for our wheat, wool, sugar, and beef. Financing of pools by the Government is unsatisfactory and has caused serious hardship to our farmers. Wheat-growers in our semiarid regions have walked off their farms to join the army of munition-makers. Our country towns have become denuded of population and labour. Labour power has drifted into the cities or to States where new defence factories have been built. Man-power is our pressing problem. Thousands of young men are being trained, by arrangements with the appropriate unions, for employment, in the factories, and female labour is being rapidly increasingly used. The trade union movement has demanded equal pay for the sexes, but so far the Government has only agreed to pay women or girls two-thirds of the male rate.

Whilst unequal rates of pay for men and women workers prevail, this pool of cheap, efficient labour will constitute a menace to the economic welfare of men and women alike. The significance of this issue has been recognised by the I.L.O. The Director's Report for 1939 mentions the suggestion put forward by the League of Nations Assembly for an enquiry into the employment of women. This was agreed to by the Governing Body of the I.L.O. and resulted in the valuable report since published, on the legal status of women in industry. In 1937, a resolution of the International Labour Conference affirmed the principles of equal pay and equality of opportunity for all workers and requested the Governing Body to draw them to the attention of all Governments with a view to their establishment in law and custom by legislative and administrative action. In 1939, the last I.L.O. Conference passed a resolution originated by the workers' delegates of France and the Netherlands, which declared that one of the tasks of the International Labour Conference is to raise the status of women workers throughout the world, commended the report entitled The Law and Women's Work, and requested that the I.L.O. should complete its enquiry into the present practices as quickly as possible so as to enable the Governing Body to draw its conclusions. The Acting Director's Report under consideration does not reveal what action has since been taken with respect to this resolution.

In Australia, the employment of women in work hitherto performed by men has increased tremendously, and through the Conservative Government in power until this month pursued the orthodox policy of fixing wages at two-thirds the male rate of pay, the trade unions have consistently demanded equal rates based on the nature of the job, irrespective of sex differentials in wage rates. The A.C.T.U. National Congress held in June of this year affirmed the principles of equal pay, equal status, and equality of opportunity for all men and women workers, and action is being taken to secure the application of these principles through the Arbitration Courts and legislation by Federal and State Parliaments.

Fortunately, in Australia, it is not necessary for the workers to strike to maintain their relative real wage to meet the increased cost of living. Wages are adjusted automatically each three months, according to the rise and fall in the cost of rent and all items constituting the family expenditure.

Prices in commodities cannot be increased without the authority of a Price-Fixing Commission. This machinery is not perfect, but is being improved. The main source of dissatisfaction in Australia is the failure of the Arbitration Court to award to all workers in all industries what is known as the six-shilling "war loading" granted in defence industries; but this difficulty is gradually being overcome. This means a real increase in the wages of the worker as against a mere adjustment of the wage to increased cost of living.

I am strongly of the opinion that the I.L.O. should adopt a plan for social improvements during the present war period. It will be too late when the war is over to talk about added social benefits. If we are to plan for the immediate aftermath of the war and prevent chaos, insurrection, and destitution, then now is the time to implement such reforms as improvement in social insurance, an effective minimum wage for all workers in all lands, promotion of better nutrition and movement of working conditions, and the all-important and necessary adequate unemployed benefits. These matters must receive immediate attention.

We in Australia have adopted the childhood endowment scheme during the war period, by which five shillings is paid by the Government for each child in the community after the first child in the family.

The post-war reconstruction problems are receiving the attention of the Federal and State Governments of Australia, a special Reconstruction Division being established in conjunction with our universities. Among matters being investigated are: reconstruction after the war, town growth and settlement, national minimum of real income, training of soldiers, social security, finance and reconstruction, wool and other primary products and reconstruction, and so on.

Other matters being specifically dealt with are industrial organisation and policies as to changes in technical structure of industries and firms, location and distribution of industrial population, seasonal changes in production and employment, currency problems, etc.

One of the problems which we must endeavour to solve by international agreement is that of the fair and adequate distribution of the raw materials available for production of goods and the disposal of consumable goods manufactured the world over. Without a solution of these problems, there can be no lasting peace.

Problems which will affect all countries in the post-war period cannot be encompassed by one international decision. A plan of framework can be evolved for the guidance of most countries. Domestic problems can be left to each country for solution.

The only body at present in existence through which international collaboration can be given to these problems is the I.L.O.; and it is to be hoped that its Secretariat and Governing Body will be given a mandate to commence immediate investigations.

Even the satisfactory solution of post-war problems and improvement in the workers' economic position in society cannot solve com-
pletely the problem of unequal distribution of the world's wealth. This will be achieved only by a change in society ensuring production for use instead of profit, which will guarantee to every human being throughout the world the highest standard of living attainable through the collective and unselfish effort of all members of society.

Interpretation: Mr. NODA (Workers' delegate, Venezuela) — I am very glad to be able to appear once more before this assembly in representation of the Venezuelan workers. The first time I was a Venezuelan Workers' delegate was in 1938. Black clouds were already to be seen, a presage of the war to come. Since then war has come, and has overwhelmed the majority of civilised nations, while those which are still untouched are being drawn nearer to it day by day. Confusion seems to be taking hold of all humanity, throwing it into a state of despair and threatening to destroy our present civilisation.

There are in this assembly men with a real responsibility for the study of those social questions which have the possibility of influence on the relations between men and between nations. I refer to the relations between workers, employers, and Governments. It is, of course, essential to arrive at a real understanding among men. It is to be hoped that the resolutions which we shall adopt here will become immediately effective so as to establish the greatest amount of mutual respect and consideration.

I have some comments to make on the Report of the Acting Director, in which he has set forth a series of vital problems for all workers. I should like in all sincerity to give you the point of view of the Venezuelan workers.

One of the principal subjects taken up by the Report is the increasing interference of the State in collective life. The kind of State which merely kept order and collected taxes has now been relegated to ancient history; the modern State is interventionist and acts so as to make its influence felt more and more.

However, there is an important difference between intervention in a totalitarian State and intervention in a democratic State. In totalitarian countries, as the Report says, the State has absorbed the function of industrial organisation, and the interested parties have neither voice nor vote in the determination of their conditions of work or standard of life. All workers in the totalitarian countries have been crushed by coercion. Trade unions have been dissolved and their leaders have been put into gaol; and in the countries which have combined to constitute the totalitarian ideology, the Venezuelan workers have repudiated Nazi-Fascism and also the propaganda of totalitarian ideology, to be found also in our country. On the other hand, the Venezuelan workers are uniring in the fight for democracy, trying to purify it and better it.

The first observation, therefore, which I have to make on the report of the Acting Director expresses the entire concurrence of the workers of Venezuela with the thesis of this portion of the Report.

Speaking of the repercussions of the European war in the twenty countries of Latin America, Mr. Phelan says: "In Latin America the chief impact of the war has been upon the sectors of the community which are dependent on foreign trade. The dislocation of employment in these countries has been upon a much smaller scale than in the case of the European countries".

In the case of Venezuela, our whole economy is "dependent on foreign trade", and the effect of the war has been felt in every branch.

Venezuela, because it is essentially a mining and oil-producing country, with very little agricultural production and still less industrial, depends practically exclusively on its foreign trade. The economic life of the country depends on the exportation of oil and gold to such an extent that in 1940, of all foreign money which was circulating in the money markets of the country, ninety per cent. was brought in by oil and gold-producing companies. Every year, in addition, we buy from the factories of the United States manufactured goods to the value of 80 million dollars on an average. Because of this peculiar structure of our economy, we have felt the war very seriously in our industry and our commerce; and this has happened in a country which is rendering the greatest services to the democracies in the fight against Nazi-Fascism. Venezuela is supplying 30 million tons of oil a year to the navies and the war machine of the allied countries. Since the routes to the Mediterranean are no longer easy, South American oil, and in a great measure Venezuelan oil, is being used in the boats which control the ocean highways for the anti-fascist powers, and by the aeroplanes which dispute the supremacy of the air with the German Luftwaffe. We are therefore making a very great contribution to the fight against the Axis with our oil.

The cost of living has increased on account of the high cost of imported goods and of freight and marine insurance. One factor which tends to increase the cost of imported goods is to be found in the high freight charges by the North American and European shipping companies, which have combined to constitute a monopoly, as hateful as it is contrary to the principles of good neighbourliness, known as "La Conferencia". I leave aside other factors contributing to the very high cost of living, but will merely cite some statistics as evidence of the desperate state of the Venezuelan worker.

In 1936 the average wage of a worker was something like 5.51 bolivars a day. The monthly wage was 301.82 bolivars, or $1.72 and $94.60 respectively. If we divide this amount in the following way: fifty per cent. for food, thirty per cent. for rent, ten per cent. for clothing, and the remaining ten per cent. for miscellaneous expenses, we get 2.75, 1.65, 0.55, and 0.56 bolivars for the respective items. When we think that
a kilo of bread costs one bolivar, a kilo of meat 1.50, a litre of milk 0.70, a kilo of rice 0.70 bolivar, then you will realise why it is that not more than eight per cent of Venezuelan families have milk and why only thirty-two per cent have meat once a week—if that.

As for rent, the situation is about the same; the rent for an unhygienic and inconvenient dwelling is about 40 bolivars per month. We need, of course, very large-scale housing construction projects and a much greater production of the most essential products.

I think the tragedy of the Venezuelan worker deserves special consideration from other countries. The country which gave the liberators to other countries of South America should not now be the prey of foreign exploiting companies which are robbing us of our natural riches and destroying our economy.

Nelson Rockefeller, National Co-ordinator of Inter-American Commerce, said recently in Boston that the concession of credits to Latin-American nations is the best answer of the United States to the propaganda of the Axis and to the totalitarian promises of the establishment of a new order in our hemisphere and in the world. The United States, he said, is now giving credit to these nations, to free them from the economic colonisation of which they have long complained, and not without good reason.

The needs of the Venezuelan people cannot be satisfied with fine speeches or demagogic promises. The Vice-President of the United States, Henry A. Wallace, said that the only true real inter-Americanism is economic and frank co-operation, with spiritual inter-penetration. The British Minister of Labour, Mr. Bevin, recently said that the British working classes were not waging an imperialistic war. The same may be said of the North American worker. This is perfectly understood by the Venezuelan workers, but at the same time businesses belonging to those two nationalities are carrying on the worst form of exploitation in my country.

We are heartily in accord with the anti-totalitarian policy of the White House, of Britain, and of the Soviet Union. However, we cannot look on passively while all sorts of hindrances are put in the way of the exportation to Venezuela of the machines and raw materials which are vital for our subsistence. This explains why there was a unanimous agreement in Venezuela in backing up our President and his representatives in the United States—the Venezuelan Economic Mission. We then insisted on obtaining the machinery and raw materials that were necessary.

It must be remembered that of the 700 million dollars which have been lent to the other States of Latin America by the Export-Import Bank, Venezuela only received 300,000 dollars for one stock-raising firm, 4 million dollars for the Agricultural Bank, and 400,000 dollars for a hotel.

Furthermore, as for coffee production, I need say only that we produce a million sacks annually. The quota given us by the Inter-American Commission, for the United States market, is only about 400,000 sacks. The rest of it, 600,000 cannot be sold anywhere.
heaven in comparison with what in general the unskilled worker in Venezuela receives, but, in terms of civilised values, it is nothing. The minimum wage in the oilfields is eight bolivars, that is to say, about two and a half dollars per day, plus housing and social services, but the cost of living in Venezuela is so high that this is hardly enough for food, clothing, and recreation. If you are paid five or six bolivars a day, and to rent a room, you will have absolutely no money left. But if you are diseased, as you will at the end of the month, you will have absolutely nothing to eat, as your food will consist of corn, bananas, sugar, fish, black beans, and rice. All this will cost about a dollar a day. You have to buy water to drink. Your health depends on whether you have the water of the lake, covered with black slime, or whether you are diseased, as you are at the end of the month.

In conclusion, I would like to draw particular attention to the importance that there should be a reconstruction of the fields of reconstruction, for I consider that the cost of living in Venezuela is so high that this is hardly enough for food, clothing, and recreation. If you are paid five or six bolivars a day, and to rent a room, you will have absolutely no money left. But if you are diseased, as you certainly are, the doctor belonging to the company will treat you free of charge.

Mr. EDDY (Workers' delegate, New Zealand)—First of all, Madam President, I would like to congratulate you on your being elected President of this International Labour Conference. I would like to take this opportunity of congratulating the Acting Director on the excellence of the Report he has presented to the Conference. One can feel honoured and privileged on having been selected as a delegate and thus given an opportunity of attending here and listening to the various points of view of the speakers when discussing his Report. I believe such an important body as the International Labour Office could and should do its part when peace comes and a conference is called of the nations involved. What organisation in the world today has gained a greater experience of what hopes and desires of the common people are? Surely the representatives of the workers and employers, if invited to the peace conference, could give very valuable assistance in drawing up plans in order, as far as possible, to prevent repercussions that must inevitably follow the declaration of peace unless great care is taken.

As far as the organisation I represent, the New Zealand Federation of Labour, is concerned, I have their authority to say that we are whole-heartedly behind our Government in its war effort and are large enough to make any necessary sacrifice in order to do our full share to defeat Nazism in all its forms: many of our boys have won honours in the field of battle doing their bit for their country and the nation; many others have paid the supreme sacrifice. I sincerely trust they have not given their lives in vain.

During the time this Conference has been in session much has been said about the desirability of the common people of every country greater security in their everyday life. So I will devote the time at my disposal to briefly explain briefly to the Conference the measures that have been taken in my country, New Zealand, to attain that desired end.

In presenting to you some of the features of the Social Security Act, time will permit me to give you only a bare outline of the provisions in the Act that have done so much to brighten the lives of the old, the sick, the invalid, the widow, and the unemployed in New Zealand.

Our upward march of progress has been slowed down by economic factors beyond our control, caused by the war. Nevertheless, New Zealand claims a record of service to its people who are unfortunate enough to be laid aside by accident, sickness, unemployment or any other legitimate cause, that in my opinion is not surpassed by any other country in the world. The terror of old age has been swept aside by the Social Security Act. The fear of starvation and hospital bills no longer haunts the lives of the sick and the weakly. We believe that the care of the people's health, the assistance necessary to bring a ray of hope and happiness into the homes of the invalid, is a national responsibility. Who amongst us could object to old people, in the evening of their life, being supplied with those necessary comforts that make for contentment at the nation's expense?

The following is just a sketchy outline of some of the clauses that bring joy and contentment into thousands of the homes of our fellow citizens.

In the Social Security Act, which has been operative in New Zealand since 1 April 1939, an attempt has been made for the first time to provide generously for all persons in need of State assistance. It is not claimed that this enactment represents the ultimate achievement, but it is to form a basis whereby the provisions may be extended and increased—consistently with the growth and development of the Dominion.

A new principle was introduced by the provision of a separate State Fund from which benefits are payable, and the citizens of the Dominion can insure themselves against the economic hardships usually associated with age, illness, unemployment, widowhood, and other misfortunes. The financial basis to provide the fund necessary for the payment of benefits is built up by a tax of five per cent. on all income received by residents of the Dominion, and is supplemented by subsidies from the consolidated Fund raised by general taxation, in addition to a registration fee for all persons over sixteen years of age. The basic principle of the Social Security Act is that the citizens of the Dominion shall contribute according to their means and receive assistance according to their needs. In consequence, there is no relationship between the actual contribution itself and the benefit which may be payable to the citizen if he is qualified for any particular benefit. Other than the superannuation and medical benefits,
the grants are generally assessed having regard to the circumstances of each individual, and here the legislation represents a real advance on the provisions formerly obtaining. Not only are the rates of benefits increased, but the assets and income permitted from other sources are greatly extended.

A short account of the monetary benefits provided, together with a resumé of the conditions under which payments are made, is as follows:

As the name superannuation benefits, which are distinct from other benefits, implies, the benefit is payable irrespective of the means of the applicant, who qualifies for a benefit on reaching the age of sixty-five years, provided he has resided at least ten years in the Dominion. Having regard to the actuarial basis required, this benefit is being introduced by gradual stages, and the first payment, which commenced on 1 April 1940, was at the rate of £10 per annum. The amount is increased by a further £2.10.0 for each subsequent year until the maximum of £78 a year is reached, which will be paid to everybody irrespective of any means he may possess.

The qualifying age for age benefit is sixty years, and the basic amount provided is at the rate of £78 a year (£1.10.0 a week). Where the beneficiary has dependants, the benefit may, at the discretion of the Commission, be increased by a further £26 a year (10 shillings a week) if the applicant's wife is not eligible for benefit in her own right, and by a further £26 a year (10 shillings a week) for each dependent child under the age of sixteen years, with a maximum grant in any particular case of £234 a year (£4.10.0 a week). A single or legally separated person, widow or widower, or married couple both of whom receive an age benefit, may also have other income of up to £52 a year (£1 a week) without reducing the basic benefit. A married person whose wife or husband does not receive a grant may have other income of £130 a year (£2.10.0 weekly), without affecting the basic benefit of £78 a year (£1.10.0 weekly).

Liquid assets owned by an applicant also are taken into account in assessing an age benefit. In the case of a married beneficiary, half the accumulated property of both husband and wife is considered to be the property of the applicant himself. In assessing such property, however, no account is taken of the interest in land or any mortgage on land. An exemption of £500 is allowed, and all over this amount reduces the benefit by £1 a year for each complete £10 of excess property.

The rate of widow's benefit is £91 a year (£1.15.0 weekly) for a widow with one child under sixteen years of age, with a further £26 a year (10 shillings a week) for each additional child, with a maximum in any particular case of £234 a year (£4.10.0 a week). 10,880 widows are saved from poverty; 5,780 widowed mothers receive 25 shillings a week; 480 deserted wives are also provided for. Women who have children under the age of sixteen years may qualify for widows' benefit if they have been deserted by their husband or if the husband is under treatment in a mental hospital. A new provision was also introduced to provide a benefit for childless widows, and the basic rate of benefit for this class is £52 a year (£1 a week), subject to a deduction in respect of any other income over £52 a year (£1 a week).

Orphans under the age of sixteen years may qualify for a grant at a rate not exceeding £39 a year (15 shillings a week), reduced by any other income received by the orphan and after taking into account any property owned. I believe this is the only pension of its kind in the world.

Invalids' benefits are available to those invalids who are totally blind or are permanently incapacitated for work by reason of accident, illness or congenital defect. The rate of the benefit provided under this heading is £52 a year (£1 a week), in the case of an applicant under the age of twenty-one years without dependants; £78 a year (£1.10.0 a week), for an invalid over twenty-one years; £104 (£2 a week) for an invalid with a dependent wife; and £130 a year (£2.10.0 a week) for an invalid with a wife and one child, increased by a further £26 a year (10 shillings a week) for each additional child under sixteen years of age, subject to a maximum benefit of £234 a year (£4.10.0 a week).

Other income is permitted on the following scale: In the case of a single invalid, £52 a year (£1 a week); married man or widower with dependent children, £78 a year (30 shillings a week); married woman, £104 a year (£2 a week). Here again there is a property deduction on the same basis as provided for age benefits. Under this heading, 12,000 invalids receive social security benefits.

The family benefit is 4 shillings a week for each child under sixteen, with a maximum of £52 a week, and £130 a year (£2.10.0 weekly). Invalids receive up to £2.10.0 a week, without reducing the benefit payable to the mother. The Commission must ensure that the full amount is expended for the maintenance or education of the children on whose behalf it is paid. This provision brings happiness into 22,500 homes whose earnings are under £5 a week.

Miners' benefits are payable to persons who, while engaged as miners in New Zealand, contract miners' phthisis or other occupational disease or heart disease associated with mining service. It is a necessary condition precedent to a grant that the applicant should be permanently and seriously incapacitated for work by heart or other occupational disease. 921 miners receive, under this benefit, 30 shillings per week. The rate of benefit is £78 a year (30 shillings a week) for the miner, increased by £26 a year (10 shillings a week) for his wife, and this basic benefit is payable irrespective of the circumstances of the miner. An application may also be made for an additional £26 a year (10 shillings a week) for each dependent child under sixteen, with a maximum benefit in any particular case of £234 a year (£4.10.0 a week), but the children's benefit is reduced on an income basis by any amount by which the income of the miner, wife, and dependent children exceeds £104 a year (£2 a week), ex-
clusive of the miners' benefit itself. If a person receiving a miners' benefit dies, his widow is entitled to a miners' widows' benefit of £45.10.0 a year (17s. 6d. a week), which is also payable irrespective of the financial circumstances of the widow.

For persons who served in any of the Maori wars and received a medal for active service, a Maori War benefit is provided, the main condition being one of residence, and the successful applicant is required to have resided in New Zealand for not less than ten years immediately prior to the date of his application. The maximum benefit is £78 a year (£1.10.0 a week), and is paid irrespective of any other income the beneficiary may enjoy.

To provide for an applicant who is temporarily incapacitated for work, there is a sickness benefit, and the amount payable under this heading is not to exceed the actual loss of salary or other earnings suffered as a result of the incapacity. Nearly 42,000 people have drawn sick pay since social security became operative.

The rate of sickness benefit is 10 shillings a week for a person of sixteen to twenty years of age, and £1 a week for persons over twenty; £1.15.0 for a married man and wife; £2.5.0 for a married man, wife and one child, plus a further 10 shillings for each additional child under sixteen years of age, the maximum benefit being £4 weekly. The benefit is payable during the period of temporary incapacity for work, and it is not usual to pay any benefit for the first seven days of the incapacity, except in special circumstances.

To provide temporary relief for persons who are unemployed, there is the unemployment benefit, which is on a similar basis to that provided for sickness benefits, except that the rate for children is 5 shillings compared with the sickness benefit of 10 shillings a week. A necessary condition precedent to a grant is that the applicant should be unemployed, but capable and willing to undertake any suitable work offered, and he must show that he has taken reasonable steps to obtain employment. Where any person has, through reasons within his own control, lost work, or is usually employed on a seasonal basis, the Commission may, at its discretion, postpone the date of commencement of the grant for a period of up to six weeks.

Comprehensive though this scheme is, it was realised that there would be many deserving cases which, through some reason or other, would not qualify for the benefits set out above, and for this reason an emergency benefit was innovated. Any person who through age, physical or mental disability, or any other reason, cannot earn a sufficient livelihood for himself and his dependants may be eligible, and the benefit is assessed in the discretion of the Social Security Commission, who administer the Social Security Act, and the actual rates and conditions of payment are determined having regard to the particular circumstances of any applicant.

The foregoing part of this review has dealt with only the monetary benefits provided, which are administered by the Social Security Commission. The social security legislation also embraces medical, hospital, and allied benefits, which are available to all persons ordinarily resident in the Dominion.

We take pride in the fact that over 30,000 debt-free babies have gladdened the homes of many of our people under the provision for maternity benefits, comprising free hospital and domiciliary care, medical attention, and free hospital services to mothers. Public hospitals are available free of charge to any in-patient and there is provision for part payment of fees in respect of services afforded in licensed private hospitals, while treatment in State-owned mental hospitals is also free.

Details for the provision of free general practitioners' services, and the supplying of medicines, drugs, materials, and appliances ordered by them, together with such supplementary benefits as are deemed necessary to ensure the effective operation of the above benefits or are otherwise required to maintain and promote public health, are being progressed with, and it is hoped to have the complete arrangements available in the near future.

The Government is keeping in close contact with the administration of this all-embracing legislation to ensure that the real spirit of social security is preserved, and as opportunity offers, improvements are effected.

New Zealand also pays special attention to the healthy school children and supplies, free of charge, half-a-pint of milk per day to 229,000 of them. School children have also received free 12,000 cases of apples per week during the season. Dental clinics have been established to take care of the children's teeth, and 115,000 children have benefited by this treatment.

In conclusion, I believe we have travelled a long way along the road to the new social order so much in the headline news today.

(The Conference adjourned at 1.15 p.m.)
SEVENTH SITTING

Saturday, 1 November 1941, 10 a.m.

Presidents: Sir John Forbes Watson and Miss Perkins.

THIRD REPORT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE

The PRESIDENT (Sir John Forbes Watson) — I call upon Mr. van Zeeland, Chairman of the Selection Committee, to submit the Third Report of that Committee to the Conference.

Interpretation: Mr. van ZEELAND (Government delegate, Belgium), Chairman of the Selection Committee — This Report will be a little longer than the last. It is in four parts.

The first is the programme of the Conference for the next few days. This morning we shall continue to discuss the Report of the Acting Director. This afternoon there will be no Plenary Sitting, but the Sub-Committee of the Collaboration Committee will begin its work, and it might have to continue to-morrow so as to be able to present a report by Monday to the Committee on Collaboration. On Monday morning we shall continue the discussion of the Report of the Acting Director. On Monday afternoon the Collaboration Committee will receive the Report of the Sub-Committee. On Tuesday morning the first portion will be devoted to a continuation of the discussion of the Report of the Acting Director, and the latter portion of the morning Sitting will be given over to the Acting Director's answer to the delegates on the remarks that they have made on his Report. On Tuesday afternoon there will be a Plenary Sitting to examine resolutions and the Report of the Collaboration Committee. On Wednesday morning there will be a Plenary Sitting to finish that work and continue the examination of resolutions, and the usual closing speeches will be made in the last Sitting here. On Wednesday afternoon there will be no Plenary Sitting, but simply a meeting of the Governing Body. And then, on Thursday, the closing Sitting will be held in the White House in Washington.

I should like to remind the delegates that at the close of the Sitting this morning there will be a very short meeting of the Selection Committee.

There is a second portion of this Report, concerned with the time limit for speeches. A suggestion had been submitted to the Selection Committee that speeches be limited to two minutes. The Committee, having considered the number of speakers who have asked to speak, decided not to adopt this suggestion, but on condition that the speakers from now on will limit themselves very strictly and will pay attention to the 15-minute rule which is in the Standing Orders of the Conference. However, if necessary, if we see that the time is lacking to get through all the speeches, the Officers of the Conference may have to modify this decision.

The third part of the Report relates to draft resolutions on any questions other than those on the agenda of the Conference. The Selection Committee proposes to the Conference to close the receipt of resolutions to-day at noon. You will find a mention of that in your daily bulletin. Any resolutions to be taken into consideration by the Conference should be handed to the Clerk of the Conference before noon to-day.

Fourth is the designation of an observer by the Costa Rican Government. The committee has been informed that the Government of Costa Rica, which is not a Member State of the Organisation, has designated an observer to follow the work of the Conference. The Conference will certainly be very glad to hear of this decision on the part of the Government of Costa Rica, which had already sent an observer to the Havana Conference in the winter of 1939, and we feel certain that the Conference will give this observer a very cordial welcome.

(Miss Perkins takes the Chair.)

The PRESIDENT — You have heard the report of the Selection Committee. If there is no objection, the report is adopted.

(The Report is adopted.)

ADDRESS BY THE COSTA RICAN OBSERVER

The PRESIDENT — The Report of the Selection Committee referred to the arrival of an observer from Costa Rica. He is here, and I take pleasure in inviting him to address the Conference.

Interpretation: Mr. BEECHE (Observer, Costa Rica) — As observer representing Costa Rica, I am glad of this opportunity to bring a greeting to this Conference. My country is one of those in Central America which has felt the necessity of solving social problems in an adequate way. For many years we have tried to regulate various questions by social legislation. For instance, we have a satisfactory
system of accident compensation; for this purpose, we set up a special section in the National Insurance Bank. There is complete legislation on minimum wages, and the Children’s Code includes provisions limiting the employment of children and women and protecting women during pregnancy. We have also taken measures to encourage the migration of unemployed workers from one region to another. The Associations Act includes provisions concerning the formation of workers’ and employers’ associations. I could cite many other legal provisions enacted in Costa Rica in recent years in the social sphere.

Finally, we have recently created a Secretariat of Labour, with a Technical Labour Office and a Children’s Bureau. The late Government sent an observer — Mr. Durán Rocha, Director of the Technical Labour Office — to the Conference of this Organisation held in Havana in 1939. The work of that Conference was followed with the greatest interest, and at that time a movement arose for the entrance of Costa Rica into the International Labour Organisation. The present Government, under the direction of Dr. Rafael Angel Calderón Guardia, has given renewed impulse to the work of the Secretariat of Labour; this I was able to appreciate during the period when I was legal adviser to the Office.

The Government has recently introduced a Bill of considerable importance for Costa Rica. I refer to the Social Insurance Bill. For many months, the Legislature has worked on this Bill, and consulted many experts. It sent to Chile an expert in social matters, Dr. Guillermo Padillo Castro, to obtain information on their social system. We have now a comprehensive Bill on social insurance, which has been approved by the Parliamentary Committee concerned and may therefore be expected to be passed before long.

The President of the Republic desired someone from Costa Rica to be present at the meeting of this Conference, so as to be able to inform him directly of its decisions. Costa Rica has always been a State with a deeply-rooted democratic tradition. I have therefore had much pleasure in seeing the very clear demonstration of democratic aspirations given by the delegates of the countries here represented. I feel certain that the resolutions adopted here will be the basis for great economic progress and will promote the ideal of social justice.

We hope that before long Costa Rica may become a Member of the International Labour Organisation and will then be able to take a more active part in its work. In the meantime, may I wish this Conference the greatest success in the accomplishment of its task.

The PRESIDENT — We are all delighted to know of Costa Rica’s determination to make application for membership, and we shall hope to greet you later, next year perhaps, in that capacity.

**ADDRESS BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE FREE FRANCE MOVEMENT**

The PRESIDENT — The Officers of the Conference have decided that delegates might like to hear briefly some comments on labour matters from Mr. Hauck, who is the Director of Labour of the Free France Movement.

**Interpretation: Mr. HAUCK** — First I wish to thank the Conference for having given the representative of Free France an opportunity to speak to the delegates of the Governments, employers, and workers of the free nations of the world.

I have followed with great interest the discussions which have taken place here, and I can say that Free France is fully aware of the importance, for the reconstruction of the world and the establishment of future peace, of the exchanges of views between the delegates from so many countries. The reason why Free France is so deeply interested in your discussions and in the whole activity of the International Labour Organisation is that it is faithful to what has been the social policy of the French Republic for twenty years. Standing here, I cannot but think with pride that it is my country which has given to the International Labour Organisation two men to whose memory I here pay tribute: Albert Thomas and Arthur Fontaine; I would also mention many others, such as my friend Léon Jouhaux, Justin Godart, and Gaston Tessier, who are unfortunately unable to take part in these discussions.

Although many who were familiar figures in Geneva are not with us to-day, I can assure you that the interest of the French people in the Organisation and in the cause of social justice is as alive as ever.

Although my country is passing through grave trials and is now suffering the horrors of the German occupation, of dictatorship, famine, and want, this has not beaten down the indomitable spirit of liberty of a people whose history proudly records the French Revolution and the Principles of the Rights of Man. I could give you a thousand examples of the resistance of Frenchmen against the invader, but I have not the time. I wish to say, however, that the French working class is in the front rank among those who are fighting for the defence of freedom. When compelled to work for the German war effort, the French workers have recourse to all their ingenuity and skill to hamper production, to hold it up by every means; but they also try to evade this humiliating obligation, and we cannot stress too greatly the modest and obscure heroism of these Parisians who, in order not to have to work for the enemy in the munition factories, have preferred to sacrifice their small savings and to live on the pension money they take out in advance.

The French workers are not only resisting the invader; they are also resisting any infringement of their traditional freedoms. To defend freedom of thought and freedom of association, they are all united, irrespective of political, philosophical, or religious tendencies. Never has agreement been closer in France between the trade unions affiliated to the General Confederation of Labour and the General trade unions. It is nearly a year ago that a remarkable manifesto appeared in the occupied zone which was signed by nine leaders of the Confederation-
tion of Labour and three of the Confederation of Christian Workers' Unions, and which affirmed their devotion to the traditional principles of the trade union movement. The movement, said the manifesto, must affirm respect for human personality, irrespective of race, religion, and opinion. It must be free in the exercise of its collective activities and in the exercise of the individual liberty of each of its members. It must strive for international collaboration between workers and between peoples.

More recently, 21 secretaries of industrial federations have expressed their opposition to any scheme for the infringement of the freedom of association and have affirmed their loyalty to the great French tradition of the independence of the labour movement. The trade union organisations may be dissolved, the funds accumulated out of the workers' contributions may be confiscated, but the indomitable spirit of French trade unionism has not broken and will not be broken.

In other words, the subjects preoccupying the French workers are the same as those with which you are concerned. During this Conference you are studying methods of collaboration between Governments, employers' organisations, and workers' organisations; and if one essential idea common to all may be said to find expression in your deliberations, it is that effective collaboration between Governments, employers, and workers cannot possibly be contemplated in a regimented organisation on the Hitlerian or Fascist model, but that the means of bringing about greater economic order and social justice in the world must be sought in the freedom of parties, in their independence and their good will.

You are too aware of the political and economic necessities of the modern State not to realise that, if you are to establish or maintain "government of the people, for the people, by the people", universal suffrage is no longer enough, representative assemblies are no longer enough, even popular control is no longer enough. If democracy is to be more than a mixture of dusty rites and political intriguers, if it is to be rejuvenated and vitalised, more is needed. It needs an independent, free, and powerful labour movement, always prepared to inspire and defend it. The organisation of the workers in free associations, their increasing participation in the administration of national and international economic affairs, there is the only solid basis on which to build the economic and social reconstruction of the world of tomorrow.

How can France fail to be interested in these problems of world reconstruction? Like many other countries, France has been devastated by war. I am not speaking only of the material ruin effected by bombs and shells, but also of the terrible economic and social depression which war and enemy occupation have produced in my country. When we return, we shall find a ruined economy, a non-existent currency, a population whose health has been undermined by privation, a tottering social structure. Then we shall have to set about this immense task of reconstruction; and Frenchmen, who are sometimes accused of being too general in their ideas, know better than anyone that there can be no thought of reconstruction in France apart from the general reconstruction of Europe and the world. What we wish, what the French workers wish, what the most enlightened and patriotic French employers wish, and what all those who have grouped themselves around General de Gaulle wish, is that the reconstruction of France should not be based on the model of the totalitarian regimes and the Hitlerian new order, but on democracy and liberty.

What we wish is that the four fundamental freedoms enunciated by the great leader of American democracy, President Roosevelt, should be respected—the freedoms which have been made by the Atlantic Charter one of the war aims of the Allies. What we wish is that the tripartite system on which the International Labour Organisation has been based for twenty years should be applied everywhere in the social field and should be extended everywhere from the social to the economic field. What we wish is to found a political order, a new order of free men, based not on brutality and violence but on freedom of association, human dignity, good will, and co-operation between men.

To-day the whole French nation is united in a single thought: to liberate the country. Tomorrow, we are convinced that all healthy elements in French production, employers and workers alike, will unite to collaborate in the reconstruction of France on the basis of social justice and liberty.

The Free French Movement has a heavy task to fulfil. Its first thought is for victory. Our soldiers, our sailors, our airmen, are fighting side by side with our British allies; our workers in British factories are sharing in the allied war effort; our seamen are helping to supply the fighters. But we still maintain the social conceptions of the French Republic: in the vast colonial territories which we administer we are endeavouring to solve labour problems in the light of the Conventions and Recommendations drawn up by the International Labour Organisation; and the workers of Free France, with the support of General de Gaulle and the aid of the International Federation of Trade Unions, have maintained the traditions of French trade unionism by establishing the French Trade Union Centre in Great Britain, in which members of the General Confederation of Labour and of the Christian trade unions uphold the traditions of our labour movement in fraternal amity.

Even though we are separated from our compatriots, the cries of hope from their prison still reach us. I am sure that I am expressing the sentiments of practically the whole French nation when I convey to the International Labour Organisation our heartfelt good wishes and our intention to take part in its admirable work, which it is carrying out in spite of the difficult circumstances. I can assure you that to-morrow, when the democracies have won, France will be ready to collaborate wholeheartedly with the International Labour Organisation and with the free peoples of every continent to build up a new world, which will be inspired by the motto chosen by Albert Thomas for the International Labour Office: *Si vis pacem, cole justiciam.*
The PRESIDENT — The discussion of the Acting Director’s Report will be resumed.

Mr. FALTER, (Employers’ delegate, Poland) — A few years ago, in Geneva, I had the honour to participate in the Conference of the International Labour Office regarding the improvement of conditions of labour in the coal mining industry. I called at that time the Conference’s attention to the fact that the most beautiful resolutions and recommendations will not give to the world of labour the desired results unless simultaneously steps on an international scale are taken creating order and coordination in the world’s coal markets. Such an understanding alone could ensure the materialisation of those resolutions and enable labour in the coal mining industry throughout the world to take the same advantage of the improved conditions.

I was informed that at that time my attitude was right but that these subjects did not belong within the scope of the activities of the International Labour Office and that this problem would be more suitably treated by the Conference of a similar set-up, which had been called by the League of Nations. The proposed Conference took place but did not give any results, and as a consequence, a wild competitive scramble on the international coal markets became even more acute. Many thousands of coal mine labourers who lost their employment contemplated with great bitterness the social gains achieved. These gains not only amounted to nothing for them, but deprived them of their means of existence. This is why I note with great satisfaction, from the Report of the Acting Director of the International Labour Office and from the tenor of the discussion up to now, the increasing understanding of the fact that there is no permanent peace and no healthy development of social progress without international economic co-operation.

I realise that there are before us a great many barriers, where the question of jurisdiction in various organisations will come into play. Still, I think that the requirements of life cannot be adapted to the organisations, but the organisations must conform themselves to the requirements of life.

How should this economic co-operation look? The answer to this question will constitute the problem of the new organisation which should be established within the framework of the International Labour Office, and only in order to illustrate my thoughts do I include a few remarks which should not be construed as a resolution but as an example of many possibilities. It seems to me, for example, that the organisation which will in future regulate the international economic co-operation should have at its disposal a certain amount of basic raw materials which are produced in certain countries while in others their lack slows down economic life.

It also seems to me that this organisation should possess an influence on the international exchange of goods. It finally seems to me that the benefits from this mutual economic assistance should accrue only to those countries which will base themselves on the democratic system of government, which will generally accept the principles of the rights of men and of social progress, and which will aim at the improvement of their existence only by peaceful means.

The work of such an organisation should be started very soon and conducted at a fast pace because, as we know from experience of the post-war period of the last war, a serious lack of goods resulting from war devastation ensures — but only for a relatively short time after the war — employment to the population in those countries where the industrial establishments are left intact. If, in the meantime, the international economic co-operation does not ensure order and preparation, there will spring up, even in countries untouched by the present war, chaos, unemployment, and social misery, which it will take many years of work and suffering to eradicate.

The situation in the countries where the working establishments have been destroyed will be considerably worse, particularly in Central European countries, occupied by the enemy. After the terrible war devastation of towns and villages, the destruction of thousands of homes and factories, these countries are now being further systematically looted by the enemy forces in order to make the population dependent on the German industrial apparatus, and to increase with this acquired work the industrial and military potential of Germany.

A plan of assistance for these countries, to be worked out by a special unit of the proposed organisation, should be started immediately. This plan should be prepared and put into effect in such a way that immediately after the liberation from enemy occupation, the articles of first necessity — means to run the working establishments and the essential raw materials — should start flowing to these countries practically the moment the liberation takes place.

This problem is very urgent. The preparation of the organisation of the post-war period does not stand in contradiction with the greatest war effort directed towards the victory of democracy, and at the same time constitutes an integral part of the war aims, because a promise of a better future encourages people to greater war effort. A good commander never takes the attitude that he does not think about tomorrow because to-day’s battle is still in progress.

Mr. HAUGEN (Workers’ delegate, Norway) — Practically every speaker from this platform has fully agreed that the main issue is to win the war, and thereby ensure the democratic way of procedure in future. It would not be of any use to talk about reconstruction or anything else which occupies our minds if we do not win the war, because, if we do not win, we shall not have any chance to reconstruct, even in our minds, the future economic and social world order.

This I.L.O. Conference is therefore, in my opinion, not only a demonstration to the whole world that all democratic nations are sure of the main issue, but also a demonstration to the toilers in the great struggle against Nazism and Fascism that we are planning while the struggle is on to have not only the will, but also the plans and the machinery ready, when the war comes to an end, to deal with
the economic and social problems arising out of a world war, problems which have to be solved effectively if anarchy shall not prevail. On this point I would like to stress what Mr. Oldenbroek, the Workers' delegate for the Netherlands, said the other day, that "unless this Organisation can act quickly and even make up for lost time, there is the great danger of disorderly social change. Reconstruction or revolution, that is the question." This is not a threat but a warning, a timely warning, to all of us who have come together to this I.L.O. Conference in New York, to face all these problems which have to be solved effectively if anarchy shall not prevail. Reconstruction or revolution, that is the question.

I shall only remind you of the 1936 Convention regarding working hours at sea. How many nations have paid any attention to that Convention? Not to say ratified it! The seamen waited for sixteen years for that International Convention, and when at last it was drafted, most of the nations kept it well hidden, with other documents which were not given any attention. The same can be said about many other Conventions which have been prepared by able and honest officers of the I.L.O., but have not been worth the paper they were written on. So far as I can judge, the Acting Director in his Report given the keynote or rather the formula of the mandate which would be necessary for the I.L.O. if it is to achieve its great task for the solving of post-war economic and social welfare. With the Atlantic Charter and Mr. William Green's point added, I do believe that the I.L.O. has before it a programme which we are all satisfied with.

But, in my opinion, it is not enough to have a far-reaching programme, if there is no machinery by which the I.L.O. can have it enforced.

The Conference here in session has heard Government, employers' and workers' delegates alike express their will to do their utmost to secure a just share of the fruits of progress; but I maintain that if it is possible, it is necessary to furnish the I.L.O. with not only the mandate to work out the programme but also the power to have it enforced: that is to say, to have the Conventions ratified by all nations which are Members of the I.L.O., and in that way to have not only a paper programme but a minimum to which all nations shall adhere.

My conclusion is therefore:

(1) Give the I.L.O. the necessary mandate and power to go ahead with the Director's formula of the mandate which would be necessary for the I.L.O. if it is to achieve its great task for the solving of post-war economic and social welfare.

(2) Add to it the Atlantic Charter.

(3) And resolve that the I.L.O., with technical advisers selected on the tripartite principle, shall partake in the coming peace conference, and in that way meet Mr. William Green's demand, a demand all workers salute as a just and fair demand.

Mr. BANATS (Owners' delegate, Yugoslavia) — This is the first time that I have the privilege of addressing this assembly. My predecessor and friend, Mr. Curcin, who is, I believe, known to most of you from Geneva days, is unfortunately confined in the invaded territory of my country.

In dealing with the various and vast problems which have been raised at this Conference, I wish to say that Yugoslavia is ready now, as she was in the past, fully to co-operate and take her stand with the other nations represented here in order to achieve and carry out the useful and necessary measures and decisions which this institution will adopt.

In this assembly most of the speeches refer to the needs and living conditions of the workers. Let me say that in my country the main contribution to the progress in building up its industries and trade has been made by private initiative and enterprise. I should like to point out that in Yugoslavia, where capital was lacking, it was this private enterprise and initiative which enabled us to build up the country's economic structure and help it on its way to progress.

Yugoslavia is to-day enslaved not only by the Nazis but also by their satellites, who stood around in the shadow of the Nazi banner, ready to attack us the very moment that our free people declined to accept their tripartite pact. I do not want you to forget that my country faced not only invasion by Germany but the onslaught which came from Germany, Italy, and Hungary simultaneously.

We knew that if our people refused to bow their head and accept dictation, the inevitable consequence would be slavery, terrorism, and plunder. Nobody has the illusion or had the illusion that our population of fifteen or sixteen million could withstand the military machine long prepared by these three countries. We knew what was inevitably coming. We knew what to expect. And still our people decided on 27 March this year, to face all these terrible consequences rather than give in and carry out the impositions of the Nazi tripartite pact.

The sufferings of our people are known to the world. The slaughter of innocent people which is going on from day to day is well known all over the world. And what is the innermost feeling of all those masses who are facing or expecting to face at any moment, any day, the firing squads of their German and Italian oppressors? The feeling and wish in their hearts and souls can be expressed in three words only: May Britain win! And I can assure you that all their prayers go towards the fulfilment of this wish.

I should like to endorse every word so admirably spoken here yesterday by the Belgian Foreign and Labour Minister, Mr. Spaak, who so frankly expressed the feelings of those people in Europe who have been trodden on and enslaved. I say, therefore, let us first and foremost concentrate with whatever is left in us to help Great Britain win the war. We cannot unfortunately be of great use to her now, we have lost almost everything, but whatever is
left to us, however little that may be, we have placed at the disposal of her cause.

The Yugoslav mercantile marine, which I consider is an extension of Yugoslav territory, has placed its steamers at the disposal of Great Britain, and many of our ships are now carrying war materials from the United States across the Atlantic to the various fronts. Yugoslavia has proved her feelings towards Great Britain not only since we stepped into the ranks of her Allies. We placed at her disposal right at the beginning of the war, in October 1939, part of our tonnage to help her, as real friends do, with no thought or wish to make a commercial transaction of it.

The British Government, I am sure, will not forget the gesture of Yugoslavia of those days, and I am sure and confident that when the time comes and we seriously have to put into effect the plans for help and reconstruction of our vastened country, Great Britain and this great democratic country, the United States of America, will enable their faithful friend, Yugoslavia, to put herself on her feet again as a free member of a democratic Europe.

Mr. HALLSWORTH (Workers' delegate, British Empire) — We are discussing the Acting Director's Report and it is to that Report that I shall address myself. I would just say one word in order to economise time, about the layout of the Report. In this connection, I would like to express my own appreciation of the way in which the Report is drawn up and of the great scope of the subjects dealt with in it. I congratulate the Director on an eminently useful document.

Essentially, the Report represents an attempt to translate into a practical programme the social and economic clauses of the Atlantic Charter.

The trade union movement in my country welcomed that Charter. It would, indeed, have been strange if the trade unions in any land had not welcomed it, for in effect, these clauses are a paraphrase of the demands made by organised labour at the end of the last war. It is remarkable that to-day the statesmen of the chief democratic countries are enunciating as the aims of the democracies principles which to us have for more than twenty years been axiomatic. In 1918, we demanded a series of progressive measures to give the people — the men and women in factories and mines, in offices and shops, in the fields and on the seas, and in their homes — better conditions of work and life, a fairer share of the world's wealth, a greater measure of security. The peacemakers of 1918 did not and perhaps could not give us what we asked. Instead, they gave us an instrument designed to produce, through the collective agreement of Governments, employers, and workers, the reforms that we judged necessary for the peace of the world. They gave us, and we accepted, a post-dated cheque in settlement of our urgent, reasonable, and pressing claims.

The instrument — the I.L.O. — has not been able to give us all that we believed right, but it has so far fulfilled the promise of its Charter in that we have never lost our faith in it or wavered in our support of it. To-day, while war is raging, our faith and support are strengthened. When the democratic cause has triumphed, as triumph it will, when the time comes to make a new settlement, there will be for us, the organised labour movement, and for the employers too, a situation different from that of 1918. For the existence of the I.L.O. means that the peacemakers of the future will have at hand a tried and proven means whereby, in consultation with workers and employers, they can devise precise measures of democratic progress.

Therefore I welcome particularly two points in the Acting Director's Report. First, the indication he gives of the role which the I.L.O. will be able to play in the framing of the settlement. I say "will be able" but I go beyond that; the I. L. O. must be called upon to play its part. The organised workers and employers, as the other report which is before this Conference demonstrates, are playing their full part in the war. They have a right, and they will claim their right, to play their part in the peace settlement.

Secondly, I welcome the attempt which the Report makes to outline a definite and detailed programme. I do not want to discuss it in detail in this Conference, but I consider that it should be discussed in detail at an early stage. There is perhaps nothing in it which should not be there, but there are other things which, in my judgment, ought to be included — things which are problems of to-day as well as of to-morrow. I have in mind, for example, the integration of the balance and location of industry with the whole range of social amenities, the treatment of unemployment as a preventable disease, the immediate repair of bodies and minds as well as of habitations.

In my view, therefore, the Governments should give us here and now certain precise undertakings. These should include, first, a pledge that they will continue to support the I.L.O.; secondly, a pledge that they will make full and proper use of the I.L.O. when the time comes for peacemaking: thirdly, agreement that those problems which can be covered by a peace treaty but also are urgent problems to-day shall at once be submitted to tripartite international discussion.

This plan involves some immediate practical considerations. True, the I.L.O. has been preserved, and we are grateful for the special aid which the Governments of Canada and of the United States have given; but it has been preserved in a sadly emaciated form. I congratulate the Acting Director upon the remarkable skill with which he has conducted its financial administration. I congratulate him, and his very small staff, upon the way in which the high standard of the Office has been maintained. This Conference has not differed very greatly in outward appearance from those which we have attended at Geneva. We have had a few minutes, our list of delegates, our interpreters. But we must all realise the strain which this has put on the staff, and we must all be aware that whereas at Geneva, while the Conference was in progress, the research work, the publications, the daily conduct of normal business, went on almost unaffected, this Conference has meant the complete arrestment of all of the work by the Office. For the Havana Conference, only a section of the staff had to be moved.
from Switzerland to Cuba. This Conference, so far as I can learn, brought virtually all the staff from Montreal to New York.

I recognise, of course, that some economies were inevitable, that some sacrifices were proper, but I feel they have gone too far. I repeat what I said at Geneva at a meeting of the Governing Body after the outbreak of war, namely, that the I.L.O. is what was accorded to labour after the last war, and we demand that it shall not be allowed to perish during the war; death by starvation is just as fatal as death by the axe.

We ask, therefore, that the Governments who are faithful to this democratic institution shall recognise that they as well as the Organisation must make sacrifices. If its income is not to be diminished, their contributions must be increased. The whole burden of the lost contributions of States that have temporarily been crossed off the list of contributing Members must not be borne by the I.L.O. If the I.L.O. is to be less, the faithful States on their side must give more.

I have said that there are problems of reconstruction, problems of to-morrow which are also problems of to-day, problems which must be discussed to-day. Here there is a practical difficulty. Montreal is close in spirit but distant in space and time from London, and in London to-day there are some nine Governments — not token Governments, but controllers of wide territories, of important, indeed, essential services. Norway, for example, has a large mercantile fleet. The Netherlands and Belgian colonial territories number their inhabitants by millions and are rich in and generous of essential products.

The pressing problems of reconstruction must be discussed simultaneously in London and in the Americas. That means there must be a considerable unit of the Office in London. I recognise that one or two specialists have been detached to work in London, but there must in my view be a nucleus research staff, able to act as the secretariat of a reconstruction committee working in Europe. I do not mean to suggest for a moment that there should be any division. I believe, on the contrary, that a new technique could be worked out of the simultaneous discussion of our problems in America and in Europe. We in Great Britain have so many day-to-day preoccupations that is is difficult for us to leave it, indeed, we are reluctant to leave it for a moment. On the other hand, we know that there are great practical difficulties in the way of delegates coming to visit us; and we know that though we should indeed be happy to welcome them, their welcome might conceivably be warmer than either we or our visitors would wish. We realise, too, that a certain lack of window-panes and a rather less brilliant illumination of Piccadilly than that of Broadway might seem to cast a gloom over the proceedings. Our visitors might not at once realise that broken glass means no coldness of heart, lack of street lights no dimming of the spirit.

If you will come to us, we shall be happy and proud to greet you and to work with you; if you cannot, then let us devise means whereby, divided by the ocean, but only by the ocean, we may continue to work out together a blue-print of the better world for which we are fighting and which we mean to see through.

A last word. I am touched and impressed — as who would not be — by the warmth of our welcome to this great Republic. I want to assure that Republic that we, the workers of Great Britain, have made this war our war. We are doing and shall do all that we can to bring it soon to a victorious conclusion. The great call upon the human spirit made by this war can scarcely be realised by those who up to this present have been spared its impact. It has been a revelation to us, a shock, and a horror, to the desperate conditions which wartime service involves us in, to come here and to see all this brilliant lighting, the prodigality of meals, the unlimited use of paper, and all the other things which suggest that life goes on just the same here, whatever may be happening in our land. This painful contrast suggests to us that it has not yet been realised in the rest of the world that is not at war or has not felt the impact of Hitlerism, that the cup of bitterness which has been drained to the last dregs by many peoples in Europe may have to be drained by other peoples who are not yet at war, unless we are supported, and supported to the hilt. We are a small country, comparatively speaking, of only some 45 million men, women, and children. All these men, women, and children are at war. We are doing all that we can, and we shall try to do more than is possible. Our men and women have worked, serving side by side with our brothers from the Dominions and the colonies — at home, at sea, and overseas, in our navy, our air force, and our army, in our islands, on the continent of Europe, in Africa and in Asia. Our men and our women are also creating, equipping, and maintaining a huge war machine, and we are always aware of the help which this great country is giving us. We are deeply grateful for what the citizens of the United States have done and are doing. We beg you to persevere, as we shall persevere, to stand as firmly and unitedly behind us as we stand shoulder to shoulder in defence, not only of our land, not only of democracy, but, as we believe, in defence also of that decency of human conduct which is civilisation.

Interpretation: Mr. van ZEELAND (Government delegate, Belgium) — The contrast is too cruel between the ideal of social justice discernible behind all the work carried on by this Organisation and the maiming sufferings, injustice, and misery which now weigh down the world. Two world wars in one generation are too much. Such a crime must not happen again, and out of the tragedy of war must come conditions which render its renewal impossible. It is for this that millions are now longing, and they are determined to make their dream a reality. This is also the aim of the Allied Governments, and it is this too which has inspired the Report that we are now studying, which in its title, "Economic and Social Reconstruction," voices an ambition that is both legitimate and necessary.

But everything depends on the issue of the war. Many speakers here have emphasised that, but I would go even further. Have you not noticed that none of the speeches delivered here can have any meaning if we do not win the
war? All the hopes, all the wishes, all the ideals which have been expressed here, all hinge on one event: the victory of the Allies. But this victory is not yet ours. The war has not yet been won. We know that this war is a total war, and that we shall only win if we bring into play all the forces which we have. First and foremost, military force, but also psycho-war, and that we shall only win it if we bring one event: the victory of the Allies. But this war? All the hopes, all the wishes, all the ideals to a certain extent we thereby increase — are helping to win that victory. I believe that of the post-war world, in so far as we state logical and moral forces. This is why I believe into play all the forces which we have. First social, economic, and political needs which had arrived at a turning point, that there were weaknesses? I believe that our civilisation had to make it greater than before. But that is not enough. All these things we had before the war; we were victorious, we had right on our side, and up to a certain moment we had strength; and in spite of that, we have allowed the destructive forces to put us in the situation where we are. How can we explain this weakness? I believe that our civilisation had arrived at a turning point, that there were social, economic, and political needs which had not been satisfied. These problems will come up again to-morrow with even greater urgency than before. That is why to-morrow we shall have to tackle the problem of the reconstruction of the world in all its aspects, economic, social, moral, political, all of which are aspects of the same reality. No doubt, the problems that they involve must be examined, each one from its own standpoint, but we should never forget the intimate connection between them.

The first step is to define the principles, the main features of the problem. That has already been done, in the four freedoms of President Roosevelt; the eight points of the Atlantic Charter; all the suggestions which we have found in the Acting Director's Report and in the speeches which we have heard here. I have been struck by the surprising unanimity of opinion expressed in the speeches of men from so many countries and from different social groups. But that is not enough. We have all understood that the time has come to give the idea a concrete basis. I do not mean that we have reached the stage of taking decisions, but that at this stage, definite proposals should be prepared which will take into account the social, economic, political, and moral aspects: plans on which we can improve, plans which will be ready when the time for action comes.

But to whom can we entrust these studies? There is one fundamental principle. In my view, world reconstruction must be based on international collaboration or it will fail. If we return to-morrow to the narrow political and economic nationalism which we accepted or tolerated during the last ten years, well, then the outcome is not to be doubted; it means the end of a civilisation. But when I speak of international organisation, I do not mean international action alone, setting aside the national States or diminishing their status. The national States will and must remain the basis of all international organisation. We must delegate to international organs the work that national States cannot do or are no longer able to do; but to the extent that the national States can act within the framework of a better organised international order, they will be able to discharge their own responsibilities more fully and effectively. But I think also that we have learnt our lesson; I think that the wounds of the last economic crisis, the conditions of modern warfare, which have introduced a new and decisive factor into the relations between the peoples, the suffering, or rather the wisdom born of suffering, all these influences together will open the eyes of those who hitherto have not wanted to see.

But if the solution has to be sought in international collaboration, we must have the necessary bodies for studying the problem in all its aspects, social, economic, and political. In the social field, luckily, we have an organisation which has proved its worth and during the emergency has kept its vitality, its means of action, its experience, and the powers to serve. It is the International Labour Office. Fortunately it will be able to take in hand the whole of the social side of this study of reconstruction problems. And here I am glad to be able to express my very sincere appreciation of the Acting Director and his Report. I really think that the way in which he has taken up this work is of excellent promise for the morrow. But, as he himself points out, these social plans depend on the economic possibilities. He himself points out that social reform must rest on solid economic reconstruction. I agree with him, therefore, that in this work he must pay the necessary attention to the economic factors. But he himself suggests that some economic research is not a part of the duties of the I.L.O. I should like the I.L.O. to view this task and this research in the widest sense. Let us not forget that the Report of the Acting Director raises certain very definite questions. We must give him authority, formal authority, to try to define in greater detail the guiding principles laid down in his Report. I hope that out of our discussions will come decisions, precise and yet flexible enough to help him carry out this task.

But while in the social field the machinery thus seems to be prepared, unfortunately, in the economic field, it is not. I regret that I cannot here outline for you my own idea of these plans for international economic reconstruction. I have not the time. Perhaps we shall have an opportunity some other time. I wish merely to draw your attention to two points which seem to me of capital importance. The first is that in the economic field, in the field of international economic relations, we must clearly start over again our previous struggle to lower all the barriers to international trade. But I believe that more will be needed now. A merely negative policy will no longer meet post-war needs. The conditions which will follow this war will demand more positive action. We must define a constructive approach to this problem. We shall have to have some kind of international planning. And this planning, I
I am fully aware of all the obstacles, all the difficulties and disappointments which will inevitably beset the path of international co-operation. But if we are careful not to allow this regional organisation to step outside its role, I believe that in that direction there are possibilities of a practical nature.

It has often been said that there can be no social security without economic security; but it is also true that there can be no economic security and economic organisation in international relations without an equivalent measure of political security, without a corresponding organisation of international political relations. Here is the whole problem; it must be studied without losing any time in all its aspects. We must therefore embark as soon as possible on this stage of preparing concrete plans, and I do not need to say that co-ordination from the top down between all these plans in the social, economic, and political fields is an absolute necessity, for which provision must also be made as soon as possible.

I understand very well, and you will no doubt have had the impression in hearing me speak, that the task is enormous. Is it too much for us? Is it too heavy? I do not know, but I know this, that we must undertake it. Is it not worth doing, or at least to delay, a rapid succession of political and national. I think that the idea of regional collaboration in its new forms will provide the key to open many doors. But of course, we must remember that if we try to re-establish the principle of isolation on the regional plane we shall merely have transformed the difficulty and shall probably be in a worse situation than we were when we had national isolation. But if we are careful not to allow this regional organisation to step outside its role, I believe that in that direction there are possibilities of a practical nature.

First, is it not true that never before has man been more master of his destiny, that we have succeeded in extending our hold on material forces further than anything that we could hope for twenty or thirty years ago? At this time, our real difficulty is not so much to fight against material forces as to fight against ourselves. If we were to succeed in setting up in the world a modicum of international order, do you not believe that the technical and scientific inventions of the last few decades would enable us to produce goods in large enough quantities to allow us to get rid of all hindrances to our ambition to improve living conditions? In a world which has started again on the road to economic progress, in a period of expanded international exchange, of general increase in the production of goods, do you not believe that many of our problems which now seem almost impossible of solution would again be reduced to more modest proportions? As for me, I know of no single economic problem for which a technical solution cannot be found that will respect and promote all the legitimate interests involved. Why not try to find these solutions and to apply them?

And finally, war itself has proved the truth of the saying that out of evil may come good. The war has destroyed untold riches, but even if they are lost forever, it has also abolished certain barriers, it has removed several artificial obstacles. Certain prejudices which used to prevent innovation have been destroyed. The upheaval has been on such a scale that it has to a certain extent cleared the ground on which we must rebuild. But this can only be true on condition that we are ready to act without delay, with vigour, with generosity, with precision. In other words, the first aid that we bring men who are freed from the nightmare of war will be to give them, with bread and with work, the beginnings of a new, better, and finally assured order.

Once more, we are at a crossroads. We shall take either the right or the wrong road. If we succeed, if out of this Conference we can bring some constructive contribution to the task of reconstruction of the world, we shall have restored their hopes to those who suffer and fight, who work, who die. We shall have given to fight against material forces further than anything that we could, hope for twenty or thirty years ago? We shall have given meaning to their effort, and we shall have served as far as we can the ideal of social justice to which this Organisation has been devoted for over twenty years.

Interpretation: Mr. TORRES (Government delegate, Chile) — This Conference is most important because it is taking place in the middle of the most terrible times in history, which is not only bringing suffering and impoverishment to the belligerent countries, but also interfering with economic conditions in the non-belligerent countries.

We all know the close connection that exists between economic factors and social welfare. The solidity of the social structure and the improvement of the standard of living of the people depend very largely on economic improvement.

It was certainly a happy idea to hold this Conference in New York, the business capital of the world, because it will give us an opportunity of stressing the economic aspects of social problems. The Latin American delegates
The results of the application of social insurance have been very satisfactory. In 1936 the Fund looked after ten thousand children of insured persons, and the infant mortality rate was 225 per thousand; in 1937 the number assisted was 21,000 and the mortality was 241 per thousand; in 1938 it looked after 37,000, and the mortality was only 236 per thousand; in 1939 the figures were 52,000 children and the mortality 205 per thousand.

In spite of these satisfactory results, experience has shown that it is desirable to extend the benefits of social insurance still further, and our President, Don Pedro Aguirre Cerda, has sent to Parliament a Bill introducing the following reforms: (a) extension of full medical benefits to the families of insured persons; (b) pensions for widows and orphans; (c) unemployment insurance; (d) compulsory insurance against industrial accidents; and (e) increases in the rates of sickness, maternity, and nursing benefits, and invalidity and old-age pensions.

Apart from the National Social Insurance Fund for Workers in Chile, there are forty other insurance institutions extending social insurance to other groups of wage earners and salaried employees, such as public employees, private employees, journalists, municipal employees, and so on.

I am particularly pleased to be able to tell the Conference that we have just approved an extremely important law in Chile laying down that the salaries of private employees must be adjusted annually, with a basic minimum salary and a regular annual increment.

The activities of the various funds in Chile have gone beyond the field of mere social insurance and have contributed to the general progress of the country; for instance, they have played a very important part in the improvement of the housing of the country. The old idea was that capital should be invested in housing only with a view to making profit. Now the funds are investing their capital in housing with no idea of making profit. Just as the State cannot think of profit in investing its money in educational and health work, it ought to do the same with respect to housing. That is the only way to secure the conservation, improvement and efficiency of the country's human capital.

The social reforms introduced in Chile led the International Labour Office to appoint a national correspondent in Chile, but I think the importance of our social policy and the fact that our country has such complete and advanced labour legislation would justify the International Labour Office in having a regular branch office in Chile. The work of such an office would be of great importance to the whole of South America. We are grateful for the work done by the present correspondent, my distinguished friend, Professor Moisés Poblete Troncoso; but I feel it would be better if he were the head of a regular branch office.

Mr. Goodrich, Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, in his inaugural speech in this Conference, spoke of the formation of the Inter-American Committee on Social Security, whose first meeting will soon be held in Santiago de Chile.

Chile has in view a new social policy based on
on scientific ideas, and aiming at the improvement of the whole race. We are convinced that our country can make great progress, and we are sparing no effort in improving the conditions of the workers. In thus carrying on her work for the promotion of social welfare, Chile is guided and inspired by the principles of the International Labour Organisation.

Mr. DIMITRATOS (Government delegate, Greece) speaks in Greek.

Interpretation — The International Labour Organisation, which was created by necessity, has offered invaluable services in all the fields of social policy and contributed with its manifold activities to the moral and material as well as to the spiritual uplift of the working masses in all countries. Greece, since the founding of this international organisation, has participated in the fulfilment of its objectives, and has realised these aims with a positive determination which places Greece in the vanguard in the creation of a modern society.

The socialist revolutionary factor played the leading role in the political life of Greece during the last few years. This factor bore the imprint of trade union organisation and of the political emancipation of the poor and middle classes, and led to the establishment of a programme of radical reform. The scope of these reforms brought a change in the very foundations of the capitalist economy of Greece. The Greek social reforms were the work exclusively of the workers and peasants. The inadequate natural resources of Greece compelled millions of her sons to migrate to distant lands in search of work that would give them a livelihood. This population problem became even more acute with the two million refugees who poured into the country in 1922. To achieve a higher standard of living and civilisation, the workers and peasants had to toil unceasingly. To those countries, such as the United States of America, which received the Greek immigrants and gave them an opportunity to earn a living, we wish to express our gratitude.

Greece was moving along the road of peaceful creation when she suffered the sudden, unprovoked, unjust, and barbarous attack of Fascist Italy a year ago. The Greek people replied to the Italian attack as one man with one soul. The labourers and peasants, and, generally, all Greeks, men and women, with a spirit of absolute self-sacrifice, defended their freedom and at the same time defended the cause of all Balkan peoples.

In the face of this magnificent resistance by the Greek people, the Italian aggression was crushed. The Fascist legions were being defeated. The Italian war machine was smashed; and our glorious army chased the Fascist hordes into the mountains of Albania. The free soul of the Greeks prevailed over armoured mechanised violence, and the Greek soil, saturated with the blood of her children, every inch of which covers the graves of heroes of thousands of years of history, continued to remain free.

The Greek-Italian war was approaching its end, for the retreating Italians were about to be driven into the sea. When we received a new, unprovoked, and cowardly attack in the back, that of Nazi Germany.

History does not record such a combined attack of two big powers against a small country. We knew that the struggle was deadly. But there was no other road to follow, because a people conscious of its freedom prefers sacrifice, no matter how great, even when buried under the ruins of its homes. No sacrifice counts before the great cause of national independence.

Our dead are many. Among my comrades alone, members of the National Federation of Greek Workers, more than seventy thousand and were killed. There are hundreds of thousands of wounded and crippled and orphaned. At least three million souls are left without shelter as a result of the destruction of villages and towns. Greece is in ruins now. Whole cities have been destroyed and razed. Irrigation works that were built to increase the productivity of the soil, rivers, dams, bridges, communication centres and highways, harbours, and all that was created by the toil and modern civilisation of the Greek people no longer exist. Destruction is complete, and above the ruins, among which live those who survived the furious two-front defence of liberty, the bloody hands of Fascism and Nazism are raised, symbolising crime and madness. Thus, deeply wounded, was Greece overcome.

A nation of absolute homogeneity and of century-long traditions of freedom and justice, my country came to know the "new order" of Hitler, which divided Greece into spheres of influence and delivered it into shameless exploitation. A portion of Greek land, Eastern Macedonia and Thrace, has been given to the Bulgarians as a prize for their treachery perpetrated against the Balkan peoples. In this area, the Bulgarian policy of widespread atrocities and wholesale persecution has been initiated with a systematic uprooting of the population. Another section, around Salonika, the second capital of Greece, is held by the Germans; the rest of Greece, Hitler gave to the Italian prisoners of war, to those whom Greek valour had humiliated and debased and brought as prisoners to the lands where they now reign as tyrants.

With "occupation" paper money, which has no actual value, the rapacious Germans, Italians, and Bulgarians have stripped Greek markets of every kind of food of prime necessity and robbed the country of the products of her industry and agriculture. As a result, life in enslaved Greece has become unbearable and undernourishment menaces the very existence of the people. But in spite of this tragic situation and the threat of death from starvation, the Greek people, their heads high, look upon the aggressors with contempt.

The spirit of resistance of the enslaved population of Greece is higher than ever and is expressed in every way and on every occasion. It is this very spirit that supports the solidarity of the Greeks with the Yugoslavs, Czechoslovaks, Poles, Belgians, Norwegians, Dutch, and French. With these peoples, the Greeks have a common cause in the great revolt for liberty, which, in spite of terrorism, the executioners of the ideals and religions of so many peoples still have to face. For nations which know how to fight for their liberty do not die. The Greek army and air force are being reorganised, while the Greek navy and merchant
getable Albert Thomas, who put his great humanity. It was the creation of our unfortunates, of preventing the recurrence of a new powers of its parent organisation have shown weathered all storms, while the insufficient powers of its parent organisation have shown themselves incapable, in spite of the best intentions, of preventing the recurrence of a new world war.

Out of the blaze of the last world war, our International Labour Office was born, as a lasting achievement of twentieth century humanity. It was the creation of our unforgettable Albert Thomas, who put his great personality whole-heartedly into this work of international social progress and perfection. He had a worthy successor in Harold Butler, who, during his term of office, achieved the most momentous development in the history of our young organisation — the entry of the United States into the International Labour Organisation. Indeed, Mr. Butler's successor was already an American, our dear John G. Winant, now Ambassador of the powerful North American Republic in London.

The task of steering the International Labour Organisation through the adversities of our stormy days has now been allotted to Mr. Edward Phelan, who, like his Assistant Director, Mr. Tixier, has been connected with our Organisation from its very beginning. Assisted by a select staff, who are inspired by high idealism in their humanitarian work, these eminent men will certainly succeed in their difficult task. I think I may speak on behalf of the entire Conference in professing that they deserve and enjoy our unlimited confidence. I, for one, have no doubt whatsoever that the International Labour Office, born out of the blaze of the first world war, will pass unscathed through the flames of the second world war in our century, and more, that it will arise from with renewed vigour to do its part in the social reconstruction of the shattered world. This will assume special importance after the ravages of war, in laying the foundations of a lasting peace. It has been generally recognised by now that social justice constitutes an indispensable condition of peace, and, thus, the work of the I.L.O. will benefit not only its Member States but the whole of mankind.

If I may proceed now to say a few words on conditions in my own little country, I want to emphasise that we had a rather highly developed social legislation there. The eight-hour day, workers' holidays, and workers' representation had been ordered by law for all sections of industry. Women and young people were specially protected; wages and working conditions were generally regulated by collective agreements. Special consideration was given to housing and social hygiene, and extensive social legislation was based on the institutions of social insurance which provided financial assistance and medical help to all employees in case of illness or accident as well as pensions in case of old age or disablement and allowance in case of unemployment. The labour movement in our country was soundly based on free trade unions, and it was animated by a strong democratic and trade unionist spirit.

These healthy and happy conditions have been completely destroyed by the German invasion of May 1940. The occupation of our country by German troops has put an end to lawful administration and vested all power in the German military commanders. It uses all the devices of intimidation, pressure, economic and political terrorism. All free and independent institutions in our country have been destroyed; economic and political life, the press and all associations, the entire social life, and, to a great extent, even the private lives of my unfortunate compatriots have been subjected to totalitarian Nazi control. Thousands of Luxembourgers have been deported to Germany,
even to Poland and occupied Russia, and those left behind are being ruthlessly sweated.

No wonder that under these conditions the Luxemburgers have adopted an attitude of unrelenting opposition towards their new masters. Passive resistance prevails in all sections of the population, but it is occasionally superseded by spontaneous and demonstrative acts of resistance. I may say, not without pride, that especially among the Luxemburg working class the spirit of resistance is complete and vigorous. Together with hatred and contempt for the spirit of resistance is complete and vigorous. Together with hatred and contempt for the foreign tyrants, there lives in the whole of the Luxemburg people burning hope and firm confidence in the final victory of freedom and of the democratic powers:*

It would take too much of the time of the Conference to give more details about the situation in Luxemburg. I will therefore distribute next week a booklet in which the delegates will find a report about Luxemburg under the German occupation.

The exiled Luxemburg Government, of course, does everything in its power to steel and to strengthen that indomitable spirit of resistance at home and to assist our people, as far as humanly possible, in their unequal struggle against a ruthless oppressor. You may know that our Government has taken up residence in London, in the centre of the world-embracing struggle against tyranny and barbarism, in the city which has become the bastion of freedom for the whole of the civilised world.

Having lived in London for months and having gone through some of the heaviest air raids and bombardments, one realises the immense value of the education of the British people. Education for freedom and democracy has made these peace-loving men and women invincible soldiers of liberty, when the supreme test came for humanity. Man is a product of conditions and of education; and this is my firm conviction: if the world is to achieve peace, the world which is also the tongue of the great European countries learn the language of this war; it will be reborn, thanks to the exertions of the Anglo-Saxon race. When the enslaved countries of to-day regain their freedom, they will be acutely aware that they owe their existence to the heroic struggle of the British people, and their relation to Great Britain will therefore be similar to the relationship of grateful children to their mother who has given them life. Should not the peoples of the European countries learn the language of their mother, Great Britain, a language, moreover, which is also the tongue of the great United States, which is the voice of Roosevelt and Churchill, and which, in my belief, is destined to become the new lingua franca after this war. Language is the prime tool of education, and an education which imparts, together with the English language, Anglo-Saxon civilisation, will certainly be an education for democracy and peaceful co-operation.

I therefore take the liberty of submitting to you a brief resolution suggesting to the International Labour Organisation to use its influence with the Governments, and more especially with the European Governments, with a view to making the teaching of the English language compulsory in all schools after this war.

If the Conference accepts this proposal and takes the necessary measures for its realisation, then a modest but certainly not unimportant contribution will have been made to securing lasting peace in a democratic world, based on social justice and on free and tolerant co-operation so highly developed in the Anglo-Saxon civilisation, in the British Commonwealth of Nations as well as in the Federal Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. BRIITO (Employers' delegate, Cuba)
— I am going to comment only on those passages of Mr. Phelan's Report which refer to future policy. Mr. Phelan considers the future in terms not merely of improved conditions of labour but of a better standard of life for all. He refers to the fact that the mass production of to-day will bring as a result mass unemployment, but I am glad to note that he mentions the fact that economic as well as social conditions will have to be taken into consideration.

The employers of Cuba have borne in mind the Atlantic Declaration of President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill. The fifth point, the last paragraph, reads: 'The fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security'. This means, in fact, that a new economic system is contemplated in order to improve the worker's standard of living and social security.

I may say, certainly, that Cuba has undertaken more than once in the past to emphasise the importance of this aspect of social policy. This is the basic or fundamental question to be dealt with whenever labour problems are under discussion.

Mr. Hauck, of the Free French Movement, has gone into this subject in detail and has thoroughly explained the reasons why the International Labour Organisation should take into account more especially economic factors in planning uniform social progress.

I do not propose to give examples to show the necessity of bearing in mind these economic factors, but I must say that Cuba faces serious problems in the way of social progress because it is not an industrially self-supporting country but has to import almost everything that is needed including the requirements of the sugar industry. Tariffs have risen and, at the same time, products for export, such as sugar, have been heavily burdened with increased labour costs. We find that the price which is fixed for sugar does not allow for the increased cost of imports. The workers have asked for another increase of 30 per cent. in wages, and we fear that on the occasion of the next crop, difficulties may arise which will have to be settled in a satisfactory manner so that we can go on with our crop and sell our sugar to the world. I have mentioned this in order to show that unless economic conditions are taken into consideration, social progress cannot go on in the uniform manner which is contemplated for the future.

As regards the higher standard of living, however, I think that we shall be very fortunate if, after the war is won, we can keep the standard of living which we already have. I think it will even be rather difficult to
maintain the present standard. It is absurd, therefore, that in this Conference we are contem-planting better conditions of life — not merely more social progress, but a general improvement in living conditions.

I am not pessimistic; on the contrary I have always been very optimistic. I do not think that the world is going to utter destruction because employers are not able to go so far as to meet any demands which are made or which might be made. My opinion is that employers should be willing to co-operate with the workers in everything pertaining not merely to better conditions of labour but also to the securing of a higher standard of living. But it is imperative that the workers should realise that employers in the future may not be in a position to grant everything which they may demand.

I believe that the methods of collaboration or co-operation in labour matters which have been discussed are of great importance. I think that they are not only going to be necessary now while the war is going on, but that they are going to lead to a better understanding; and the employers of Cuba hope that these methods of collaboration will bring about a situation in which the employers and workers are not separate factors, but through this collaboration will enjoy, after the war, real spiritual peace.

Mr. KELLY (Employers' delegate, Australia) — Let me first, on behalf of the employers of Australia — and I am quite sure that I can do so on behalf of all our citizens — extend our sincere sympathy to all those countries and all those peoples who have suffered so grievously at the hands of the aggressors. The courage and determination of the people of Britain, of Europe, of the Scandinavian countries, and of China deserves more than mere words of sympathy and encouragement.

They, like many of us who are gathered at this Conference to-day, are still fighting for liberty, for freedom, for the right to live as individuals, for the rights of their children and the rights of generations yet unborn to work together in a better way of life. We are concerned, the first concern of all who love freedom, is, as the President of this great country has said, to crush Hitlerism and its unspeakable brutality. But the defeat of Nazi Germany and its satellites is not an end in itself. It is a means to an end; for when we have won our freedom, we must know how best to use it to make this world a better place to live in, a better place, not merely for one class or for one group of nations, but for all peoples of the world. It is here, I believe, that our I.L.O. has a great function to perform. We must not wait — we cannot wait — until after the war to tackle the problems that are piling up.

The Acting Director's Report touches on many phases of the activities of the I.L.O., but to my mind the most important by far are those dealing with those post-war problems. In fact, I would go so far as to say that in certain circumstances, these are the only real problems to which this Organisation can seriously devote itself during the next twelve months. In Australia, a few of us have been thinking about post-war problems during the past fifteen months, but our difficulty has been that the average person to whom one looks for even moral support feels — and on the short view, the feeling is a natural one—that the only thing that matters is to win the war.

The admirable speech of the British Lord Privy Seal, Mr. Attlee, on post-war problems, has brushed away these difficulties so far as the I.L.O. is concerned.

I know that we were unprepared for war two years ago; but for goodness sake, ladies and gentlemen, do not let us be unprepared for peace. Do not let us, because of lack of preparation, win the war and lose the peace.

If we cast our minds back twenty-three years, we must remember that our last journey to the peace then caused distress and want, and bred the troubles we are facing to-day. In Australia, the Federal Government has set up a committee to consider post-war problems. No doubt other Governments have similar investigations in progress. I believe that the most suitable body to correlate and disseminate any conclusions that are available is this Organisation, the I.L.O. Therefore I plead that during the remainder of our Conference, serious consideration be given to post-war problems, and to the part that the I.L.O. can play in their solution.

Before dealing with general matters, may I, on behalf of the employers of Australia, offer my sincere congratulations to Mr. Phelan, the Acting Director of the I.L.O., for the satisfactory manner in which he has steered this important Organisation through such a difficult period? I am confident that he will continue successfully to carry it as he has done in the past.

While I regret, as we all do, the deplorable happenings which have prevented the I.L.O. meeting from taking place in its usual domicile at Geneva, it is very pleasing to me, as an Australian, that the Conference is being held in this great metropolis of the United States of America. As most of you are aware, we Australians live in the Southwest part of the Pacific, and for that reason, perhaps, Australia — I might add New Zealand — and the United States of America have greater mutual interest than any other countries in the world. I have just flown from Australia by Clipper; fortunately, during the whole of that journey the Pacific remained true to its name. May I express the fervent hope that it will continue to do so, in every sense of the word?

Australia and New Zealand, as the outposts of democracy in the Southwestern Pacific, are vitally concerned in the maintenance of peace in that area. But I believe that we have already shown that we are not advocates of peace at any price. We will fight for our freedom and for the freedom of our friends and neighbours. We do not propose to be kicked around by international bullies or frightened by international blustering; nor will we permit our friends to be kicked around. We are a small nation in point of numbers, but we are not a weak nation seeking protection, with nothing to offer in return. Our industrial development as well as our strategic position permit us to bring to the democratic front in the Pacific something of real value to our Allies.

This great country, the United States, has shown by its actions a realisation that it, like
other Pacific democracies whose representatives sit at this Conference, has a vital interest in the Pacific. The United States, too, desires peace; but like us, like all the democracies of the Pacific, it desires peace at any price.

We Australians have fought this war thousands of miles from our own coastline — in Libya, in Greece, in Crete, in Syria, off the coast of England and over Germany — but we have not neglected the Pacific. The defences of Australia itself in the Pacific have never been more formidable. We have 450,000 men under arms, equivalent to 9 million men in terms of American population. By 1943, five out of every six physically fit Australian men between eighteen and forty-five will be under arms or making munitions. Even now, twenty-five per cent. of the male population between eighteen and forty is in the fighting services. We have at least 170,000 volunteers in the Middle East and Malaya, 60,000 in the Royal Australian Air Force, serving in Britain, in the Middle East, in Malaya, and in Canada, as well as in Australia, 20,000 in the Royal Australian Navy, which has distinguished itself in the Mediterranean, and 200,000 are being trained or have been trained in home defence.

We were unprepared for war. When it came, Australia had not more than 5,000 men employed in war industry. To-day, production is twenty times greater than at the outbreak of the war, and within a short time, it will be sixty times greater. Our wartime industrialisation has involved not only the creation of new industries — of aircraft (and we were putting complete aircraft in the air before we had built a complete automobile), of shipbuilding, of optical munitions, and many other things — but the development of resources hitherto unexploited, such as fuel production from shale, and sugar and coal, aluminium and potash from vast alunite deposits, and newsprint and cellulose from Australian hardwoods.

Our industrial output now covers the most modern armament, including field guns, anti-aircraft guns, and anti-tank guns; armoured cars, Bren guns and carriers, ammunition, shells, and aircraft frames and engines; as well as naval and merchant ships.

We have formed the habit in Australia of referring to this vast industrial and war effort — the effort, I would remind you, of 7 million people, the population of New York — as an industrial revolution. This is not an achievement of the Australian Government, it is not an achievement of the Australian employers, it is not an achievement of the Australian workers; it is an achievement of all three working together to one common end. It is an exercise in industrial relationships in which the Government, the employer, and the worker all have their part to play, their share of the burden to carry.

It would be foolish to deny that there have been industrial disputes in Australia since the war started. There have been disputes, but the settlement of these disputes has been approached with an understanding that industry is fighting this war, just as the men who have left industry to shoulder rifles are fighting it, that days lost in a war industry may mean the difference between defeat and victory.

In the first world war, Australian forces were mainly equipped and supplied from Great Britain. In this war, the picture is different. Not only are we arming and equipping our own forces, but we have American help in industry and in supplies, a help for which we are most grateful, but Australia is the main source of material for the Eastern Supply Group of the British Empire, an area bounded by Aden, the Himalayas, Malaya, and New Zealand. Already, Australia is both storehouse and arsenal for that part of the Empire, and even for Britain itself, where we have sent food, guns, men, and munitions. In the event of war extending into the Pacific, Australia’s part will be more important still.

These things cannot be done without cost — cost in life, cost in labour and in sacrifice and in self-denial. On Wednesday, our Government introduced its war budget of more than one billion dollars. In one year of war, we expect to spend more than we spent during the whole of the four years of the last war. This is a tremendous burden, for, I would remind you again, seven million people. It is a burden we must carry. It is the purchase price of freedom.

But when we have bought that freedom again, we want to be able to use it, to use it intelligently, not for ourselves alone, but for the whole world. Unless we begin now to plot our course, to foresee and find means of circumventing the vast difficulties which will arise, unless the best free minds of this world, even in the midst of its struggle and travail and suffering, can now commune together in good will and prepare to meet these problems, we are lost. The freedom we thought we were buying will not be freedom but slavery. The life to which we thought we were struggling through misery and despair and suffering will disappear as we stretch out our hands to grasp it.

All of us must have something to bring into this survey of the world we hope to see emerge from the shadow that threatens it now. Speaking for my own country, no doubt most of you are aware that Australia very early enacted legislation to deal with social and industrial affairs. I am particularly pleased, as an employer, to say that we have no fault to find with any of the legislation that has been placed on our statute books. The Conciliation and Arbitration Court has been in existence for more than thirty years, and I am certain that neither employer nor employee in Australia would desire to be without it.

We have done other things directed toward making the world a better place for our citizens to live in, things which at the time brought predictions of dire results. Old-age and invalid pensions have been in force in Australia for more than thirty years, and I am certain that there are very early enacted legislation to deal with social and industrial affairs. I am particularly pleased, as an employer, to say that we have no fault to find with any of the legislation that has been placed on our statute books. The Conciliation and Arbitration Court has been in existence for more than thirty years, and I am certain that neither employer nor employee in Australia would desire to be without it.

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There is, I believe, one other measure to which we might turn our attention in the near future, to bring our social security legislation to a degree necessary for the well-being of our country and its citizens. We have on a number of occasions considered unemployment insurance, and I believe that if we had been left in peace, this measure, too, would have been on our statute books by now. In spite of the tremendous drain on employers and employees alike to supply money necessary to wage the war against Nazism, I still believe that we should act now.

In our discussions of unemployment insurance, we have always considered it from the point of view of its practicability on a tripartite basis, one-third contributed by the Government, one-third by the employer, and one-third by the employee. Since this service deals with unemployment, it is not possible that the present time, in countries like Australia, where there is practically no unemployment, is the time to institute legislation of this nature, since a fund will be established during the next year or two which could do much to lessen the economic difficulties in the immediate post-war period.

I hope during this Conference to hear further discussions on this point, since it is my intention to bring it again before the various interests in Australia in the hope that action will be taken, even in this somewhat limited field, to prepare for the peace.

I would like before ending these remarks to add my word of thanks to the President and Faculty of Columbia for enabling this huge gathering to be housed during the Conference in such ideal and historic surroundings.

It is my fervent hope that Columbia, which already has its place not only in the history of the American nation but also in the history of the world, may find added lustre as the host of a meeting of the I.L.O. from which there issued an inspiring and effective call to a weary world to look forward and upward, not to some idealistic new world which will develop of itself from the chaos of today; but to a new mechanism of peace, an outcome of the conditions of today.

In our discussions of unemployment insurance, it is always necessary to keep in mind the fact that the present generation is not that of oldsmen who are their allies in spirit. Should they try to establish for the world a system of international labour legislation, free association, and trade union liberties which are isolated, and at the mercy of propaganda, and we cannot reach them to convince them where their real interest lies, should we ever begin by explaining to our own people, to the democracies, that their existence and their way of life depend on the results of this struggle, that too great profits on the part of the employers, just like strikes and anti-economic activities, will have an influence on the outcome of the struggle, that outcome the principles of international labour legislation, free association, and trade union liberties are completely dependent.

Before coming to reconstruction, we insist that we must go ahead and win the victory first. We should make up a sort of tripartite front, not just a labour front, so as to produce for those who are doing the actual fighting for the democracies. A resolution of this Conference, with all the weight of the I.L.O. behind it, demanding that the class struggle be changed into a close union to fight for existence and liberty, would have an influence on the outcome of the struggle, that outcome the principles of international labour legislation, free association, and trade union liberties are completely dependent.

For one thing, I should hesitate to describe the advances made in Cuban labour legislation to a Conference made up of so many heroic nations who in the middle of their fight for existence, the struggle be changed into a close union to fight for existence and liberty, would have an influence on the outcome of the struggle, that outcome the principles of international labour legislation, free association, and trade union liberties are completely dependent.

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Interpretation: Mr. DE SANDOVAL (Government delegate, Cuba) — The Report which the Acting Director has given us maintains the tradition of lucidity and brilliance established by the illustrious predecessors of Mr. Phelan. Nevertheless, there is a new and distinctive element in this Report, which seems to have left the field of pure technicality that up to now has been prescribed by custom and the world situation, and shows that power of adaptation of the I.L.O. which constitutes the basis of the permanence and constantly renewed vitality. It was not possible to continue those technical studies which had inspired the most constructive and far-reaching labour reforms that the world has known, regardless of the events which will determine the future of the Organisation.

The I.L.O. foresees the war and prepared for it so as to be able to continue its work, and has achieved a considerable measure of success. But it must be emphasised that the fate of the democracies and of social justice, of the right of those directly interested to collaborate fully in government, depends on the result of the war. Once we accept this premise, can we be content merely to make speeches and pray to Heaven for the triumph of the democratic cause? This passive attitude seems to us unworthy of free men and women. To have the right to a better world, it is necessary first to make it ourselves. How can the I.L.O. contribute to democratic victory towards which this Conference can contribute much?

Let us try to draw up a programme of action. If production depends on labour and a successful campaign depends more than ever on the supply of certain essential manufactured products, would it not be well to organise internationally the rapid, efficient, and economical manufacture of everything that is necessary to win the war? We should plan reconstruction, certainly, especially when there is a body in existence which is capable of doing so; but at the same time, we must win this fight.

Since the proletariat of the totalitarian nations is isolated, and at the mercy of propaganda, and we cannot reach them to convince them where their real interest lies, should we ever begin by explaining to our own people, to the democracies, that their existence and their way of life depend on the results of this struggle, that too great profits on the part of the employers, just like strikes and anti-economic claims on the part of the workers, at the present time are merely playing the game of the totalitarianism?

Before coming to reconstruction, we insist that we must go ahead and win the victory first. We should make up a sort of tripartite front, not just a labour front, so as to produce for those who are doing the actual fighting for the democracies. A resolution of this Conference, with all the weight of the I.L.O. behind it, demanding that the class struggle be changed into a close union to fight for existence and liberty, would have an influence on the outcome of the struggle, that outcome the principles of international labour legislation, free association, and trade union liberties are completely dependent.

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In a united world in which the international labour code was applied there would be no unfair competition, no exploitation of the workers. But we are far from having achieved that ideal. I should, however, be content briefly to the social progress achieved in Cuba, so as to show that such progress is not incom-
patible with sound economic principles, and I wish also to proclaim, as did President Batista in a recent message to Congress, that the day will come when all nations will be required to apply a minimum of social justice. We do not demand that all nations should introduce all the numerous social reforms already in force in Cuba — one month's holiday for eleven month's work, a forty-four-hour week (with payment of wages for forty-eight hours), holidays with pay, payment of wages for public holidays, the right to strike and to declare a lockout. But we do demand that a minimum of social justice be established in the world, beginning with America, the only continent where at the present time social progress can be developed and consolidated. Such principles should be embodied in international labour Conventions of general and fundamental character.

On the basis of these ideas, here are two suggestions which the Conference might take up:

First, that a tripartite vote be adopted in favour of effective aid to the democracies, placing at their disposal the material resources and the spiritual forces of the nations that form the anti-totalitarian bloc.

Secondly, that the nations of this bloc, beginning with those which are not belligerent, should undertake to practice at least a minimum of social justice, which might consist in the adoption of the following principles: an eight-hour working day, a weekly rest day, fourteen days' paid holiday a year, protection for women and children, freedom of association, development of collective bargaining, minimum wages, social insurance against accidents, occupational diseases, sickness in general, maternity, old age, invalidity, death, and unemployment.

My hearers may think — and rightly — that it is easy to formulate elaborate schemes for social reforms, and that the difficulty lies in putting these schemes into practice. But in this case such thoughts need not perturb us, for these proposals, inspired by Mr. Phelan's admirable Report, are made by the representative of a Government which practises what it preaches.

Mr. LORENTZEN (Employers' delegate, Norway) — As you will know, the whole Norwegian territory has been occupied by the Nazis and the only industries left which can be carried on without German interference are the shipping industry, and the whaling and sealing industries, which use ships as their chief means of operation. Out of the Norwegian fleet of roughly 7,700,000 tons deadweight, 1,600,000 tons were sunk or caught in Norwegian or Swedish ports during the Norwegian campaign, which lasted for two months. The remainder was requisitioned by the Norwegian Government during the campaign when the Government was still in Northern Norway.

In my capacity as Director of Shipping I was sent to London to take care of the merchant fleet which has since then been running for the account of the Norwegian Government. Between 25,000 and 30,000 men are employed on board these ships and the labour questions dealt with by the Norwegian Government in Exile chiefly concern the conditions of employment and the social welfare of these 25,000 to 30,000 men.

For the management of the fleet under the leadership of the Director of Shipping, an organisation has been built up which is known as the Norwegian Shipping and Trade Mission, or "Nortraship" as it is often designated. In building up this organisation, one of my chief concerns has been the social welfare of the employees, and already in the summer of 1940 I established a committee for social welfare which has since then performed very satisfactory work. The Secretary, Mr. Haslund, has at this Conference delivered a report on the activities of this Committee, to which I refer.

Even before Norway was attacked by the Nazis a very considerable part of the Norwegian merchant fleet was trading to England, and since Norway entered the war the whole Norwegian merchant fleet has been made available for the war effort. This means that the major part of the men employed on board our ships are constantly facing danger in the Battle of the Atlantic, and in other trades where risk is imminent. I must confess that to start with I was not at all confident that it would be possible to carry on our shipping with such a large percentage of the ships in the most risky trades. I thought of the men who had their families in Norway, without means of communication with them, and with little hope of getting back there within any calculable time. On top of it they knew that in order to get through this war we had to respect and even assist in the blockade of Norway, which meant at least serious hardship to their families at home. At the same time, there was no, or little, opportunity of relief from this service in the war zones. We had no reserves, and little relief could be obtained by changing the crews to ships in safer trades because I knew, as matters developed, there would be very few such ships.

However, I am proud to be able to say to-day that the sailors have proved at all times to have the most marvellous fighting spirit and have performed a work which will always be remembered in the history of our country. We have the whole time been able to keep the ships running. A small reserve of seamen has from time to time been formed, partly by the loss of tonnage. But at the same time there has been considerable seepage of Norwegian seamen to ships of other countries, perhaps chiefly to Panamanian ships. It really seems as if the fact that the Panamanian ships are going across makes these ships more dependent upon. Norwegian crews. At the same time, a considerable number of our men have got jobs ashore in this country. Especially engineers have been in demand for shipyards.

It is apparent that we cannot go on giving away men to other countries. Everybody must realise that, being cut off from its territory where the crews have always been recruited, the Norwegian Government cannot be expected to man any more than the very great tonnage flying the Norwegian flag. As new ships are being launched, I foresee increasing difficulties in connection with the manning of our boats. In this competition we are not able to increase the wages and war bonus so as to bring
them to a level with what is paid on Panamanian and American ships. Since we entered the war we have collaborated with the other Allied Powers in keeping wages and war bonus on a certain level, so that there should not be a marked discrepancy between the conditions on board the Norwegian and the other Allied ships; and this is a policy which cannot be abandoned. Under these circumstances it is very important that we get some protection against the competition from this Western Hemisphere, a competition which we cannot meet as vigorously as we should wish because of the limitations imposed by the co-operation I have just outlined.

There are various ways of establishing co-ordination to eliminate this competition, which is detrimental to the war effort. Either the ships in the Western Hemisphere can adjust their wages and war bonus to those paid by the European democracies, or an agreement can be made which will prevent the signing on of Allied seamen on Western Hemisphere ships except with the consent of the Allied authorities. At the same time, it will be necessary that the American immigration authorities live up to their rules so that the absorption of Norwegian seamen in industries here can be stopped.

To go to the root of all these difficulties must be left until after the war. But in view of the importance of the European shipping industry to the war effort, it is necessary that already to-day we find some means of overcoming the difficulties to which I have referred. Perhaps the simplest way would be for other countries to acknowledge the necessity for the Norwegian fleet to keep its seamen. I propose that this question be taken up by the International Labour Organisation and that it use its influence to the greatest extent to obtain a satisfactory solution of this problem.

(The Conference adjourned at 1.25 p.m.)
EIGHTH SITTING

Monday, 3 November 1941, 10 a.m.

Presidents: Sir John Forbes Watson and Mr. Domenech.

REPORT OF THE ACTING DIRECTOR:
DISCUSSION (contd.)

The PRESIDENT (Sir John Forbes Watson) — The Conference will continue the discussion of the Acting Director's Report.

Interpretation: Mr. CRUZ-SANTOS (Government delegate, Colombia) — The Report submitted to this Conference by the Acting Director of the International Labour Office, Mr. Phelan, constitutes a most admirable basis for our discussions. It contains the most complete summary that could be desired respecting the political and social situation of the world at a time when humanity continues to bear the bitter weight of war, and when we who support the democratic ideals which are 'the safeguard of justice and right see the disappearance of defenceless peoples and the rise of force throughout the greater part of the continent of Europe.

We have before us a system based on the theory of the superiority of certain races over others and an imperialist doctrine which declares that force is the only right and that the weak must become satellites of the strong — a theory which rejects democracy and liberty as useless anachronisms, refuses to recognise the rights of the individual, and would make of him a blind tool in the imperialist interests of a minority.

Opposed to this theory, which would throw humanity back into the age of barbarism, there is another theory, upholding intact the principles of liberty and democracy, equality between peoples, and moral and spiritual equality between races. This theory still inspires international law and rejects the idea of living space, unilaterally applied, as a sufficient reason for destroying the sovereignty of peoples who are unable to defend themselves.

This second theory is supported by all the young nations of America and it is in the name of one of them, the Republic of Colombia, with its nine million inhabitants and strong democratic traditions, that I rise to speak to you to-day and make a few simple comments on Mr. Phelan's Report.

Modern war affects not only the belligerents but also neutral countries, which find their economic relations thrown into confusion by the loss of markets where they used to buy raw materials and sell their products. Day by day the working classes and the middle classes are faced with further increases in the cost of living and with unemployment, particularly in the countries which are not directly involved in the conflagration.

Another phenomenon is the absorption of consumers' industries by the war industries. In large-scale industries it is relatively easy to change over to the manufacture of war materials, but in small-scale industries this is more difficult and many run the risk of having to close down — a result which would be detrimental both to consumers and to the working class.

Social legislation in Colombia, as in the greater part of America, is comparatively recent in origin. It is principally during the last fifteen or twenty years that social measures have been placed on the statute book. It should, however, be noted that measures for the protection of workers and the recognition of their rights have not resulted from demands or pressure brought by the working classes; on the contrary, the State has to some extent anticipated these demands. This explains why the Colombian trade union movement has refrained from political activities.

It was only as a result of the adoption of Act No. 83 of 1931 that the trade union movement really began to develop fully, though even before that we had adopted measures without the continuous struggles necessary in many other countries. Employers, employees, and the liberal professions all have the right of free association.

Since 1921 mining and industrial undertakings in Colombia have been bound to supply free medical attendance and hospital treatment for their employees. In 1923 Act No. 86 gave wage-earning and salaried employees the right to half their wages or salaries for a period of six months in the event of sickness. In 1922 certain provisions for compulsory insurance were introduced, and two years before that there was legislation providing for conciliation and arbitration.

Naturally, since 1931, the date when our trade union movement began to develop more fully, the previous social legislation has been extended and amended. It was in that year
that compulsory industrial accident compensation was introduced and certain provisions relating to Sunday rest. In 1934 the recommendations approved by the International Labour Organisation with respect to the eight-hour day were introduced in Colombia. Since then the number of foreign employees in Colombian undertakings has been restricted in order to enable Colombian workers to acquire better technical training. In 1938, legislation was passed respecting compensation for dismissal, retirement pensions, and the status of public employees.

In his Report, Mr. Phelan has mentioned such factors as the restrictions on the exportation of machinery and raw materials from certain highly industrialised countries, such as the United States, and the disturbance of shipping, and has pointed out that these factors are bound to create serious difficulties in semi-industrialised countries such as the majority of the South American countries. They are liable to give rise to unemployment, which is a problem practically unknown in Colombia. It is not easy to find solutions for these problems, but perhaps the European tragedy may give rise to the creation of new industries in South America, so that we may be able to dispense with the importation of certain articles.

Although many of the American countries, like Colombia, are essentially agricultural, surely it is possible to develop agricultural production still further, and especially to diversify it. Modern social legislation in Colombia is therefore particularly concerned with the protection of agricultural workers. I would refer merely to three measures: our Land Act of 1936; the extensive credit facilities provided through the Agrarian Industrial and Mining Credit Bank; and the promotion of rural housing.

The conciliation boards, which are of recent date, facilitate cordial understanding between employers and employees and tend to reduce the number of strikes, thus industry and the public services the security which they require for their prosperous development.

We have in Colombia also, side by side with our advanced social legislation, a system of direct progressive taxation on income, capital, and excess profits which, combined with a tariff protection, has helped to develop our industries and raise the standard of living.

I hope that the above brief remarks have been sufficient to give the delegates a general picture of social conditions in Colombia, conditions which are such as to enable my country to appear before this Conference confident in the knowledge that it has always been guided by the principles embodied in the International Labour Organisation.

Mr. VALSTAR (Employers' delegate, Netherlands) — It is a great privilege to be associated with this historic and momentous Conference of the International Labour Organisation, the convocation and deliberations of which symbolise faith in final victory. This faith, as I sincerely trust, will express itself at the close of this meeting in a statement unanimously carried, declaring unsurpassed and whole-hearted adherence to the principles of democracy, of freedom, and justice. These principles are the foundation on which this Organisation is built and for which England, the other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and their allies heroically and undauntedly are fighting, suffering, and dying. Let us be inspired by the indomitable, unconquerable spirit of the whole British nation, which is giving to the world an unparalleled example of unity and moral strength.

Such a declaration of faith will not only be a message of comfort and consolation to all who are in the battle zone; but it will undoubtedly fortify the position of the I.L.O. and serve as another powerful blow to the enemies of democracy.

In the battle zone, I include the invaded countries, my own country, whose peoples are suffering unheard of privation, humiliation, and oppression, and who are living under a mental and physical strain which cannot well be imagined. We know that they are of good courage and have unshaken faith in ultimate liberation. They do not ask for pity. They will have hailed the words of Princess Juliana of the Netherlands: "Keep your pity for the weak; we feel stronger than ever." But, however firm their faith, they are in need of hope-inspiring, encouraging words and deeds from those who are still free to speak and, what is of far greater importance, free to act.

It is only natural that workers and employers in the democratic occupied countries will be deeply interested in the work of this Conference. They have not been able this time to give their co-operation in the nomination of their delegates. Their trade unions and associations are disbanded. But although physically such organisations may have been temporarily suppressed by the invader, their spirit is and will remain fully alive.

National relations between workers and employers in the Netherlands are governed by a strong and extensive structure of social legislation and a widely spread system of collective agreements, which through adjustment find an acceptable balance between social desirabilities and social possibilities. To the worker this system may seem a slow process, but it no doubt has one outstanding advantage: it has laid a solid foundation for better mutual understanding and growing friendly co-operation. This method of gradually building up the status of the worker, taking into account national social development, ensures a great measure of good will and stable relations between the two groups. In many cases, this cannot be said of international social agreements such as the Conventions promoted by this Organisation, because many times they do not fit in with, and are no natural extension of, national social legislation.

These thoughts, centring on the desirability of gradual social development and advance internationally, occurred to me when reading the chapter on "The Economic Aspects of Social Reconstruction" in the excellent and lucid Report of the Acting Director. In this chapter, Mr. Phelan states, referring to the field of international economics, that the Constitution of the I. L. O. would seem sufficiently flexible to allow of an almost unlimited extension of the tasks or activities entrusted to it by the Member States.

This interpretation of the Preamble of the
Constitution to me seems somewhat unjustified. I hope Mr. Phelan will forgive me this remark, which certainly does not imply lack of deference for his standpoint, but neither the wording of the Preamble nor Section II of the Constitution, dealing with General Principles, seems to bear out this conception of the Acting Director's.

As an illustration of the consequences to which such an interpretation may lead, I refer to certain draft resolutions submitted for approval to this Conference, proposing the establishment by the I.L.O. of tripartite organisations or committees to regulate internationally the textile and transport industries, socially and economically. No doubt these resolutions are inspired by what Mr. Phelan writes in the chapter "The Government of World Industries".

The title, together with the contents of this chapter, lead inevitably to the conclusion that this government may be exercised by sections of the I.L.O. based on the tripartite principle. It is true, of course, that there are many industries presenting problems which can only be solved internationally; but their solution lies practically entirely in the political domain, which up till now has been jealously monopolised by the national Governments, as probably, to a very large extent, it will continue to be. This seems not only natural, but reasonable and unavoidable. It appears to me that the Governments, politically representing their people, cannot leave questions determining the future of their countries, their political relations with the other nations of the world, in the hands of tripartite sections of the I.L.O.

Apart from political objections, there are others to make, when the Acting Director, speaking of the shipping industry, suggests that the Joint Maritime Commission, in order to adapt itself to the treatment of post-war maritime problems, might be modified in its composition, so as to provide for Governmental representation, since at present it is a bipartite body. This means a change of primary importance in the character of this Commission, which would make it possible for it to be entrusted with the activities enumerated by my esteemed fellow-countryman, Mr. Oldenbroek, in his resolution now under consideration.

The Acting Director further refers to the establishment of an International Textile Committee, which was envisaged in 1937 by the World Textile Conference, but the constitution of which was interrupted by the war. Consequently, this advisory committee is not yet in existence. Now a resolution is proposed by the Workers' group that a World Textile Office be established.

I only cite these instances of proposed evolution of the work of the I.L.O. to show that there is a very distinct tendency to go with giant strides to the international management of world industries.

It may be that this, after all, will be the direction in which international co-operation will evolve politically, economically, and socially, which means that we shall have a world federation of nations, the government of which will be partly in the hands of the International Labour Organisation. I am consciously exaggerating, but it is in order to demonstrate that the steps proposed are rather revolutionary and not evolutionary. However, should this development be necessary in order to win the peace, I am sure that the employer will contribute his modest share to make this possible.

However this may be, it occurs to me that in these wholly unsettled times, when national and international aspects of things are changing every day, when political reconstructions of major importance will have to take place, when in short there is no stability of any kind, there is great risk involved for the future position of the I.L.O. if it enters too far and too fast into the field of international economics to which, as I have tried to explain, is so closely related with the international political status of the nations of the world.

One thing is sure: that all the work of the I.L.O. will have been in vain, that the basis of its existence will be destroyed, and that its future work will be impossible, if the war is not won. Therefore let this Organisation, before anything else, concentrate its efforts on helping to bring this to pass. Only victory will ensure continuance of the I.L.O.'s activities.

These remarks certainly do not prevent me from wholly endorsing the Acting Director's conclusion on page 74 of his Report, that the activities of the Organisation in the present emergency should continue to the greatest possible extent.

There is no doubt in my mind that the work done at present, as enumerated in the Report, under such difficult circumstances and with a considerably reduced staff, is not only clear proof of the vitality of the Organisation and the devotion of its personnel, but can also rightly be called a contribution, be it indirect, to the war effort; it therefore is highly commendable and deserving of the fullest support of the States Members of this institution.

I further am in full accord with what Mr. John Winant states in his report to the Governments, employers, and workers of this Organisation, on page 15: "Within the limits of its competence and because of its co-ordination of world experience in the social field, the International Labour Organisation can help to strengthen the fabric of democracy."

Although with regard to this very important question of competence the sense of proportion as existing in the employers' and workers' minds may be of a different order, there must be unanimity of opinion as to the highly useful and beneficial work the International Labour Organisation has done, and as I sincerely hope, will continue to do, be it with reasonable self-restraint, on behalf of those workers of the world who believe in the underlying principles of democracy.

Mr. ZARRAS (Government adviser, Greece) — As one who is proud to call himself a faithful follower of the idea of the international regulation of labour conditions, I feel particularly touched in taking the floor in my turn at a time so critical for mankind.

In Geneva, Greece, true to her historical tradition, has been in the vanguard of every cause in which free States co-operated for the benefit of mankind. To-day Greece is overshadowed by mourning and misery. To our ancient ruins and ancient altars has been added countless new ones, but our ancient ideals remain unshattered — the ideals of freedom and of the prevalence
of the spirit over violence. It is these ideals of ancient Greece which to-day unite the free peoples of the world for a determined counter-offensive against the unscrupulous violence and robbery of the totalitarian régimes.

The International Labour Organisation is based on the principles of social justice and of international understanding between free peoples. There is an absolute antithesis between it and the totalitarian régimes. One by one they have withdrawn from our common effort, to which isolation and the will for domination over other States are entirely foreign. The States now united in the I.L.O. are those which have remained faithful to the democratic ideals of freedom and justice. Together with the other allied States we, the Greeks, therefore readily answered the call of this Conference. During our arduous resistance to the invader, and during the life-and-death struggle in which we are still engaged, we have at all times remained faithful to our ideal of peace based on freedom and social justice.

The main value of this Conference has been to emphasise the common ideals and outlook of the European nations which carry on the struggle for liberty and of the free and democratic States of the American continent. We must therefore, in the present world conditions, be grateful to those who, interpreting the constitutional traditions of the Organisation in a constructive spirit, took the initiative of suggesting this meeting, in substitution for a session of the International Labour Conference, in view of the difficulties involved in convening a regular session of the Conference.

It is fortunate that those who, at the time of the war conflagration, had to take decisions concerning the further work of the I.L.O. were inspired by their faith in the high principles on which the Organisation is based, and interpreted the legal principles which must also govern its constitutional development in a constructive rather than a paralysing spirit. We must therefore now admit publicly, from this tribune, that these decisive and extraordinary steps which, as we all know, saved the Organisation from the destructive storm were fully justified.

For those of us who, absorbed by the carrying on of a tough struggle for the defence of our freedom, had to abandon our contact with the International Labour Office, the Report of the Acting Director which we have just had the opportunity of reading is a revelation. From this Report we have seen that, in spite of the great reduction in the staff of the Office, which has lost many of its experienced collaborators, in spite of the difficulties of the war and the transfer to Montreal, and in spite of the financial situation, the I.L.O. has continued successfully its manifold activities, carrying on satisfactorily the issue of its publications, extending its studies on the vital social problems created by the war, and giving technical advice to numerous Governments. It would be a pity that the Conference if it did not express a tribute due to the able and experienced Director of the I.L.O. and to the handful of his distinguished collaborators on whom fell the burden of the conservation of the precious technical mechanism of the I.L.O. in these difficult times.

The Report of the Acting Director reflects the political events which shake the world and the social and economic problems arising from these events. It contains very little information concerning the application of the international labour code. In Geneva we considered such information the barometer of the effectiveness of international labour legislation. It would not have been superfluous, in spite of the legal peculiarity of this Conference, to have submitted a brief report on the application of the Conventions, which continue to be legally binding, even though certain countries, such as my own, are no longer in a position to secure the enforcement of their provisions. I would therefore like to express the wish that at the first opportunity we have in the future, we be given a report on the application of the Conventions since the outbreak of war.

The Report refers to the value of the systems of international supervision over the application of Conventions. I should like to endorse what it says on this subject and to express the hope that the Office will make a full study of how the system of international supervision can be further developed and completed.

Finally, as far as the future directions and the future activity of the I.L.O. are concerned, it seems to me that the two reports of Mr. Winant and Mr. Phelan formulate successfully these directions as they are dictated by the conditions, and they must be whole-heartedly approved by the Conference.

The success of this Conference in every respect leads me to think that as long as new conditions do not change the present situation, more frequent use of the various collective organs of our Organisation should be indicated.

In due time we could think of holding a regular session of the Conference, which might adopt Recommendations on questions such as the orientation of the Members to the new social conditions created by the war and the collaboration of workers, employers and Governments. The voting of such Recommendations by the International Labour Conference under war conditions would constitute an act of historical significance for the Organisation.

I should like to support Mr. Hallsworth's proposal for the strengthening of the London Office and the holding of certain I.L.O. meetings in London, which is now, it must be remembered, the capital of nine Allied Governments. It would be especially useful to hold in London a conference to consider how the work of the I.L.O. in continental European countries should be resumed after the war.

To the International Labour Office pertains the heavy burden of helping the social and economic reconstruction of the post-war world. The Office must not only study the social problems of the transition from war, to peace economy which will arise immediately at the end of the war, but also suggest the formulae of social and economic reconstruction.

We must first of all bring to the public the well-known truth that the "social" and the "economic" are bound together unbreakably. The extension, therefore, of the field of the I.L.O. to some economic fields is indicated imperatively, and I believe is recognised already by all the States Members.

We expect from the I.L.O., the only competent organisation, the preparation of all the preliminary work which should be submitted to
the consideration of those who, the day the war is ended, will be called upon to lay the foundations of the new edifice of peace.

We do not ask for the formulation of abstract plans, such as the Republic of Plato or the Utopia of Sir Thomas More, but for plans based on a close study of the facts of modern economic and social evolution. At the end of the war there will be a unique opportunity for making far-reaching progress in the international regulation of social and economic questions.

In undertaking this work, the I.L.O. must be guided by the social and economic directions formulated in the Atlantic Charter of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill and by the conception of social security contained in the Report of the Acting Director.

These two formulations include, of course, the gist of a radical change in the economic structure prevailing to-day, which is a necessity if we want to avoid new wars. Parallel to that, the legal structure of the I.L.O. and the constitutional regulations which govern it must themselves undergo the modifications dictated by the development of international relations and the organisation of the post-war international order. At any rate, the basic principles which need particular attention are: the way by which the Organisation will become universal, all nations participating; the further development of the representative and tripartite character of the Organisation; the extension of its authority in respect of economic affairs; the determination of the relations of the Organisation with other international bodies; the extent to which decisions taken under the auspices of the Organisation might be made binding; the further development of regional co-operation within the Organisation and special machinery for specific industries; the systematisation and development of the system of international control, etc.

The mere enumeration of these questions leads me to repeat the wish which I had the honour to submit to the Conference during the session of 1938, namely that the Office should prepare a collection of the various documents relating to the Constitution of the Organisation, containing all the views which have been expressed regarding each of its provisions. Such a publication would be of special value for the future development of the constitutional arrangements of the Organisation and would be a companion volume to The International Labour Code volume which has just been published. This volume offers a striking proof of the extent to which international labour law has now become an established branch of international law.

For work of this kind, it would be valuable for the Office to request the contributions of all the great specialists of to-day in all fields without restriction.

It has been repeatedly pointed out here, and quite rightly, that first we must win the war or our work is in vain. All those who, to-day, struggle for freedom do not entertain any doubt about the final victory and the triumph of justice. Therefore we ought not to neglect, even for a moment, the systematic study of all the means by which we will defend effectively our forthcoming victory.

(Mr. Domenich takes the Chair.)

Interpretation: Mr. GARCIA LOPEZ (Employers’ delegate, Mexico) — From all the speakers we have heard praise of the Report prepared by Mr. Phelan, Acting Director of the International Labour Office. In my capacity as representative of the employers of Mexico, I have much pleasure in joining the commendations of this Report, which is not only technically excellent but is also an expression of faith, optimism, and serenity. Besides describing the past with scientific accuracy, it tries to build up on the lessons drawn from the mistakes made in the past a programme for a future in which the highest human and cultural values will prevail and social justice and democracy will be realised, though not the democracy of Rome or of Greece, which were national democracies and did not satisfy the needs of an international democracy.

I should like to say a few words on the position of my country with regard to social legislation. It is with pride that we can say that Mexico is one of the countries which has understood that a strong democracy and real culture cannot be built up unless the rights of workers and employers are recognised and harmonised, so that production can be carried out on a large scale and the needs of the workers be satisfied. Since the Constitution of 1917, that is long before social conceptions appeared and were developed in several countries, certain social institutions have existed in Mexico. The right of workers and employers to form their own organisations to represent their interests was recognised. In this way and the relations between them can be regulated by collective agreements, the scope of which has been extended by the Federal Labour Act, so that they can be given the force of law. The need of establishing tripartite collaboration between the State and the employers’ and workers’ representatives has been recognised in the constitution of the labour courts. And workers and employers collaborate with the State in the framing of social legislation. There are many illustrations to prove this affirmation, the most important of which are the measures dealing with minimum wages and social insurance which have been or are being introduced.

Lastly, with a view to the systematic development of our national economy, a National Economic Council has been set up which includes as additional to official representatives also representatives of the employers’ and workers’ organisations.

We know that every opinion and idea may be expressed from this platform, since freedom of thought and belief is the very essence of democracy. I would not wish to close without expressing my faith in the International Labour Organisation and in the final triumph of democracy.

Mr. FURLAN (Government adviser, Yugoslavia) — In any consideration of post-war reconstruction and collaboration we must keep uppermost in our mind: who shall reconstruct what and who shall collaborate with whom? Naturally, our first aim is to win the war, and to accomplish this, we must have the full-scale
no one of the democracies sought to prey on its neighbour in order to assure for itself better economic conditions of life.

If there was any injustice in the Treaty of Versailles, it was not at the expense of Germany. In other peace treaties, too, it was not at the expense of Italy, but only and emphatically only at the expense of the Poles, the Czechoslovaks, and the Yugoslavs. These peoples and the heroic Greeks, living in Eastern Europe from the Baltic to the Aegean Sea, have by their sacrifices and their day-by-day martyrdom proved that they belong to the champions of right. The territories occupied by those nations are predominantly agricultural. Shall they remain so after we have won the war? Shall we learn nothing from history and repeat the mistakes of Versailles, leaving Germany the tools of industrial supremacy, the tools which may be the instruments of war? There is no question of a desire to destroy German industry after the war. There is, too, no question of excluding this nation from a just and equal participation in world affairs. But we, the poor nations of Europe, also want and demand our just share. We do not want German industrial supremacy to be maintained after this war at the expense of the small and poor nations.

It is, therefore, with deep emotion that I support the statement made by the Government delegate of India, Sir Shannukham Chetty, and the Workers' delegate of China, Mr. Chu, because in many ways Eastern Europe in the West is in the same position as the Far East in the East. We must build up a society with equal rights and duties for all. After the war, the rich Western democracies must, in their own interest, give the Near and Far East a chance to develop their industries and to raise the standard of living of their agricultural populations. It is only in this way that economic security and justice can be achieved and the nations freed from German economic and military domination.

I believe that this distinguished Organisation should appoint various committees whose members should be chosen from territories which, after the war, will form the political and economic units of a reconstructed Europe. In this regard, I fully support Mr. Harriman's plan of creating strong and reasonably self-supporting federations, included in a world-wide federative unit.

Interpretation: Mr. LASO (Government delegate, Ecuador) — In speaking on the Report of the Acting Director of the International Labour Organisation, the various delegates have given us a picture of the efforts made in each country to solve social problems. Their descriptions could not have been more valuable; for study and comparison of the results achieved may serve in all countries as an incentive for action and as an example. Furthermore, these statements are a practical demonstration of the working of democracy in one respect, that of the right of each country freely to express its points of view. The exercise of this right implicitly entails the duty and responsibility to make a report on what we have done for the workers and what we have still to do.

But in discussing the Report, we have also heard with great emotion the voice, intensified
by suffering, of delegates from those countries which have been the victims of brutal force and violence. They have shown us how the work of social betterment in these countries has been suspended, if not destroyed, by the tumult and how the worker has been reduced to a new slavery.

This second group of statements is no less, or even more, important than the first, since it brings to the peoples which up till now have had the good fortune to stay outside the conflict, a vivid picture of aggression and barbarism, and with it, a cry of alarm. They have shown us how this destructive work is intended to spread all over the world, and have stressed the necessity and urgency of common defence, which, to be efficacious, must be based on solidarity between peoples, the very foundation of democracy. But the delegates of those countries must find some comfort in these tragic moments in feeling that they are not alone, in realising, that now, as never before is the time to speak of the gravity of the world situation, I think, of the necessity and the urgency of continental unity.

It is significant because all these twenty-one statements from Argentina, Brazil, and the United States. We appreciate the magnificent gesture of Mexico when she asked that all the peoples of America should together seek for a definite and permanent solution in the ancient frontier dispute between Ecuador and Peru. We draw attention to the importance of the words pronounced here by the workers' delegate of Chile, which bear the stamp of the democratic feeling of that country, when he said that the war might come to America if in our own countries we tolerate aggression on the part of one nation against another, of strong nations against weaker ones, and urged that any disputes should be settled by mediation and arbitration since we did not want the blood to be spilled by aggressions in America.

We would remind the Peruvian delegates that the Peruvian achievements for the benefit of their working classes, of which they are naturally proud, may disappear, as those of Ecuador would disappear, if we exchange our constructive work for an armed conflict that would bring to both of us desolation and death.

In these times of anguish, America must make its contribution and its sacrifices. America in the north, in the centre, and in the south, must be a labour laboratory at the service of humanity and social justice in this dark hour. If this is being displayed in the complex structure of industrial plants in Chicago or St. Louis, in the hard labour of the coffee plantations in Brazil or Costa Rica, or in the sugar cane mills in Cuba, if this is the only desire of the miners of Venezuela, Bolivia or Chile, if the Argentine gaucho of the pampas sees no other frontier than the sky, why disturb them in their creative positive labour?

If America is a refuge for free men, if slavery has vanished there, by what right do we create disunion and so weaken its indispensable defences?

With these words I conclude. My faith and my spirit have been strengthened by having attended this Conference, a conference in which has been heard the voice of those peoples who believe, in spite of their trials, that there still is justice in the world.

Sir John FORBES WATSON (Employers' delegate, British Empire) — My first duty is to thank this Conference for electing me as one of its Vice-Presidents. It was to me a sudden and significant promotion. For twenty-one years I have been privileged to represent at these Conferences the employers of my country, and up to this time I have always served as a private soldier in the ranks.

It is significant because all these twenty-one years I have spent, or some people might think misspent, my time in criticising the policy of the International Labour Organisation. I have voted one against the world on more than one occasion. And the significant thing is this, that in spite of all that opposition, no one has ever put his hand on my shoulder and asked me to go quietly into a concentration camp. On the contrary, I can remember Conferences when the late Albert Thomas used to come to me when things were flagging and ask me to take my place again in the lists. He used to tell me that democracy is a living thing, and that when I ceased to criticise, he became anxious about the welfare of an international democratic institution.

Albert Thomas was a man. I sometimes wonder, as we sit here, what he would have said if he had lived to be here with us to-day. I think I know. It is only those who have fought in the middle of the ring in the light that shines on them who know the souls of their combatants. I think I know, and I sincerely believe that the spirit of Albert Thomas is here with us in this hall now.

You may ask me why, if I have criticised this Organisation, I have come all this way to be
here. Let me make one observation. Although I criticised the policy of the Organisation and its work, when it came to Conventions, my country has ratified more Conventions than any other industrial country in the world, and all these Conventions have been ratified, with one exception, with the full assent and concurrence of the employers of my country.

But there is something more. Although I criticised the workings and policy of the Office, I never criticised the principles upon which the Organisation is based. What are these principles? The right of free men, first and foremost, to associate with each other, and to worship God each in his own way. That is what is at stake in this war, that and nothing less.

Read the Acting Director's Report: you will find it at page 5. This is what he says: "Its result (of the struggle) will determine nothing less than the future of the Spirit of Man." When that is challenged, I am here shoulder to shoulder with you to defend these sacred rights, and I do not think that I have forgotten how to criticise. I hold the view that in international affairs loyalty is not measured by silent acquiescence, and I will proceed to criticise the Acting Director's Report. But before I do so, I will pay a tribute to it. I am not at my best when I am trying to pay compliments, but I would like to say that I realise how difficult it must have been for the Acting Director, sitting in Montreal, removed from all contact with those of us he used to be in constant touch with, to try to present a picture which would focus for us all the present and the future.

I will say that his Report will bear comparison with any of its predecessors, and I will say that by the very nature of things, this Report is more challenging and more vital than any Report yet presented to any meeting of the International Labour Organisation.

And now let us get on with the criticism. There have been far too few who have criticised this Report, but I am pleased that there is one man who has done it well. It is my friend, Mr. Harriman, the Employers' delegate of the United States of America, and I am always pleased on those occasions when I agree with him because no one has shown a broader sympathy and a fairer mind in these international labour affairs.

What did he say? I wrote it down. He said two things that I want to develop. He said, "I find no definite affirmative statement that it is the duty of all liberty-loving people and the organisations which they represent, such as the I.L.O., to take an affirmative part in winning the war"; and then he said, "I do not find anywhere in the Report a statement that the world also needs the widest extension of the 'free enterprise' system which has been largely responsible for the progress of the last century".

I agree entirely with Mr. Harriman, and I just wonder if the Acting Director is developing the caution of my race when he did not make these statements. Perhaps he thought he would like to find the temperature of this Conference. Having found it now, I hope when he replies to this debate that he will make these statements.

But the Report is not entirely silent upon these two things. On page 3, you will find eighteen dates, eighteen dates that mark the march of the jack-boot of aggression across free Europe, dates that are more eloquent than any words; and you will also find at page 6 this statement: "In Germany . . . the production of armaments and the general organisation of a war economy had been under way; since 1933 . . . but in the democratic States, the process (of changing over from a peace-time to a war economy) was made slower than it need have been by a failure to recognise the magnitude and imminence of the danger".

Let us linger there just for one moment. Whose fault was that? It was the fault of all our countries, peace-loving countries that wished to improve the welfare of their people. But looking back, we were wrong. But the question I raise now is: Had the I.L.O. any responsibility for "failure to recognise the magnitude and imminence of the danger"?

Let us challenge ourselves. Don't let us always blame the other fellow. Confession is good for the soul. I suggest to you that we had a certain measure of responsibility. We took our liberties for granted because, in the post-war spirit of 1918, we were told to get on with social justice, and so we did. I have often wondered what social justice was in its content.

Turn again to the Acting Director's Report, page 88, and you will find there an interpretation of the social justice which this Organisation has hitherto pursued, "the demand of one section of the community for the satisfaction of a series of claims by concessions to be made by another section". This phrase "social justice", I think, has often brought us together, although we have all had different interpretations of it in our minds. But this much I will venture to say: throughout these twenty-one years we have been searching for material things. We have been thinking of our rights and not of our duties, and things of the spirit have found very little place in our work. And so it came to be that in 1931, in the world crisis of unemployment, Italy proposed the forty-hour week. This Organisation was not to blame for unemployment. It arose from causes outside our scope. But we made the Italian proposal our own, and history will record that for seven years, we tried to propagate that doctrine of forty hours. France accepted it. And history will show that while this Organisation pursued this doctrine, the dictators were laughing up their sleeves.

But let us forget about the past. What concerns me is to-day, the present and the future; and let us look at the Acting Director's Report again.

I confess, when I came to page 98, I was struck with some dismay. There, I found the future programme of the Organisation stated in eleven points, starting with the elimination of unemployment — great ideals, but all full of material things — and I said to myself: There they are, at it again, twenty-five thousand feet in the air, and no oxygen with them. I read on, and then I found that the new watchword was to be, not social justice, but economic security based on social justice, and I wondered where we were getting to. But I read on, and I found three words taken from the Atlantic Charter, which I think should become our motto: "Freedom from fear".

Fear of what? Fear of losing our job, fear
of ill health, fear of the Gestapo, fear that our children's children will have to go through the valley of torture we are going through now, and fear of fear itself.

If that is to be our new motto, Mr. President, all we have to settle among ourselves is the priority of our fears. I wonder if we are at one on that? Is economic security so important that it must take first place?

Turn again to the Report, page 92: "Economic security", it says, "could conceivably exist with a high degree of material prosperity in the slave State, but at the price of slavery." I therefore understand that this Organisation puts in the forefront of our fears, the fear of becoming a slave State; and as long as the work of this Organisation is made subordinate to the ruling consideration that we shall never be slaves, I shall play my part in building with you a new Jerusalem.

Just a few words upon reconstruction. I make open confession that when I came here, I was somewhat impatient to hear so many people talk about reconstruction. As I said a few days ago in this hall, I had come from the battlefield, and this concerned me was the winning of this war. I was impatient when I thought of the sacrifices we are making every day to protect the freedom of the world. Our Lord Privy Seal came here and he told you of some of our sacrifices. He told you that in our country a man with an income of $300,000 is only left with two and a half cents of each dollar for himself. Mr. George Gibson came here and told you that we have to go without the things we used to have, and that is true, but you would have the consolation of seeing that George Gibson and I both seem to be standing up to it pretty well. But make no doubt about it, we are making great sacrifices.

I would just like to say one or two things about the middle class in my country, the modest business and professional man, and the sacrifices he is making, the man who had planned to educate his family according to the traditions of his country, and who now finds he can't afford it—a sacrifice, but a small sacrifice against those who are giving the lives of their sons. Let me say this: There is no limit to the sacrifices our country will be prepared to make to win victory for freedom.

Since I came here, I have become more patient about reconstruction. And why? Because every day I have been here, the impact of the war has receded from me. I still think of it every night, the last thing, and the first thing every morning, and when I sit down at your abundant tables, I think of some young growing boys I would like to share it with. But I have become more patient, and if the impact of the war has receded in my mind, there is one aspect of this war that has been brought closer to me since I came here. We are meeting in a great university, presided over by a great man, and every now and then I have been struck by this challenging fact, that universities are the trustees for truth, and that the universities of Italy and Germany for ten years have been preaching to the youths of these countries the false doctrine of brute force. I just wonder whether one of your greatest reconstruction problems, if you are to save this world for democracy, is not how we are going to get the youth of these countries back from falsehood to the truth that we know.

I have said that I am reconciled to there being a certain number of blue-prints thought about as a last resort. There are a lot of bridges we are building to be re-built when this war is won, but the greatest of all is the bridge that will join the old order to the new order of democracy. I don't think you can plan that bridge now, but as I think the Acting Director said at a meeting across the way a few days ago, you might be on the lookout for the architect. I don't know who the architect is going to be, but I somehow feel that the employers' and workers' organisations are going to play some part.

When I last spoke from this platform a few days ago, I told you how Sir Walter Citrine and I— he for the workers and I for the employers— on a summer's afternoon, when our men were standing on Dunkirk Beach, put everything aside, and said: "Strikes and lock-outs shall be illegal while this war lasts and arbitration shall be compulsory." I told you then and I tell you again, we did not do that light-heartedly. But I will tell you something else. Not so long ago, Sir Walter Citrine and I jointly went up to see our Minister of Labour, Mr. Bevin, with a joint proposal. Mr. Bevin is quick to recognise a new situation, and as we went into the room and he shook hands with us, he said, smilingly, "I hope this isn't a conspiracy." Sir Walter Citrine answered. He said: "No, Minister, it is not a conspiracy; it is just an experiment in self-government." You will be interested to know that we got 90 per cent. of what we asked for. I therefore think that employers' and workers' organisations have some part to play in the reconstruction, but I also think there are two other agencies that have a great part to play. I mean the politicians and the press. I will just say this: it is upon the courage and the fairmindedness of these two great leaders of public opinion in each country that the future of free democracy will depend.

One last word: I am not overstepping my time, one word to thank Mr. Spaak, the Government delegate of Belgium, for his speech in this hall a few days ago. No member of the British family of nations can have sat here unmoved by the stirring compliment he paid to us. I would just like to say to him, we take no credit for it. We held in our hands alone the torch of freedom for six months. And why? It was not our torch; it was the torch of our forefathers and your forefathers, who had fought and died for it. The torch was given to us and lit at our mother's knees, and we were charged to hand it on to our children. It shall be handed on, and if we die, you will find it clenched in our dead hand.

But it won't be a dead hand, ladies and gentlemen, it will be a living hand, because we are a united people. No one can have listened to the brave speech of Joseph Hallsworth, telling you the workers of our country have made the war their own, without knowing that we stand together. And we know more than that; we know that you are with us in your hearts, that you are not watching this like a ball game and hoping we will win. You are watching the sway of battle, knowing as the Acting Director has said, that the result of this struggle
will determine nothing less than the future of the spirit of man.

Let my last word be this: We, who are living dangerously, are conscious of our high trust. We shall not fail.

Mr. HAMBRO (Government delegate, Norway) — For one week, we have been discussing the Acting Director's Report and a large number of resolutions laid before us. Every page in his volume is of importance, every resolution has a bearing on social and economic questions which are of primary interest to millions of men and women. And yet how incomparably more relevant than even the most perfectly drafted page put before us is the fact that, while we have been discussing social justice in the abstract, thousands of men and women have been killed fighting to make it possible for the nations to preserve the faith that social justice been killed fighting to make it possible for the

drafted page put before us is the fact that, while we have been discussing social justice in the abstract, thousands of men and women have been killed fighting to make it possible for the nations to preserve the faith that social justice can be established. Cities have been bombed, children and women machine-gunned, while we have been talking. Ships have been torpedoed and sunk without warning. Men-of-war under neutral flags have been attacked and have gone down trying to protect the highways of the sea and free intercourse between nations.

We who are sitting here in the smugness of safety are too distant to understand, we are too well clad and well fed to fully realise what is happening every day over territories vaster even than this country, to grasp the reality that some hundred millions of men and women have been deprived of every inalienable right of men.

Some of us have come from countries where those who claim social justice or any kind of justice are silenced for good. Our eyes are obscured by the smoke from reeking ruins of innocent homes and open towns, in our nostrils is the sickening smell of innocent blood, our ears are filled with the cries from the torture chambers of the Gestapo, with the reverberating echoes from the firing squads who put labour leaders, employers, and representatives of the constitutional Governments of the occupied countries against the same wall. On the retina of our minds are pictures of indescribable brutality and bestiality, crime and cruelty; and we know, and pray to God that you shall know before it is too late, that only one resolution can guide us and lead us in our work, the unshakable resolution in the mind of every single member of this Conference that the war shall be won, that you and I as individuals will make our maximum contribution to attain this end, that whether we represent Governments, labour, or employers, we will subordinate all other claims to this one vital resolution. If we fail to do so, the whole future programme drawn up with so much care and talent by Mr. Phelan will only have museum interest. If we do not win the war, there will exist only one law in national labour relations and in international labour relations, the law of master and slave. Associating myself fully and whole-heartedly with the words that were spoken by Mr. Spaak in praise of the British nation and all the nations of the British Empire, I want to make clear that this is a war of Governments, it is a war of the peoples, of the ordinary common men and women in the allied countries, whose very instincts of right and justice have been violated to such an extent that any Government trying to make peace before the powers of evil and darkness are utterly defeated would be swept away on a surging wave of righteous indignation. But it is also essential that the peoples shall continue to be guided by that tremendous and awful patience which gives to democracies the inexhaustible strength and that our natural and growing impatience shall not be allowed to force Governments to jeopardise any well and silently prepared plan by rash and premature action.

And still the work which the I.L.O. proposes to carry out is not only a useful work; it is an essential work, and most of the resolutions laid before us are pertinent to the work of reconstruction; and just because this is a war of the peoples, it should be a war, not only of destruction, but also a war of hope. In all social relations, the International Labour Organisation should be our instrument of hope. It has been one of the inspiring facts in this time of blackout, that every official American declaration, the Atlantic Charter, the speeches delivered by the Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, by Mr. Sumner Welles, the American resolution put before us, makes it clear that the United States will share the responsibilities of peace-making and of reconstruction. Even here we shall need all the patience of the peoples. There must be no hurried peace conference. To make a just and durable peace, ample time is required for the solution of the complex and entangled problems involved. The task is tremendous, and we are here to decide that our institution shall make a contribution that corresponds to the expectations of nations.

And don't let us believe that any problem can be solved for good and all at the peace conference. Social justice and democracy must be constantly recreated and revitalised. Voices have been raised here blaming the Versailles Treaty for the present war. We must see further. We are not fighting a world war against a single man or any group of men. We are fighting a philosophy; we are fighting an immoral system, a conception of life older in Germany than Nazism, and with deeper roots. A typical expression of the spirit we are fighting is found in the classical work in international law in Germany, well known to any student before the last war. Professor Erich Kaufman, who was later adviser in international law to the Weimar Government, states in his Essence of International Law from 1914:

Not a community of men of free will but victorious war is the social ideal... It is in war that the State displays its true nature.

And to some of our Latin American friends who seem to think that all our difficulties have been born after 1918, I should like to say that such a belief is a fatal mistake. To any person who knows German ways of thinking, not only to-day but forty or fifty years ago, there is nothing surprising in the map of South America that has been mentioned by the President of the United States. When the Pan-German League was started in 1896, it was announced that Germanism across the seas must be preserved. by every possible means. As long ago as
in 1895 a renowned German writer, in a book
called Germany Triumphant, declared that it
would become necessary for Germany to wipe
out the doctrine of “Pan-America”, and he
envisioned the peace that Germany would have
to impose upon America after a world war, as
follows:

Germany will take Mexico, Guatemala,
British Honduras, all Brazil south of the
Amazon, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia, Peru,
and Northern Chile. France will get Brazil
north of the Amazon, British Guiana, Vene-
zuela, Colombia, and Ecuador; Italy what is
left of South America, including the Ar-
gentine. The West Indies will be divided
between Germany and France. All Eng-
lish and American capital invested in Brazil
and South America will be transferred to
Germany hands. The cable lines will be taken
over by Germany, and all English and
American colonists will be ordered to leave
South America within a year, never to be
permitted to settle in any country on that
continent again.

Great numbers of German writers have
followed in these steps, and there is any num-
ber of maps available. The danger to the world
is not primarily the military machine of Ger-
many, but, as Sir John Forbes Watson pointed
out a moment ago, it is a system of education.

Mr. Phelan in his Report mentions under the
chapter on “Future Policy”, as one of the first
points of interest, vocational training. I entirely
agree with him. But if the nations believing
in victorious peace are to have any opportunity
of developing vocational training, the peace
conference must see to it that no nation is
allowed uncontrolled to educate its entire youth
to the idea that the only vocational training of
importance is the training of every man and
woman to be a killer.

We have set up this marvellous international
machinery that is called the I.L.O., and it will
be necessary in the future to strengthen it and
extend it. But more international instruments
than ours will be needed, and smooth and loyal
collaboration between them should prevent
overlapping and co-ordinate the intelligent
efforts of mankind to secure good will and
peace among the nations. Even now other
organs of the League of Nations are working
on some of the problems mentioned by speakers
in this debate without their seeming to be
aware of it.

The League is the expression of the will of
forty-eight States to keep alive, through all the
tragedy and turmoil of war, the principles of
joint political effort, of honourable relations
between nations, of respect for international
law as the rule of conduct between Govern-
ments, and of respect for the rights of all
nations.

But the League is much more than a living
symbol of these principles. It is the instrument
of joint endeavour between Governments in the
execution of their economic and financial poli-
cies, in the administration of public health, in
the control of social ills. Its work in these fields
has necessarily been affected by the war; but
one fact that is quite certain is that it continues
to function, and to function actively.

Apart from the war itself, one of the gravest
dangers that besets the whole of the Eastern
Hemisphere to-day is the spread of epidemic
diseases. And the epidemiological service of the
League is being maintained and the Health
Organisation of the League is continuing to
act as a centre of information for all public
health services.

Another danger which proved only too real
during the last war is that of drug addiction.
Indeed, it was owing to the extremely serious
menace which it constituted to social well-being,
and not least in this country, that measures
were adopted to control the whole trade in
dangerous drugs; and the most complete inter-
national administration ever set up was organ-
ised to effect this control. That organisation is
at this moment not only functioning, but func-
tioning by this country, having established its
headquarters in Washington this year.

But this Conference is more concerned with
questions of social relations, of economic policy,
and of the economic problems that are likely to
arise when hostilities cease, and it is, I think,
of the greatest importance that it should not
overlook the work which is now being done by
the Economic and Financial Organisation of
the League. As the Secretary-General stated
in the Report which he issued recently: “Peace,
when it comes, will come to the world as we
find it at that moment and not to the world
that existed in 1939. Those responsible for the
formulation of policy at that date, therefore,
will require to know what have been the effects
of the new economic tendencies and forces
that have sprung up during the war.”

As in the past, the Economic and Financial
Department of the League is closely following
these developments and has just issued a World
Economic Survey, copies of which I believe
can be procured in this building.

I mention these facts because they answer
some of the questions that have been asked
here. But no machinery, however efficient, can
answer all of our questions, and no organisation,
hower wonderful, can guarantee the peace of
the world. That can only be done by ourselves,
by ordinary men and women in every walk of
life. Sir John Forbes Watson, in his speech
from the platform at the beginning of Con-
ference, and just now, laid stress on the im-
material factors in human life. If we desire to
win the peace, let us begin with ourselves,
with the full realisation that the spirit is
stronger than the sword, that the thought pre-
cedes the deed; that we have to educate our-
selves to higher standards of devotion, to a
more open willingness to sacrifice, to demand
more of ourselves, and less of others. Let us
be prepared to accept and to demand higher
standards of honesty in national and interna-
tional life, to subordinate our individual and
national aspirations to the common weal.

Nearly all the draft resolutions laid before
us can be covered by two demands: That this
International Labour Organisation shall be rep-
resented directly at the peace conference, that
it shall be understood that the peace shall be
made not primarily by diplomats and by officers,
but by the representatives of the people them-
selves; by workers, by manufacturers, by the schools and the
universities, the counties neutral as well as the
countries belligerent, must have their say. And,
next, that every wish we express is subordi-
ated to our passionate desire to give our utmost
and more than we can afford in order to win
this war, and terminate the rule of intimidation
and terror, of cruelty and crime, and demand
that social justice, political justice, economic
justice, freely administered by the appointed
officers of law and equity, shall not perish from
this earth.

Fourth Report of the Selection Committee

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT (Mr.
DOMENECH)—Mr. van Zeeland, Chairman
of the Selection Committee, will present the

Interpretation: Mr. van ZEELAND (Gov-
ernment delegate, Belgium), Chairman of the
Selection Committee—I have a few brief
announcements to make as to changes in the
arrangements for the Conference.

The Daily Bulletin states that at 3 p.m. there
will be a meeting of the Committee on Colla-
boration. This is not expected to take more than
one hour to complete its work, and it is there-
fore proposed to hold a Plenary Sitting at 4 p.m.
for the discussion of the Report of the
Acting Director. It is hoped that this dis-
cussion can be concluded to-day and it is there-
fore proposed that the list of speakers should be
closed as from the end of this present Sitting.

Secondly, the Selection Committee consi-
dered two draft resolutions, and has decided
to refer them to the Conference for discussion.
One is that submitted by Mr. Hallsworth for
the setting up of a world textile committee, and
the second, submitted by the Government
delegates of Peru, contains a message of ap-
preciation concerning the former Director, Mr.
Winant. These two texts are being officially
substantiated to the Conference for discussion.

The third point is that we have down here
on the Daily Bulletin a meeting of the Selection
Committee announced for about 1 p.m., at the
close of the present Sitting. However, it has
been brought to my attention that most of the
delegates will probably be unable to be present
at such a meeting. The only business that
would have been discussed would have been the
report of the Credentials Committee. The
Chairmen of the Employers' and Workers' groups
have asked that this report of the Cre-
dentials Committee should be presented directly
to the Conference and then be transmitted to
the Selection Committee; in this way the Con-
ference can know at once the position in respect
of delegations and credentials.

The report of the Sub-Committee on Cre-
dentials I may summarise as follows: The Com-
mittee took note of the files submitted to
it by the Secretary of the Conference containing
the credentials of delegates received from the
Governments of their respective countries or the
official communications received by the
International Labour Office before the Con-
ference or since its opening. The actual figures
for the composition of the Conference may be
summarised as follows: 35 States Members
are represented at the Conference, and there
are: 22 complete delegations; 58 Government
delegates and one observer; 22 Employers'
delegates; and 22 Workers' delegates; 45
Government advisers, 22 Employers' advisers
and 26 Workers' advisers; 9 secretaries of
delegations; in all, 211 persons.

In addition, the British Government intim-
ated that the Right Honourable Clement
Richard Attlee, M.P., Lord Privy Seal, would
also attend the Conference as a representative
of the British Government, and the Govern-
ments of Canada and of Mexico each notified
the attendance of two observers attached to
their delegations.

The Sub-Committee was informed that the
Government of Costa Rica, a State whose active
participation in the work of the Organisation
had been interrupted, but which had been rep-
presented by an observer at the Second Labour
Conference of American States, held in Havana
in 1939, had again nominated an observer to
represent it at the present Conference.

As the provisions of the Constitution of the
International Labour Organisation relating to
the composition of the International Labour
Conference are not strictly applicable to the
present Conference, the special character of
which was defined in the letter convening it,
which was sent to the Governments of the
States Members in accordance with a decision
of the Governing Body, the Sub-Committee was
of the opinion that the presence in certain dele-
gations of a greater number of technical advisers
than had been envisaged did not call for any
further comment.

The Sub-Committee took note of the fact
that the credentials of some delegates had been
communicated to the International Labour Of-
ifice in the form of official instruments, where-
as others were based simply on official letters
or official telegrams; although the method of
nomination by official letter or telegram is not
in accordance with customary diplomatic
procedure, the International Labour Confer-
ence has always considered this method of
nomination as satisfactory; the Sub-Committee
held the view that in the case of the present
Conference it would be appropriate to follow
the same practice.

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT (Mr.
DOMENECH)—You have heard the report of
the Sub-Committee. The two main points are
the meeting of the Conference this
afternoon at 4 p.m. in plenary sitting and the
Report of the Sub-Committee on Credentials.
If I hear no objection, I shall assume that
these recommendations of the Selection Com-
mittee are adopted as presented.

(The Report is adopted.)

Report of the Acting Director:
Discussion (contd.)

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT (Mr.
DOMENECH)—The Conference will resume the
discussion of the Acting Director's Report.

Mr. MASARYK (Government delegate,
Czechoslovakia)—It is my privilege to deliver
to you a hearty greeting from President Beneš
and my Government in London. Ever since its inception, all Czechoslovak Governments have worked in close collaboration with the International Labour Organisation, and all future Governments of Czechoslovakia will do the same. I think I am not exaggerating when I say that the Geneva record of my country is good. Our social legislation was second to none in Europe. Our old-age and accident insurance system was admired and envied by many. Our efforts to bring about social justice for all have been rudely and wantonly interrupted by Hitler's vulgar goose-stepping gang.

But enough about the past. The present and the future are our tasks to-day. My Government greeted with satisfaction the decision of the International Labour Organisation to discuss the methods of collaboration between public authorities, workers' organisations, and employers' organisations. We accept the principle that this tripartite co-operation is the best avenue of approach towards a satisfactory solution of the complicated social and economic problems with which all free people of the world are faced.

Collective bargaining worked very well in Czechoslovakia, and it is our belief that honest collective negotiations between all three concerned can prevent in these awful times unnecessary strife and many unnecessary and sometimes mendacious strikes. If the Governments, the employers, and the workers are willing to face facts, the greatest economic problems can be brought nearer to a lasting solution. Decent humanitarian and socially just working conditions are the first prerogative of living, in the totalitarian States, material and moral misery is growing from day to day. While Hitler made slaves of the workmen not only in his own country but also in those which he is temporarily occupying, Great Britain and her Dominions enlarged and broadened the controlling and initiative activities of the trade organisations; and the Government of the United States, led by far-seeing and fearless statesmen, has intensified collaboration with the workers' and employers' organisations. It has done so especially in the all-important realm of defence of the State. The Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense and the Office of Production Management are outstanding instances of this. And while the great democracies are stressing the necessity of social legislation, and while they are endeavouring to lead their people towards greater freedom and to a higher standard of living, in the totalitarian States, material and especially moral misery is growing from day to day.

It is interesting to note in this connection that, as soon as Fascist Governments take charge in any country, they begin their nefarious control by destroying trade unions and civil servants' unions, by killing trade union leaders, and robbing them of their very hard-earned property. The employers' organisations do not fare better under dictators. They have been deprived of all freedom, all initiative and right of decision. The reactionary souls of dictators realise that collaboration between the employers and workmen and public authorities means a great power for the individual, and this power naturally had to be destroyed. Totalitarian Governments do not tolerate any control. They have to work in the dark. Just as parliaments in the Fascist countries have been degraded to pitiful assemblies of "yes-men", so economic initiative has been thwarted and paralysed. The German Reichstag and the German Arbeitsfront are equally cruel destroyers of human dignity and individual liberty. It is true that sometimes it seems more efficient to dictate than to debate. Deeds instead of words, that is what it is called. I know full well that democracy is sometimes cumbersome, but in the long run, it is definitely the best, the most just, and the most human form of collective expression. I am of the opinion that we have all learned our lesson. I am of the opinion that we have at last realised that taking means giving. I personally would infinitely rather work for twenty-five dollars a week in New York or London than for a thousand dollars in Berlin. It has been my privilege to spend the last twelve months in Great Britain. I have seen the British people at their best, and their resolve never to give in will be a great inspiration to me as long as I live.

The Government, the employers, and the employees will always remain the most important components of human undertaking. Employers can be individuals or co-operatives; they can be communities or the State; or they can be a mutual compromise of all three. But the decisive thing is the free will of the people. We all have had ample opportunity to study both methods of government. Some of us have perhaps had a little more than our share of this cruelly enlightening study. Anyone to whom the freedom of his soul is worth more than political, economic, or financial advantage can only whole-heartedly support the ideas so nobly presented by our former Director, John Winant, who to-day is doing a great job in London and whose presence there is a source of confidence to all of us.

May I in conclusion remind the Conference of a fact which is terribly important to me, but which, of course, may sound insignificant to many of you. Twenty-three years ago Czechoslovakia's independence was declared in Washington, D. C. It was my father who declared it. To-day my country is once again overrun by the dictatorial States whose power naturally had to be destroyed. Totalitarian Governments do not tolerate any control. They have to work in the dark. Just
in France. I think of the ghettos re-established by Hitler. I think of the valiant Yugoslavs who again will rise. There can be no freedom in Prague while one single solitary ghetto exists in the world. There can be no free France while indiscriminate bombing of women and children, as in Rotterdam, is possible. The Norwegians are writing a glorious page in their history, and the people of Belgium and Luxemburg are our partners in distress. The suffering of the Poles and Hungarians fills me with an emotion that lasts every day, and I can tell the Conference that we consider the close co-operation between Poland and Czechoslovakia a necessary and very important cornerstone in the building up of a better Europe. The joint declaration which the Greek, Yugoslav, Polish, and Czechoslovak delegations will present to the Conference shows that the Central European and Balkan countries realise the importance of starting right now to prepare for a better future.

The Russians are giving us a unique example of selfless fortitude. They deserve our admiration, our gratitude, and all the help the Allies and the United States can spare, even more than they can spare. And the great Chinese people are showing us all that can be done by a wonderful civilisation in a struggle of mind over matter.

I am proud that my delegation had the privilege of collaborating with the great Latin American Republics who, by their presence here, are giving us an example of the unity of the American continent when it comes to preserving decency and freedom of thought.

I consider the freedom of the immortal soul of each individual the most important right and privilege given us by Providence, and I see in this Conference a worthy collective representation of hundreds of millions of free souls. Our activities are being watched by anxious, betrayed, suffering, innocent people all over the world. Once Hitler is destroyed, and destroyed he will be, I hope that they will thank us for the results which we achieve by our free discussions, in a free city under the hospitable roof of a great free seat of learning.

Mr. PONTES DE MIRANDA (Government delegate, Brazil) — To-day's problems of social co-operation are similar to, if not identical with, those faced after the last war. The past was either indifferent or actively opposed to the formation of workers' and employers' organisations. The present accepts and recognises the importance of the dual functionaries — the State and the organisation.

There are three distinct conceptions of the procedure towards an adequate solution: first, the fusion of organisation and State; second, the separate action of both, with only occasional contact, and workers in the tripartite system; third, the co-ordination of both, namely, the tripartite system, which, as you know, is the favourite plan of this Conference. But this technique is not the whole problem; it is only one design in the complete pattern. A system combining properly the technique of freedom, the technique of justice, the technique of democracy, and perhaps other techniques planned for the whole world would be the ideal, of course. But unhappily the inequality of this world is only too obvious. Recall some of the preceding speeches at this Conference about social evolution in the various countries.

In the field of freedom and justice, the technique should certainly be universal. The habeas corpus, a technique of freedom adopted from England and in practice in Brazil since 1830, is certainly not universal; the judicial defence of rigid constitutions, the technique of justice, the so-called control of laws, an invention of the statesmen of the United States of America, accepted early by Brazil, was not a world adoption. These two marvellous and simple instruments for man's happiness are enjoyed by all too few on this globe.

Here in this hall, you have heard speakers talk of supplanting materialism by idealism. You know the results of both. Now we must be free and realistic. No more mistakes! Order in the mind first; consequence: order in the home, order in the street, order in the field, order in the world.

At the close of the past war, every country became keenly alert to the problems of labour, connected or not with the political set-up. I have published many books on this subject, and it is my sincere conviction and deep regret that our generation has betrayed those who died that we might live in a world made over.

Long have they waited for promises to be fulfilled. They hope in vain; they are forgotten and they know it. But the eyes of to-day's embattled dead are upon us. They watch from land and sea. Dare we disappoint them? Their destiny was to die, ours to die or do. We must accept our function, both material and spiritual.

They see our ability to misunderstand, to oppress, to destroy. They must know our courage to be wise, to construct, to be faithful, and to win. We must prove worthy of the sacrificed.

Interpretation: The President (Mr. DOMENECHE) — I have pleasure in calling on Dr. Salvador Allende, Minister of Public Health of Chile, to address the Conference, in virtue of Article 7, paragraph 5, of the Standing Orders of the Conference.

Interpretation: Dr. ALLENDE (Minister of Public Health, Chile) — I take this opportunity to indicate some of the views on medical problems of a social and economic character held in the democratic countries of Latin America.

I do not wish to insist at any length on our view of the necessity for a political readjustment and a modification of international relations after the war. The Acting Director's Report brings that view out very clearly. In the political sphere, the post-war readjustment necessarily means respect for independence and sovereignty instead of vassalage and slavery; in the social sphere, justice must prevail; in the economic sphere, inter-relations based on mutual respect must be established, instead of war, as at present. This, I think, is the common denominator of the hopes and aspirations of the democratic countries of Latin America.

Speaking as a doctor, in a country where social medicine is already an existing fact, as a man who considers the clinical case not as an individual case only but as a social phenomenon, I think it is indispensable that this
Conference should discuss questions closely related to this work.

Human capital, which in our countries is unfortunately somewhat neglected, is the basis of national prosperity, and there should therefore be a movement of opinion to utilise all our reserves for its protection. I am speaking not only of the material conditions of life, but also of the obstacles to development in the spiritual sphere. I suggest that there are two indispensable paths to take. The first is international. We should adopt a new conception of economic relations. The smaller countries have hitherto obtained loans of money for the development of particular industries and for purposes of national defence. We think that such loans should be made for raising the standard of living of the masses and for public health. This would create a new link between the Latin American-people, and would serve as a new basis for continental defence.

We also think it is essential to reaffirm the need of linking up this care for public health in each country with social insurance. All work for social reconstruction and security must be based on social legislation covering the worker and his family. Hence the importance of the proposal at the Lima meeting last December to set up an Inter-American Committee on Social Security, which will meet next year in Santiago, Chile, and which may decide to convert itself into a Security Congress in order to benefit by the experience gained from the legislation of other countries, to examine more thoroughly the means of protecting the agricultural worker, to consider the rationalisation of medical and pharmaceutical benefits, and to study the possibility of providing old-age and invalidity pensions. Delegates of such countries as Mexico, Argentina, and Canada have already mentioned that their Governments will give their support.

Lastly, may I mention that the Latin American delegates to the Atlantic City Convention on Public Health just held, expressed their concern at the rise in the cost of medications due to the war and their demand that the Governments should devote all their energy to dealing with this emergency; social, and not purely fiscal considerations should govern the cost of the articles needed for the protection of public health.

Mr. CHAWKY (Government delegate, Egypt) — I was appointed by my Government to attend this International Labour Conference, and it was my intention to listen and learn. But after listening to the eminent speakers that have preceded me, I feel that I should like to make a few statements, which I am going to do as briefly as possible.

My country is democratic and my people are free and peace-loving. We have no quarrels with anybody and we want to live in peace and to fulfil the role Egypt has attained as the cultural and spiritual centre of the Near East, and the palpitating heart of the Mohammedan world.

We have struggled long and worked hard to attain that role, and we have paid dearly for our liberties and freedoms that we enjoy now, and we are intent on preserving and developing these freedoms. The Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between my country and Great Britain which was signed in 1936 recognised the full independence of the Egyptian people, and since that date the most cordial, harmonious, and friendly relations have prevailed between our great ally and ourselves.

The British fight for the dignity of mankind, for freedom of thought, and for the democratic way of life is our fight, and Egypt, as the leading centre of the Mohammedan world, has already 400 million people joined together on the side of democracy. Do not fear; do not worry! The pretensions of a certain Dictator that he is the Protector of Islam, and the propaganda of his partner that he would give to the Mohammedan world all that it desires, will never have a chance, will never take hold of those nations, so long as Egypt has declared its will and desire to side with the defenders of democracy.

Maybe somebody will ask, why isn't Egypt in the war? I will answer by saying: that it is in the best interests of democracy that we are not in the war. We are helping Great Britain and humanity more effectively by keeping out of the war. We have put at the disposal of our ally our ports, our aerodromes, our transport and communication facilities. We have given every possible assistance to the British Army and Navy in the Middle East. Egypt has also served as a granary and source of supplies for Great Britain and her allies. Moreover, by remaining out of the war, Egypt has served as a depot to which the United States, under the wise leadership of her great President, could deliver the goods and from which they could be forwarded to the battlefields of the Middle East and Russia.

I do not think that I need to dwell upon the sacrifices and the privations that my country has been subjected to in the last two years. I can only say that Egypt, though a most fertile and highly developed agricultural country, anciently known as the granary of the world, is now suffering from shortages of every kind, even a shortage of bread, and I leave the reasons for this condition to you to analyse.

Egypt will go on, under the enlightened guidance of our beloved King, putting its shoulder to the yoke and carrying its share of the burden without murmur, without complaint, until liberty for the civilised world is won, justice and freedom are restored, and the ideals of decent humanity prevail. We will seek to preserve the freedoms we have obtained and to contribute to the utmost of our abilities to the reconstruction of a better world to come. And it is most gratifying here to note at this point the assurances made the other day by Major Attlee that the high aims proclaimed in times of stress will not be forgotten when the emergency is past.

My country has been in close contact for more than ten years with the International Labour Organisation, and no effort has been spared to give full consideration to all resolutions, proposals, and suggestions that have been received from this splendid Organisation and its capable Directors and staff, and to adopt and translate as many of their recommendations as we can in a manner to secure the fullest co-operation between Government, workers, and employers.
Before I close, I want to join my voice with the valiant cry made the other day by Mr. Spaak, the distinguished delegate from Belgium, when he declared that if we are going to attain any progress and social justice, we must be ready now and immediately to undergo a lot of sacrifices, and we must see to it ourselves that the economic revolution necessary for the so-called social progress of tomorrow should be achieved now.

In that way we shall be able to guarantee to our children an era of happiness and peace, and to save them from the horrors of war that we ourselves have had to face twice in our lifetime.

Mr. KUNEMAN (Government adviser, Netherlands) — In his address to the Conference last week, the leader of the Netherlands delegation stated that the social progress of the Netherlands Indies during the last decades has been — as is the case with Holland — spectacular, but that he had not enough time to describe the details. Therefore I feel it my duty to furnish some details on this subject, giving at the same time a summary of determining social affairs in that remote part of the world and about the policy of the Netherlands Government concerning the welfare of the native population.

The territory of the Netherlands Indies archipelago is a vast one, about half that of the United States. The population is chiefly composed of a few hundred thousand Europeans, nearly all of whom are Christians; more than a million Chinese, who are Buddhists or Confucianists; and about sixty-three million native Indonesians, of whom the greater number are Mohammedans, and a minority Hindus and heathens. All the different races, more than a hundred, into which these Indonesians are divided, have not only their own creeds, but also their own institutions and their own morals, which are and always have been strictly respected by the Netherlands Government.

The density of the population ranges from 316 per square kilometre for Java to 11 for the other islands. The fact that a considerable part of the so-called Outer Territories is sparsely populated is primarily attributable, not to any lack of funds, labour, or enterprising spirit, but to the relative scantiness and the scattered character of its actual resources. The fact that the volume of Government-organised agricultural emigration from Java has reached the level of 60,000 persons a year and is rapidly increasing should, by itself, carry the conviction that the Netherlands Government in relieving the over-population of Java, on the one hand, and hastening the development of the Outer Territories, on the other, does not neglect its duty towards the Native population.

It will be clear from the few details I have given you and to which I have had to limit myself, that law-making for such a vast, still chiefly agricultural, country, peopled by so many races with often conflicting interests, is necessarily a most complicated and difficult task, which needs much circumspection and therefore time. Nevertheless, social progress in the Netherlands Indies during the last decades has been, to use the description of so competent a critic as Dr. van den Tempel, spectacular.

The economic situation of the Native population in the Netherlands Indies is sound. An agrarian law, dating from 1870, protects the Natives from being dispossessed of their land. Non-Natives can buy land from Natives only in small lots for a limited number of special purposes, and not without special permission of the Governor-General. The leasing of land belonging to Natives for a period longer than 21 years is not allowed. A special loan among foreign banks under Government supervision enables the Indonesian population to borrow money for agricultural and commercial purposes on easy conditions. Hundreds of Government pawnshops keep the Natives out of the claws of usurers.

As a whole, the Netherlands Indies not only provides all its own food, but in almost every field of agricultural activity suited to the tropics production has been developed to a great extent. The Native population nowadays benefits from the Government's policy with regard to restrictions imposed upon the production of rubber, coffee, and tea. The less fortunate Native owners of coconut groves have received and are still receiving financial assistance from the Government, in a measure that keeps them from want. Measures taken by the Government to ensure an appropriate distribution of food have made famine in the Netherlands Indies practically unknown.

Hygienic conditions in the archipelago have improved immensely. Cholera, for instance, formerly one of the scourges of the population, has practically been vanquished, as well as smallpox. The plague, which not so long ago made thousands and thousands of victims, is, if not entirely mastered, subdued to a very considerable extent by the compulsory improvement of Native housing through the financial aid of the Government, and by the preventive action of a vaccine invented by Professor Ottens.

The Indonesian population have been given liberal opportunity not only to learn how to administer a government, but also to express their wishes freely and to take part in the local and central administration. In this respect I may point out: firstly, that the European members of the governing councils of regencies and provinces, as well as of the People's Council, form minorities; secondly, that many Indonesians occupy high offices in the administration, one of them actually being the Director of such an important department as the Department of Education. Besides, two out of the five members of the Council of the Netherlands Indies are Indonesians, who thus occupy the highest official posts attainable and form part of the Central Government. Generally speaking, all posts in the Government and local administrations are open to those who possess the required diplomas, without race discrimination.

Quite recently, two most important social measures have come to the fore. The abolition of statute labour has been adopted by the People's Council and will go into operation in 1942. The draft Ordinance for the abolition of the last remnants of penal sanctions in coolie contracts is being discussed in the People's Council. It is probable that this measure will go into effect in 1942.
When I left Java a month ago, a draft ordinance for the introduction of unemployment insurance in favour of certain classes of workers, without discrimination of race, was nearing its completion, and it will soon be submitted to the People's Council. Moreover, old-age pensions for workers are at present being studied.

I am convinced that no more proof is necessary of the sincerity of the endeavours of the Netherlands Indies Government, based on principles of social justice and humanity, to further the welfare, progress, and emancipation of the Native population, with avoidance, if and where possible, of race discrimination.

Now, coming to the question of which social measures should be taken in the Netherlands Indies after the war, it must be borne in mind that the effects of the war in Holland have been quite different from those suffered in the Netherlands Indies. The mother country has been invaded by the enemy, its social institutions have been ruthlessly destroyed, so that reconstruction and renovation must follow after the war.

The consequences of the war for the Netherlands Indies are far less serious, social progress has not been tampered with, and I dare say the pace of social progress has rather been quickened during the war. This pace should be maintained after the war. For the policy of the Government during the last decade has been one of quiet and steady evolution, and has produced results which have proved to be beneficial to the Indonesian population.

(The Conference adjourned at 1 p.m.)
NINTH SITTING

Monday, 3 November 1941, 4 p.m.

President: Mr. Domenéch.

Report of the Acting Director: Discussion (contd.)

Interpretation: The President (Mr. Domenéch) — The Conference will continue the discussion of the Acting Director's Report.

Mr. WATT (Government delegate, Australia) — At this late stage in the Conference proceedings, the consideration which you will feel disposed to give my remarks will no doubt depend on their brevity. I shall try therefore, to be as brief as possible.

Two main propositions seem to me to be discernible in the speeches which have been made concerning the Acting Director's Report, namely, the need to win the war, in the first place, and in the second place, the need to win the peace.

Some speakers have emphasised the former, some have stressed the latter. For my own part, may I state that I do not regard the two propositions as necessarily mutually exclusive. True, as Mr. Attlee said, unless Hitlerism is destroyed, "all planning for a world of peace and social justice is just lost labour". The primary task for all lovers of freedom, therefore, is to work for the earliest possible victory against Nazism and Fascism. This is the view of the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia and was clearly stated by the Prime Minister, Mr. John Curtin, in a broadcast delivered on 9 October, shortly after assuming office, in the following words:

The vital thing in the crisis confronting all those resisting aggression — the conduct of the total war against aggression — will continue so far as Australia is concerned. We, the members of the Labour Government of Australia, inherit from the previous Government the responsibility of conducting the maximum war effort. This responsibility we adopt. We do this, not only because we are Australians, but also because as a Government of Labour we are convinced that in this struggle the workers have most to lose — the precious things that are covered by the one word "liberty".

But while it is true that we should let nothing deter us from our primary task of winning the war, is it not possible that at the same time and without reducing our war effort we may be able to take up the secondary task of planning now for an enduring peace? The work involved in securing a sound basis for the post-war world will be long and arduous. While it may not be possible to work out before the end of the war a comprehensive and final scheme, much useful preparatory work can be done.

The Australian Government agrees, therefore, with the view expressed by Mr. Attlee and Mr. Sumner Welles, namely, that planning for the post-war period should not be left until the end of the war. It believes that there is need for an immediate investigation of the problems of post-war reconstruction.

So much for the main points arising out of the discussion on the Acting Director's Report. Despite my desire to be brief, however, I feel that I cannot conclude my remarks without paying tribute, on behalf of the Australian Government and the Australian people, where tribute is due. First, may I declare the unbounded admiration of my countrymen for the courage and determination of the people of Great Britain, who, in the dark days after Dunkirk, stood firm and confident, shoulder to shoulder, to resist the shock of the invader, and kept him frustrate on the other side of the English Channel. Second, may I convey to the representatives of the Governments of occupied countries our profound sympathy for the suffering which their peoples have endured and are enduring. Their fortitude in continuing to resist in most difficult circumstances is a stimulus to further efforts on their behalf by all who come from countries, like my own, which have had the good fortune not to have suffered the direct ravages of war upon their own soil. And thirdly, may I convey to the members of the staff of the I.L.O. our deep sense of their own strength of spirit in continuing to the utmost of their ability the work of the International Labour Organisation at a time when brave hearts might well have felt the task was overwhelming. The objectives of the International Labour Organisation, set forth in the Preamble to the Constitution, Section I, remain as sound and valuable now as when they were written. These objectives the Labour Government of the Commonwealth of Australia continues to support and will do its utmost to achieve.

Mr. de VILLENEUVE (Employers' adviser, Netherlands) — Now that we have come very close to the end of such a broad and extended stream of excellent speeches, I have hesitated to ask your attention for a couple of minutes. Nevertheless, I feel it my duty to say a few words in our mutual interest.

As you all know, the European part of our
The Governor-General of the Netherlands East Indies, Jonkheer Tjarda van Starkeborgh, has pointed out very clearly what are the aims of our Netherlands and its Government in these times. These aims are, first to support in every respect and to any extent the war effort, including support for our own forces in England and elsewhere as well as for our allies. Second, to strengthen our defence by all means, no matter what it costs. Third, to promote to the highest possible degree the welfare of all the different races which are living united in the Netherlands Indies.

Our Government does not save effort or money to these three aims, and we employers are doing our bit to contribute to each of these aims. Our Government adviser, Mr. Kuneman, has pointed out very clearly this morning what our Government has done and is doing in behalf of different welfare projects. I can assure you that this is carried out with the whole-hearted support of the employers' group. I further may say that our relations with labour, European as well as Indonesian and Chinese labour, of which up to now only a minor part has been unionised, are gradually developing, I think, in the right direction.

But although the three aims of our Government’s policy have been brought forward simultaneously, I may say that the war effort stands above all. It has already been said many times: without victory, no hope, no freedom. That is our inspiration for to-day, and in that mood we are looking towards the future. I dare say we have no blinkers and I realise that the seeds of the future are sown to-day. It is also for this reason that our delegation has made a trip of more than ten thousand miles to attend this Conference. We want to listen to you in order to get a chance to broaden our view on the years to come.

Although much is still uncertain, I may tell you this: we, in the Netherlands East Indies, European, Indonesian, Chinese, forming a part of the one and indivisible Kingdom of the Netherlands, promise you that we will do our utmost not to weaken until victory is brought about to make this world free from fear and to plan a better world in the spirit the Atlantic Charter has pointed out so clearly.

Interpretation: Mr. PEREZ MACHADO
(Government delegate, Venezuela) — Once more the Venezuelan Government, by sending a delegation to this Conference, has shown its unshakable faith in the destinies of this Organisation. Also its determination to collaborate in a determined spirit in the useful and necessary work that the Organisation is carrying out in favour of social and economic welfare.

Venezuela could not fail to be here at the gathering in this land of liberty of the representatives of those nations which still fortunately are free and of those others which are passing through a period of darkness and loss of liberty, until the day of peace will come again.

For the countries of the new continent it is really most satisfactory that this meeting should be taking place on American soil, under the auspices of a Government whose rule has been to practice a policy of good neighbour- hood, and that the International Labour Organisation, fleeing from the conflagration in Europe, should have taken refuge on American soil, where freedom and justice are still loved. Venezuela expresses herself in agreement with the feeling of gratitude and sympathy expressed by other delegates towards the United States for its hospitality and towards our President, Miss Perkins, who has presided so brilliantly over this historic meeting. Similarly, our delegation pays a warm and sincere tribute to Mr. Phelan, Acting Director of the International Labour Office, for his magnificent Report.

The best proof of our country's confidence in the International Labour Organisation is the fact that in drawing up its social legislation it has always asked for the valuable collaboration of the Office, which has not hesitated to send us some of its best technical advisers. In preparing our Labour Act of 1936, now in force, Mr. David Belloch, of the Office, was there to assist us. In preparing the draft Labour Code of 1938, which is the basis for the amendment of the existing Act by a Committee appointed by the Government, the Office lent us its legal adviser, Mr. C. Wilfred Jenks. Similarly, when the time came to draw up a Compulsory Social Insurance Bill, the Office procured us the services of two technical advisers, Mr. Cyrille Dechamp, of its own staff, and Mr. Zelenka, a well-known actuary of Czechoslovakia.

The Social Insurance Act which was passed on 24 July 1940, Venezuela’s Labour Day, has not been put into force as yet owing to the economic crisis; nevertheless, the Venezuelan Government, whose young President has high vision of political realities and is determined to solve the economic and social problems, is waiting for a favourable opportunity to introduce this useful and necessary institution.

In the present work of amending the Labour Act, the Government has invited the collaboration of all sectors concerned of the national economic system, including employers and workers. As soon as a Bill has been drawn up, it will be sent to the International Labour Office for observation, and any observations made will be taken very seriously into account.

Our social legislation, inspired by the international labour Conventions adopted at successive Sessions of the Conference, has certainly not remained a dead letter, as some people have ventured to suggest. Statistics show the excellent work that labour inspection officials have done in solving labour disputes. The provisions with regard to compensation for dismissal and for length of service, workmen's compensation, hours of work, the weekly rest, annual holidays with pay, and so on, are strictly carried out. The Government has a good and competent corps of labour inspectors, and so far there has never been, as alleged, any case of one of these officials accepting a bribe or
of anyone having tried to bribe them. The Government has also done magnificent work in the field of housing.

One of the points that struck me most in the interesting Report of Mr. Phelan was his reference to the economic consequences of the war in the labour market. Despite the efforts of the Governments of almost all countries, says Mr. Phelan, there are large numbers of unemployed, and these numbers are increasing every day. The chief reasons for unemployment, according to Mr. Phelan, are lack of raw materials, the loss of foreign markets, and difficulties of transport. Among possible solutions he suggests a policy of creating employment, in other words, the organisation of labour camps, relief works, and public works. And where even after these measures have been taken it is still impossible to find work for all the unemployed workers, he suggests that methods of rationing work should be resorted to, by reducing the number of working hours, or restricting the employment of certain classes of workers such as women, elderly workers, and foreigners, or establishing a priority in favour of certain classes of workers such as fathers of families with children dependent upon them.

As regards the policy of creation of employment, or public works policy, we are obliged to point out as an objection that it is impossible to carry out such a policy in countries like ours and most of the South American Republics, where budgets have had to be cut as a result of the war, making it necessary to abolish a number of public posts. This has considerably reduced the number of unemployed. Where resources have been considerably reduced as a result of the reduction of foreign trade, it is impossible to think of increasing the budget, and therefore a policy of public works is impracticable.

The organisation of short time is equally inapplicable in my country, where the cost of living is extraordinarily high and the wages for a normal working day are barely sufficient to enable the workers to satisfy their elementary needs.

The Venezuelan legislation gives preference to fathers of families and restricts the work of women and foreigners; but even these methods have not fully solved the problem, and unemployment is still growing as a result of the international situation. The industries which use raw materials that are at present needed for national defence purposes, such as the building trade, the silk and wool textile industry, and so on, are going through a severe crisis. Similarly, our trade is suffering from the restrictions on imports.

Any solution proposed for this question of unemployment therefore involves a vicious circle: We cannot afford to spend the necessary raw materials and credits for setting up the industries in question; nor can we solve the problem by sending our unemployed workers to work in the country as agricultural workers, first, because agricultural expansion demands tractors and other agricultural implements and credits, and, secondly, even if we did increase our agricultural production with such means as we have, we should not find a market for it; I may cite the present experience of Brazil, Venezuela and Colombia in regard to coffee, of the Argentine Republic as regards meat and wheat, and so forth.

The problem is therefore extremely complicated, and the only satisfactory solution would be an increase in the interchange of our products with those of the United States and the granting of credits by that country to the Latin American Republics. That country, of course, has enormous responsibilities at the present time. It has to supply materials of war to Great Britain and to Russia, to provide for the defence not only of its own great territory but that of the whole American continent, and to look after its own economic system and that of all the smaller countries of America. Only so great a people, only a country like that of Washington, of Lincoln, and of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, could face such a task. South America turns its eyes towards that great people with admiration and hope.

The United States must help our countries to save their economic systems by granting them credits and sending the raw materials for their industries. It is of first importance for its national defence such as oil, iron, copper, and so on, those countries are entitled to receive in exchange the manufactured products, machinery, and tools which they lack.

Venezuela, like many Latin American countries, places its trust in the great nation of North America, from which the salvation of the world will no doubt come.

Interpretation: Mr. ALDUNATE PHIL-LIPS (Employers' delegate, Chile) — In rising to speak in this august assembly I wish in the first place to convey a message from the Chilean Confederation of Production and Commerce, which includes the great majority of the producers of my country, congratulating the International Labour Organisation on the happy idea of convening this Conference in the midst of these troublous times. The Confederation expresses its gratitude also to the University of Columbia, of which I have the honour to be a graduate, for the hospitality which it has offered us.

The Employers' delegation of Chile wholeheartedly approves the Report of the Acting Director of the International Labour Office and considers that it interprets the opinions of all those whom the delegation has the honour to represent in this assembly.

The Employers' representatives of Chile are proud to belong to a country which, though situated in a distant corner of America, has a long-established tradition of democracy and liberty. Our people elect their representatives by free and direct vote. The complete change of Government which took place two years ago after a keenly contested election is manifest evidence of the freedom of the institutions of
Chile and the manner in which the popular verdict is put into practice. The destinies of Chile are now directed by its President, Mr. Pedro Aguirre Cerda, who has dedicated his whole life to the service of his country both in his capacity of one of the greatest agricultural producers of the country and also in the political and educational sphere. Standing as he does between capital and labour, the President of my country, defender of the proletariat and at the same time the champion of order and of the liberties of all citizens, declared this very year when opening the session of the National Congress: "The Government considers it desirable and necessary to recognise the right of capital to a legitimate return, which will enable it to maintain its stability and growth . . . My Government endeavours to stimulate private enterprise by protecting capital and ensuring security in employment for the workers."

All elements in Chile are keenly interested in the maintenance of the democratic principles which have been the basis of our community for more than a century, ever since we became an independent nation. The President, the Government, employers, and workers are all definitely republican and democratic, and I am therefore absolutely convinced that in my country any attempt at tyranny will be vigorously crushed.

The previous speakers representing Chile, in particular the Workers' delegate, Mr. Ibáñez Aguila, have recognised the spirit of co-operation shown by the employers and the excellent relations existing between capital and labour and have put forward definite hopes for an even better future.

The interesting speech of the Government delegate, Mr. Torres, expressed the same ideas and gave us a full survey of the practical results as embodied in the social legislation of Chile.

We have had an opportunity of hearing an impassioned speech from a former worker, Mr. Pradénas Muñoz, who is proud to have risen by his own efforts and by his own merits from the humble rank of manual worker to the high office of Minister of Labour of Chile. He is in himself clear evidence of the democratic form of government which prevails in Chile.

At the present time Chile possesses one of the most advanced systems of social legislation in the world workers. The year 1924 marked a great advance in the sphere of social legislation. I would mention in particular the Trade Union Organisation Act, and above all the Compulsory Insurance Act, which we owe chiefly to the vision of Mr. Exequiel González Cortez. In 1931 the Chilean Labour Code was consolidated and amplified. The Preventive Medicine Act, passed as a result of the efforts of the Ministry of Health, Dr. Cruz Coke, came into operation in 1938 and has had excellent results from the point of view of the health of workers and their families. An Act of 1937 established a minimum wage and family allowances for salaried employees; this Act has been amended by the present Government.

No one can deny the social progress which has been achieved in Chile, and when comparisons are made between the wages paid in Chile and those paid in the United States, it is obvious that no conclusions can be reached without a thorough investigation of the cost of living, the purchasing power of money, and many other factors of a complex nature.

To establish a proportion between population and area is not a purely arithmetical operation, and when we consider the area of the Republic of Chile we must not forget to allow for the desert and other unproductive regions.

I should like to emphasise the desire felt by all Chilean employers, and more particularly the Confederation of Production and Commerce, under its President, Mr. Jaime Larrain Garcia Moreno, for the improvement of the living conditions of our people, and to assure this Conference that Chilean employers will continue to co-operate both now and in the post-war period with a view to attaining perfect harmony between capital and labour.

In order to attain this end it is indispensable that production should be developed and that there should be a better distribution of manufactured products and raw materials throughout the world. A balance must be established between the requirements of the producing classes and those of consumers. The achievement of such a balance would be an efficacious solution for the economic and labour problems of to-day. For this, the nations must learn to know one another better and must have a fuller comprehension of their respective problems. This is particularly necessary in the case of the relations between the Latin American nations and the United States of America.

I know that this is the aim of the noble institutions which like the Rockefeller Office have done so much to make Latin America and the United States better known to one another. In rendering homage to the work of every one of its members, I cannot refrain from expressing my admiration for the great American who has done so much for this policy of rapprochement, His Excellency the President of the United States of America, Mr. Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Mr. HASLUND (Government adviser, Norway) — The members of the Conference know that Norway is making its greatest contribution to the Allied cause through its great and modern merchant marine. This merchant marine is manned by about 25,000 to 30,000 seamen, and it is self-evident that the Norwegian Government and the Norwegian
 Norwegian authorities attach great weight to creating as good social conditions for these seamen as at all possible.

It will perhaps be of interest for the delegates to the Conference to learn how co-operation has been carried on between the official Norwegian authorities, the Norwegian seamen, and the Norwegian Shipping and Trade Mission. Such a picture will to a certain extent give an idea of the individual achievement of this collaboration in a difficult situation.

The estimated figure for Norwegian ship arrivals in North and South American ports in 1938 was 7,960, and it may be estimated roughly that there were 240,000 visits by Norwegian seamen in American ports during that year. The number of seamen who visit American ports has further increased during the war. It is not only the number of Norwegian seamen that has become larger; every single problem has also become more difficult than previously. It should be borne in mind that this entire army of seamen is cut off from connection with home and family. Every single condition is influenced by the fact that our country is in the hands of the enemy.

The Norwegian legations and consulates continued their work as representatives for the Norwegian shipping and Government after the German invasion. A great part of the work of this representation prior to the war was connected with our shipping and our seamen. This work continues during the war as before, yes, even to a greater extent.

When the Norwegian Government had to evacuate Norway in order to continue the fight for Norwegian's independence from allied soil, a number of temporary administrative services were set up for the duration of the war.

The Norwegian Government resolved already on 22 April 1940 to requisition all Norwegian ships of more than 500 tons. The chief of the Norwegian Directorate of Shipping in Oslo arrived in London as early as mid-April having been charged by the Royal Norwegian Government with organising the Norwegian Shipping and Trade Mission, to which the management of Norwegian shipping during the entire war has been entrusted. The Norwegian Shipping and Trade Mission transacts all business connected with the management of Norwegian shipping. It has also assumed the obligations of the State under the National Health Insurance and Workmen's Compensation Acts.

It very soon became clear that a special organisation would have to take the initiative and put into operation a number of new endeavours in the social field for our seamen. The Director of the Norwegian Shipping and Trade Mission therefore established the Social Welfare Committee for Norwegian Seamen in America as a separate advisory agency, charged with drawing up a plan for measures to be considered in the Western Hemisphere. Step by step this plan was submitted to the Norwegian Government and approved. The Social Welfare Committee was accordingly empowered to start these new services and to supervise their development and management. The Committee's scope of duties was drawn up in advance as follows:

(1) Better medical and hygienic conditions, including care for invalids and convalescents;

(2) Centralisation of the social welfare work for seamen in a number of the larger ports, with the establishment or enlargement of seamen's homes, libraries, meeting places, seamen's churches, etc.;

(3) Establishment of schools, particularly for engineers, mates, and wireless operators.

The Social Welfare Committee has taken the initiative in a number of fields. A fine Convalescent Home for Norwegian seamen has been established in Nova Scotia. Various new reading rooms and seamen's hostels have been established in American ports. The Social Welfare Committee administers the so-called circulating libraries for seamen, a correspondence course in English for Norwegian seamen, schools for ship's wireless operators, and other social enterprises.

The Directorate of Public Health has charge of various medical and hygienic enterprises, such as Norwegian medical stations in the more important ports for the benefit of Norwegian subjects.

The engagement of crews for the Norwegian merchant marine takes place in America through the Scandinavian Shipping Office, Inc., which has five branches in the United States. The organisation was established in 1938 through co-operation between the Scandinavian shipowners' and seamen's organisations. These offices have assumed great importance during the war.

Before Norway became involved in the war, the Norwegian Seamen's Association had taken steps to delegate full powers to two centres, New York and London, to conduct the Association's activities abroad. These Executive Councils went into action the very day they received word of the German invasion of Norway. The Association has developed to such an extent that it now actually has taken over the protection of the seamen's interests, technical as well as social, in the same manner as it had done from Norway.

Also the mates, the engineers, and the captains of the Norwegian merchant marine have had their organisations established outside Norway's borders during the war.

The Norwegian Seamen's Mission performs a very valuable social work for Norwegian seamen. In connection with the seamen's churches, it maintains reading rooms, assists in the forwarding of mail for seamen, takes care of seamen's savings, arranges entertainments and excursions for them, visits them when they are ill, and helps them in many other ways.

The regulations regarding the treatment of Norwegian seamen in cases of illness are set forth in the Norwegian Seamen's Act. The legislation applicable in Norway prior to the war continues to be observed. It will be too involved to go into all the details of this legislation, and I therefore refer to the report distributed to delegates. The main rule, however, is that Norwegian seamen in cases of illness are taken care of at the expense of the shipowners for a period of twelve weeks, and thereafter receive maintenance in accordance with the Health Insurance Act.

The Norwegian Shipping and Trade Mission
and the Norwegian Seamen's Association have agreed to the establishment of an Arbitration Board, which decides with binding effect all disputes in connection with the services of crews on board Norwegian ships. The Arbitration Board is also to function as a court for decisions made by the Norwegian consulates.

As a result of the work which has been performed by the various official and private Norwegian institutions, reading rooms for Norwegian seamen as well as a number of Norwegian seamen's hostels exist in practically all the most important ports. At present there are twenty-six special reading rooms and three seamen's hostels for Norwegian seamen. In those ports where the conditions are not yet satisfactory in this regard, plans for improvement are under way.

Prior to the war, Norway had a special organisation which sent out circulating libraries to Norwegian ships. The Social Welfare Committee has resumed this activity and supplies reading rooms and ships with Norwegian books and other reading matter, procured through book collections among Norwegian-Americans. A special office in the Norwegian Shipping and Trade Mission sends out Norwegian publications to our ships and reading rooms. The Norwegian State Broadcasting sends out regular daily broadcasts from London over the BBC, and from Boston over WRUL. From London, broadcasts are sent out four times daily, from Boston once daily, as well as a number of special broadcasts. In addition, Norwegian news Morse is sent out to all ships every day. This radio service is considered a very important link in the distribution of news to our seamen, and may be said to have a not inconsiderable psychological and social importance.

A phase of the social welfare work which is particularly stressed is the forwarding of mail to Norwegian seamen.

The Norwegian consulates-general, certain consulates, as well as the Norwegian seamen's churches, accept money for safe keeping for Norwegian seamen. This work has gradually assumed very large proportions and at the moment large amounts are being saved by Norwegian seamen through these institutions. The Norwegian Government has established in London and in New York a special Norwegian Government Allotment Office. The Office in New York alone handles, at present, approximately 13,000 accounts. Since 1 September 1941, the Norwegian Shipping and Trade Mission, acting on behalf of seamen who have taxes withheld out of their wages, has been depositing to the seaman's own account every month at the Allotment Office in New York an amount in U.S.A. dollars representing 10 per cent. of the gross wages.

I should like to mention the great work of the Norwegian Shipping and Trade Mission in procuring effective life-saving devices for use on board Norwegian ships sailing in the danger zone. It has been possible to devise a special life-saving suit, which not only keeps the seamen afloat, but also protects them against the cold and against high falls. This life-saving suit is distributed to all Norwegian seamen who sail in the danger zone.

By giving this short survey of the social welfare work for Norwegian seamen, I have tried to show how it is natural for Norwegian democracy to try to keep its social welfare activities in operation, even under the most difficult conditions. I should like to add that in this field there is not the slightest difference of opinion among the Government authorities, employers and employees.

Our experience of the social welfare work during this war shows that it has been possible to continue the good co-operation which already before the war existed between the various institutions in our country. Yes, more than that, the common danger and the common misfortune which all parts of the Norwegian people within the country's borders and outside its borders share have united them in such a way that there is good reason to believe that the democracy which will arise after this war will not be of a lesser quality than it was prior to the Nazi invasion of our peaceful country.

Mr. HINDROMARTONO (Workers' adviser, Netherlands) — On behalf of the Indonesian native population, and also on behalf of the Chinese workers in Indonesia, that is, the Netherlands East Indies, I desire to express my appreciation to those who were instrumental in convening this meeting. On their behalf I desire to convey the greetings of the Indonesian and Chinese workers to the champions of liberty and social justice assembled here.

The importance and significance of the present Conference, which is taking place at a time when the future of individual, cultural, racial, economic, and political freedom is at stake, is fully realised by the workers I have the honour to represent. That is the reason why this gathering is arousing not only interest, but also hopes and expectations among the workers in Indonesia. What expectations? The answer can be brief: no theoretical talk, but realisation of that too often used term "social justice".

In order to avoid misunderstanding, I desire to say at the outset that on the whole our working population is not suffering from inhuman social injustice and barbarian oppression. I am even able to amplify what the Acting Director says in his Report on page 68.

(1) I was pleased to learn from the Employers' adviser, Mr. de Villeneuve, who is a member of the People's Council (our Parliament, consisting of appointed and indirectly elected members), and from the Government adviser, Mr. Kuneman, that next year, that is, in 1942, the penal sanction will be completely abolished.

(2) For a small group of Indonesian and Chinese workers (less than one per cent.) a better regulation regarding dismissal of workers has been introduced.

(3) For a very small group there is every possibility that, within a short time, old-age and unemployment insurance may be introduced.

(4) Nearly two years ago an accident insurance scheme was introduced on a small scale. In connection with the war a special and improved accident insurance scheme for seafarers has been enacted.
The right to dismiss employees in industries considered vital by the Government has been restricted.

In December 1940 a committee was appointed, on which the workers are represented, whose task is to protect workers against worsening of conditions and victimisation by the employers as a consequence of the present wartime situation.

The Government has taken measures to control prices.

It may therefore be said that the Netherlands East Indies Government is aware of its social obligations. Some of you may be inclined to ask: "What else do you want?" Well, I understand that all improvements cannot be accomplished simultaneously, and I have therefore formulated our most urgent wishes in a resolution which is before you.

The present struggle of the democracies is one of "to be or not to be". In this titanic battle, the peoples of the colonies must take a positive stand. I am happy to say that the Indonesian people do. But I desire to issue a warning: Colonial peoples of higher officials and by prominent Government officials. The only remedy I can see is the fixing of minimum wages. It is said that fixing of minimum wages is difficult and I admit that it is not easy. But in private industry the position is different. Unfortunately the majority of private employers try to prevent the growth of trade unionism by all means. I understand that the British Government is out to promote the growth of trade unionism in the colonies. I think that attitude should serve as an example to other countries.

In Indo-China strikes which threaten to paralyse economic life are prohibited by law. Generally speaking, every strike is considered to come within that category. I do not want now to challenge the justice of the law. But I do want to suggest that if Governments want to avoid and forbid strikes, arbitration courts should be set up to provide for adequate consultation and mediation.

I wish to restrict myself to these few remarks, and hope that my resolution will be adopted by this Conference, which is out to serve the cause of social justice. Let me conclude by entrusting to you my innermost desires for the near future: May the democracies win our common battle, as they shall, as they will! Long live the working classes, long live the I.L.O.!

Interpretation: Mr. FERNANDEZ STOLL (Government delegate, Peru) — This Conference will always remain a pleasant memory to me personally because it has given me the privilege of the friendship of Dr. Laso, Government delegate of Ecuador, and of Dr. Abel Romero Castillo, adviser to the Government delegation of that country. Our friendship is built on the generosity of feeling, the intelligence and sagacity of these gentlemen, and is a symbol of the goodwill of our two countries and of our desire to put an end to a sad and distressing situation.

The delegate of Ecuador has been good enough to refer to the social situation in Peru as one of which we have reason to be proud. I in my turn would like to emphasise before this Conference the loftiness of views, the love of peace, and the hatred of violence which inspire the Government of Ecuador. The same can be said of Peru, and I should like to assure this international gathering that neither does Peru harbour any feeling of violence or hate, that Peru is inspired by the same love of peace and repudiates aggression just as much as Ecuador, and finally that there are manifest signs that collaboration between Peru and Ecuador will constitute hereafter in America one of the loftiest examples of good international understanding in behalf of the democratic spirit of the world, and the defence of peace and of the American continent.

In conclusion, I would like to say that I appreciate the attitude of the delegate of Ecuador in refraining from any mention of the origin of the recent incident and I have the honour to follow his example.

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT (Mr. DOMENECH) — The discussion of the Report of the Acting Director is closed.

Mr. Phelan, the Acting Director, will reply to the various speakers to-morrow morning.
FIFTH REPORT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE

The PRESIDENT — Mr. van Zeeland, Chairman of the Selection Committee, will present the Fifth Report of the Committee.

Interpretation: Mr. van Zeeland (Government delegate, Belgium), Chairman of the Selection Committee — The Selection Committee met this morning and has accepted the final text of the report submitted to it by the Credentials Sub-Committee. The text of this report has been distributed to you.

The Selection Committee has also accepted a report of the Resolutions Sub-Committee, and now presents two new resolutions, the first a resolution of a general character, submitted by the Government, Employers' and Workers' delegates of the United States of America, and the second a resolution submitted by a number of delegates, on the condition of seamen and the shipping industry. These documents have also been distributed to you.

The PRESIDENT — You have heard the Report of the Selection Committee. If there is no objection, it is adopted.

(The Report is adopted.)

Draft resolution proposing the establishment of a World Textile Office.2

The PRESIDENT — The Conference will now consider the draft resolution submitted by Mr. Hallsworth, proposing the establishment of a World Textile Office.

Mr. HALLSWORTH (Workers' delegate, British Empire) — In submitting to the International Labour Conference a draft resolution proposing the establishment of a World Textile Office, I speak as the representative of the British Trades Union Congress, and the proposal has the full approval and support of that Congress.

The problems of the textile industry have long been under review by the International Labour Organisation, and I need only to remind you of the work of the Textile Conference held under the auspices of the Organisation in Washington in 1937, and of the resolution of the Governing Body in 1939, instructing the International Labour Office to take steps necessary for the setting up of a tripartite Textile Committee.

This work was unfortunately interrupted by the war, and what I now propose is that it should be resumed as soon as conditions become favourable. It may be useful to remind you of the special importance of the textile industry and of its international character. The industry is one which employs about ten million workpeople in many different countries. It is one of the first industries to be established in any country which embarks upon a process of industrialisation, and this accounts for the industry being so widely spread, branches being found in almost every country. The industry is also of great importance in international trade, in respect both of its raw materials and of its finished products.

I should like to make particular reference to the fact that the resolution proposes that the World Textile Office should deal with economic as well as social questions. It seems to me, however, that no argument is needed to convince the Conference that any adequate treatment of social and labour problems must involve consideration of the economic factors affecting the industry. May I also point out that the extension of the tripartite method from social and labour conditions, in which it has long been successfully adopted as the method of the International Labour Organisation, into the economic field is a new and in my opinion a very necessary departure.

The impact of the war has greatly intensified the difficulties of the textile industry in many countries, and this makes it all the more necessary that the work already begun by the International Labour Organisation should be resumed and developed at the earliest possible moment. I submit this resolution to you in full confidence that it will have your whole-hearted support.

The PRESIDENT — An amendment to the resolution has been proposed.

Interpretation: Mr. LAMURAGLIA (Employers' delegate, Argentine Republic) — The
Employers' delegates of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile propose the following change in the draft resolution. In paragraph 1, which reads “...a World Textile Office, based on the tripartite principle, to be responsible for the international organisation...”, replace the word “organisation” by the word “study”.

The PRESIDENT—Is there any objection to this amendment?

Mr. HALLSWORTH (Workers' delegate, British Empire) — I do not accept the amendment.

Interpretation: Mr. GARCIA TELLEZ (Government delegate, Mexico) — I support the amendment. The Mexican Government cannot accept the creation of an international institution for purposes of organisation, since this would be a violation of the sovereignty of the different countries in internal matters.

The PRESIDENT — I shall now take a vote on the amendment.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The amendment is rejected by 23 votes to 19.)

The PRESIDENT — I shall now put the draft resolution to the vote.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The resolution is adopted by 34 votes to 11.)

Interpretation: Mr. LAMURAGLIA (Employers' delegate, Argentine Republic) — The Argentine Employers' delegate wishes to have it recorded that he voted against the resolution.

Interpretation: Mr. TURTON (Employers' delegate, Brazil) — The Brazilian Employers' delegate also wishes to have it recorded that he voted against the resolution.

Interpretation: Mr. ALDUNATE PHILIPS (Employers' delegate, Chile) — The Chilean Employers' delegate also wishes to have it recorded that he voted against the resolution.

Interpretation: Mr. GARCIA TELLEZ (Government delegate, Mexico) — The Mexican Government delegation wishes to have recorded the reservation which it made concerning national sovereignty.

REPLY OF THE ACTING DIRECTOR

The PRESIDENT — The Conference will now hear the Acting Director's reply and comments upon the discussion of his Report. I think that all of us have been deeply impressed by the value and significance of this Report, by its broad coverage and its social insight into the problems of the world to-day, and we welcome the Director's comments upon our discussion at the same time that we thank him for the intelligence and fidelity with which he has carried on this brave and courageous research into the problems of world reconstruction.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL — I know I may count on your indulgence on the first occasion on which it falls to me to reply to a discussion on the Director's Report. I know I may count on that indulgence more fully because of the special character of this meeting and the special character of the discussion which has taken place.

Of what does this meeting consist? It consists of the representatives — Governmental, employer, and worker — of the free peoples of the world.

I want to emphasise its world character: in an old English phrase, which no longer corresponds to modern conditions of development and transport, it is literally the fact that there have met here representatives of every country from China to Peru. We have delegations not only from Europe and from North, Central, and South America, but also from Asia, Africa, Australia, and New Zealand.

That world composition of this Conference is the answer to those who believed or who wished to believe that the Organisation was doomed to perish, and that if it did succeed in holding a meeting, that meeting, lacking any universal character, would be a confession of disintegration.

But not only is the Conference world-wide in character, but the composition of the delegations attending it marks it with a prestige and authority which few, if any, previous meetings have possessed.

And, further, its importance has been underlined by statesmen who bear the ultimate responsibility for high policy in their respective countries; by President Roosevelt, who is to address the concluding Sitting at the White House; by Mr. Churchill, who has delegated Mr. Attlee, Deputy Leader of the House of Commons, to represent the British Government here; by Field Marshal Smuts, whose message was delivered to you by the South African delegate the other day; and by Mr. Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister of Canada.

It is a free Conference, as the Constitution of this Organisation requires, and the proof of its character of freedom is to be found in this attendance of delegates from all the four corners of the earth, coming together knowing that they could enjoy not only freedom to express their views and opinions but, what is even more important and more fundamental, knowing that they were free to listen.

No less than 66 delegates and advisers from no less than 27 countries have spoken in this discussion, including 35 Government representatives, 14 Employers' representatives, and 17 Workers' representatives.

Even parliamentarians of long experience like Mr. Attlee, for whose presence I know I can express the gratitude of all members of the Conference, especially in view of the heavy responsibilities devolving upon him at this time — even parliamentary leaders with such long experience as Mr. Attlee and the other distinguished Ministers who are included in this gathering might well be appalled at the task of attempting to sum up in any adequate fashion a discussion covering so wide a range, in which every speech was a serious and thoughtful contribution meriting a full reply.
You will understand, therefore, that I cannot hope to attempt to deal with each of the speeches delivered separately and fully as it would deserve. In fact, a mere list of the speakers, together with an indication of their functions and of the group and the country to which they belong, would be a speech in itself. I shall therefore not mention names, save in a very few cases where it may be necessary to do so in order to indicate the point under reply or where the speaker, and, if question was expressing not only his individual view but the view of his group.

I have listened, I have made every effort to listen, to as many of the speeches as possible. But delegates will understand that it is inevitable in the course of a Conference like this that the Secretary-General should be called away from the platform on one or other occasion to consult with delegates or to attempt to smooth the work in connection with the general arrangements of the Conference, and they will, I know, realise that there was no discourtesy in these involuntary absences.

But if I have not been able to listen to each and every speech, I have read and re-read the speeches which have been delivered, and although, as I said, it is clearly-impossible for me in the time at my disposal to deal with more than a few questions of general importance and to attempt more than to sum up the general aspects of the discussion, I want to give you the assurance that none of the observations which have been formulated and none of the suggestions which have been made will escape the careful attention and consideration of the Office when this Conference is over.

Now, before I come to the general aspects of the discussion, its most important aspects, I may perhaps be permitted to mention one or two suggestions of a practical character which are particularly helpful and constructive.

My friend Mr. Hallsworth, in the realistic spirit which is characteristic of his leadership of the Workers' group, and, if I may say so, of the part of England from which he comes, drew attention to the financial problems of the Organisation and to the necessity of furnishing it with the resources necessary to enable it to face effectively the demands which are being made or may be made upon it.

It is indeed a source of pride to the Office to be able to say that our financial position to-day is sound, that we are solvent, that we have been able to meet scrupulously and punctually all our obligations. That is the case unless the upheaval of the last two years is manifest proof of the strength of the Organisation and the most convincing reply to those enemies of the Organisation who rejoiced over- soon in its downfall. And I should like to take this opportunity to express, not on my own behalf, but on behalf of the other Members of the Organisation, our great gratitude to those States which, facing at this moment every conceivable difficulty, have nevertheless, out of their diminished resources, continued to give the Organisation financial support.

But though the Organisation is solvent, it is not rich. It is working at the present moment at full capacity, at a capacity which is only possible owing to the devotion of its restricted staff, to which I cannot pay too high a tribute. I confidently believe that the Members of the Organisation share Mr. Hallsworth's realistic view and that they will see to it that their contributions are forthcoming, completely and punctually, as early as possible in each financial year, and that if new and important tasks are laid upon our shoulders, the resources will be provided which will enable us to acquit ourselves of our responsibilities.

The assurance which has been given on this subject by Mr. Moston on behalf of New Zealand is particularly welcome, and I trust that it may be followed by similar assurances from other States.

I apologise for talking about finance. Finance is a dull, I might say, a repugnant subject. But I dare not leave this Conference under a dangerous illusion, nor let the Organisation run the risk of returning to a future-Conference, when I hope positive action by the Organisation in many fields will be imminent, only to find that it has been possible to make little progress, or perhaps no progress at all, on the preparatory work along the lines which this Conference is beginning to shape.

Intimately connected with this general financial problem are the practical suggestions which have been put forward by speakers from Asia and the Latin American countries. I would like to assure the Latin American countries that the Office is fully alive to the desirability and, indeed, the necessity of publishing all our studies and reports and periodical reviews in the Spanish language, so that the collaboration of the Spanish-speaking peoples in the work may be facilitated and intensified. As soon as our financial situation began to improve this year, I began to take steps to strengthen the proportion of Latin American staff, and the proportion of our documents published in Spanish has been greatly increased. In carrying through this policy, I know I can count on the financial support of the Latin American countries.

The presence of so many delegations from Latin America, including in so many cases Ministers of high rank and responsible members of their respective Governments, is an interesting manifestation of the policy of the Latin American States to give expression to their sense of the universality of international collaboration, while at the same time maintaining their identity and their natural concern with those elements of solidarity and similarity of outlook which make them one of the great groups of the human family.

The Latin American States have a historical tradition of respect for national freedom on the basis of international law. That tradition, reaffirmed in countless pronouncements by inter-American conferences, has once more found vigorous expression in the proceedings of this Conference.

The presence of an observer from Costa Rica, who has expressed the hope that his country will soon resume active membership of the Organisation, encourages me to hope that the other Central American countries may take similar action.

Perhaps the most interesting recent development in the relations between the Organisa-
tion and the Latin American countries is the establishment, on the initiative of Peru, of the Inter-American Social Security Committee, whose first meeting is to be held in Santiago de Chile in March next year, on the generous invitation of the Chilean Government. With that work, which is essentially continental in character, the International Labour Office is glad to be associated and will do its best to render useful service.

Mr. Santos Muñoz expressed a desire for an increase in the amount of technical assistance offered by the Office to Latin American countries. I am glad to tell him publicly that I will be happy to do all in my power to comply with this desire when the initiative comes, as it normally does, from the Governments themselves.

We have succeeded so far in meeting all the calls made upon us by Governments during the last two years, and whenever we are approached by the Argentine or by any other Government, all that can be done to give whatever assistance is in our power will be done.

Attention has also been drawn by delegates from Latin American countries to a number of questions, such as housing, nutrition, and the provision of adequate facilities for workers' leisure, which are of great importance in the Latin American countries, and it would seem desirable that questions of which those are examples should be considered by a future Labour Conference of American States.

Asia is another great continent of the world which presents special problems. All delegates must have listened with appreciation to the speeches of members of the Indian and the Chinese delegations. And all must have felt that this Conference would have performed a useful service if it had done no other than afford an opportunity of bringing closer together the great countries of Asia, with their enormous populations and their unlimited possibilities of progress, with the rest of the world.

In China and in India, the oldest civilisations have shown that they have, before them vast possibilities of modern development, a development which, in the circumstances growing out of the war, has suddenly been accelerated and which must profoundly affect the future economic structure of the world. As Sir Shanmukham Chetty suggested, there is a real task for the International Labour Organisation in that field.

The idea of an Asiatic regional conference is not a new one, but the time is clearly coming when the services which such a conference might render will be of importance not only to India and China and the other Asiatic countries but to the world as a whole. I am sure I can say that the Governing Body will give close attention to the suggestions made, and, in consultation with the Governments concerned, will be willing to take the necessary steps as soon as it seems that such a conference could be organised with hope of success.

Since I am talking of these great groups of nations within the human family, I should perhaps refer to the joint declaration by the delegations of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Greece, which you must have seen in the press this morning, a declaration which draws attention to the problems involved in the establishment of the four freedoms in another area with a population of a hundred million souls. There again the International Labour Organisation will, I am sure, be glad and happy to co-operate in that task in every possible manner.

One more word, about one other practical suggestion as to the best form which our machinery might take in order to take account of changing circumstances and changing needs.

Mr. Hallsworth drew attention to the necessity of examining the character of the London Office. That Office, to whose Director and staff I would like to pay a tribute, has had new tasks thrown on its shoulders owing to the presence, the temporary presence, of a number of Allied Governments in London.

It may well be, as Mr. Hallsworth suggested, that we may find it desirable to hold, or that at all events we should be in a position to hold, technical or other meetings in London, and that therefore the London Office should be equipped, so far as resources allow, with a staff and premises adequate for that purpose.

There is, however, in Mr. Hallsworth's idea the germ of something wider and perhaps more permanent.

We shall have a different world after this war, a world in which conditions of transport and communication will perhaps lead to a certain decentralisation of at all events a part of our machinery. If, as is possible and indeed probable, there is more work to be done in the international field, and consequently greater demands on the time and the energy, not only of the staff of the Office, but also of representatives of Governments, workers, and employers, it may well be that there will be great advantages of efficiency in being able to hold meetings in different important centres.

I do not suggest, nor indeed did Mr. Hallsworth, that there should be any far-reaching decentralisation of the work of the Office, but merely that our equipment should be flexible enough to meet new needs.

After these few observations on problems which are problems of machinery rather than problems of policy, I would now like to turn to the discussion as a whole.

May I first thank the delegates for their kind and indeed too flattering references to the Report which I have had the honour to present? The speeches have run, as it were, in a parallel channel to the Report itself. Of the ideas which I have ventured to put forward for your consideration, none has been rejected and many have been expressed with a vigour and eloquence which I cannot hope to equal and which, if I could, would amount to unnecessary repetition. Although there is little, therefore, to reply to in the sense of making any defence of my Report, I may perhaps be permitted to draw attention to the character of the discussion which has been to me, and which may appear to you on reflection, both welcome and unexpected.

This, as I said at the beginning, is a world Conference. It might have been expected that it would express itself with a certain diversity, especially as it is a free Conference; a Conference of free peoples who have felt free to send their representatives to attend it. It is a
democratic Conference, as the Constitution of this Organisation requires, and therefore a Conference possessed of every freedom, including the freedom to disagree. And yet, working perhaps in the spirit which was expressed by Sir Frederick Leggett, as Chairman of the Governing Body in Prague, in that distant — as it now seems, very distant — past, working in the spirit which there was expressed when he suggested that this Organisation should try to find those things which we unite and not those things which divide, this Conference has shown a unity which perhaps was implicit in the mere decision to attend, but which has been marked in striking fashion by every speech which has been delivered by delegates, from no matter what quarter of the globe they came, and by the applause with which their speeches have been greeted.

The International Labour Organisation is a democratic institution and the democracy of the International Labour Organisation means a democracy embracing the Members of the Organisation, in contradistinction to the kind of world we should have if those principles were destroyed, and not only individuals but countries were compelled to shape their lives and institutions to an imposed pattern.

To my mind, it is this democracy between nations which lies at the basis of the unity which this Conference has demonstrated.

Let me try to pick out one or two points on which I believe that unity to have been expressed.

What does democracy between the nations really mean? It means that nations, like individuals, should, subject to their obligations to the community of which they are a part, be free to pursue, in the immortal words of the Declaration of Independence, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

In determining their policies as free nations, they are united on that fundamental proposition. And, being so united, they have expressed, as the unanimous applause which greeted certain speeches has shown, their admiration and their gratitude to those who are defending the principles by which alone all nations can live, on battlefronts where ordinary men, women, and children share the risks and pay the sacrifices of battle as fully as disciplined and uniformed armies.

As Sir John Forbes Watson has said, there is a priority in the freedoms. And there is a priority in the famous phrase which I have just quoted.

Nations must live to secure liberty, and only when liberty has been secured can they pursue the happiness of their peoples. On that fundamental issue I should say that this Conference has demonstrated.

Only when life and liberty are secure can we build for the future on a firm foundation. But though there is a priority in the freedoms, it is a priority in time. In another sense, as many speakers have pointed out, the freedoms are interdependent.

Without life there can be no liberty, and without liberty men cannot pursue happiness. But the knowledge that these three principles are a trinity, divisible in time but indivisible as a policy of attainment, will encourage and fortify those from whom the greatest sacrifices are demanded.

The heights of their courage, endurance, and sacrifice may well stand as the glory of their race in the future, and purchase for the rest of humanity possibilities of achievement and happiness born of freedom which humanity has not yet known.

I will not attempt to discuss the practical proposals which have been made in many speeches, any policy which should be followed when life and liberty have been safely achieved, to lead Governments and peoples along the road of the pursuit of happiness. They are being formulated now in the resolutions which have been handed in and which are being considered and shaped for final decision by the Conference in the Resolutions Committee.

The keynote of those proposals is the objective set forth in the clauses of the Atlantic Charter which refer to the "fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security", and to "a peace which will afford . . . the assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want".

The social mandate suggested in the Report was meant to illustrate the types of detailed measures necessary to give effect to these principles of the Atlantic Charter, and I should like to thank those delegates who have made suggestions regarding further measures which should be adopted for this purpose.

An outstanding feature of the debate in connection with the problems of reconstruction has been the general acceptance of the view expressed in the Report that the International Labour Organisation must move increasingly into the economic field if its work regarding social questions is to be effective.

The Office will give, and I have no doubt also the Governing Body will give, the fullest consideration to the suggestions on this subject which have been made by various speakers.

But among those suggestions I was personally specially impressed by Mr. Shaw Kinn-Wei's plea for international co-operation with the Chinese Government in the reconstruction of China on the lines contemplated by Dr. Sun Yat-Sen. The Office will be happy to do everything in its power which the Chinese Government thinks would be of assistance in carrying to success that momentous task.

I would ask your indulgence to allow me to say just a few words on the suggestions made in the Report regarding the use of the machinery of the International Labour Organisation for implementing the social clauses of the Atlantic Charter.

Machinery, like finance, is a dull and perhaps a repugnant word, but in the proposals which have been made to use the machinery of the International Labour Organisation there is, if I interpret correctly the feelings of this Conference, no desire to escape difficult decisions, and difficult no doubt they will be, by the old device of referring them to a committee or commission for consideration. The desire which has been expressed here that the International Labour Organisation should be used
to the full as an instrument in dealing with reconstruction goes far beyond any such suggestion.

Let us remember that decisions to create institutions have often been more fruitful in results than decisions of substance. Many of the great milestones on the road of humanity's march towards freedom have been, as scholars have pointed out, but as perhaps peoples have not always appreciated, decisions of procedure rather than decisions of substance. Some of the outstanding landmarks in the history of the freedom of individuals and of nations, such as the British Habeas Corpus Act, are essentially procedural in character.

The influence on human progress of institutions, such as the institution of constitutional monarchy as it is applied in England, the institution of free republics, the institution of free employers' and workers' organisations, has played a greater part in enabling men to engage in the pursuit of happiness than this or that particular measure of reform.

Free organisations of workers and employers have become now an integral part of the machinery of democratic government. And it surely follows that we should build more surely, more effectively, and more solidly if they are associated with all the international decisions regarding the future peace and the economic well-being of the world.

I attach, therefore, particular importance to the suggestions which have been made to that end.

The Workers' delegates in particular have voiced with impressive unanimity their support for the views expressed in the Report. Many Government delegates have expressed support for the same general ideal. The carrying of it into effect depends not on the I.L.O. but on the decisions which will have to be taken by Governments when the time comes.

Their decisions will doubtless be influenced by the advice which they will receive from delegates to this Conference, and I trust, therefore, that delegates will convey to their Governments the view which has found such general favour here, that the International Labour Organisation should be made an integral part of any peace or reconstruction conference following the war.

And, though it may be necessary to draw a distinction between emergency relief measures and measures of long-term reconstruction, it will be important to frame the emergency relief measures in such a manner as to facilitate the task of long-term reconstruction. With this end in view, it may be desirable that the International Labour Organisation should be associated not only with the peace or reconstruction conference but with some of the measures which may be taken at an earlier phase.

It is, I think, of particular interest to note that the views of the Conference concerning the policy of reconstruction and the machinery which might be used in connection with it have been stressed particularly by the workers coming from belligerent countries who, realising the necessity first of all of winning the war, nevertheless clearly intend that the war should be won for a purpose — the purpose of really and effectively laying the foundations of a better world in which man may pursue his destiny to material and spiritual heights higher than those which he has yet been able to attain.

I said earlier in this speech that there had been little or no criticism of my Report. But there has been some, and indeed, if there had been no criticism from Sir John Forbes Watson, Chairman of the Employers' group and the Employers' Vice-President, I should have begun to wonder whether there was something wrong with Sir John or something wrong with me. And I want to thank Sir John, first for his speech, both him and his group for the part that they have played in this Conference, and for the contribution that they have made to its unity. I want to thank him also for his criticisms, even if I may not fully agree with him. When no criticisms are heard in this Conference, I shall begin to wonder if the International Labour Organisation is really democratic.

Even in the grim times which face them in England, the English people, the British people and the Scottish people, have lost nothing of their sense of humour. And so, Sir John will perhaps allow me to say to him that, although I expected him to criticise, I was a little astonished; I found his criticism somewhat unexpected, for the last thing that I thought that he would reproach me with was a defect in my musical education. I want to tell him that I am no good at blowing trumpets and I have always thought that it might sometimes become a rather dangerous vocation. I was trained as a mathematician and not as a musician. Sir John, who is also something of a mathematician, was good enough to say that he found something of an answer to his criticism when he looked at a hard, brutal table of names and dates. I think he might have looked, too, at another passage in the Report which pointed out in some detail how the Office in Montreal has attempted, through its publications, to help the Governments and the peoples who are taking the vital part in this vital struggle.

He might have mentioned the Report on Labour Supply and National Defence. He might have mentioned the Committee, the Canadian-American Committee, which has been discussing, with the help of I.L.O. officials, how best our work might aid their efforts for production in this great struggle. Those items suggest, as do many other studies and reports, that if perhaps there has not been the trumpet note that he desired, there have been deeds, which are a no less useful contribution in present circumstances.

I welcome his reference to Albert Thomas. I would remind him that Albert Thomas was responsible for instituting the discussion which we are having now, responsible for suggesting that the International Labour Conference should not confine itself to technical issues placed on its agenda by the Governing Body, but should provide the occasion upon which the representatives of Governments and employers and workers should exchange their general views on the social policies of the world.

I would remind Sir John, and I know he requires no reminding, that when Albert
Thomas referred to the International Labour Organisation as a live organisation, what he meant was that it should not be a bureaucratic organisation, people working with figures and facts in a semi-academic seclusion, but that the Office would not play its full part nor make its full contribution unless it was perpetually responsive to the pulsating life of the democratic countries which constitute its membership; therefore, although Sir John and his group may not have found in my Report the trumpet note whose absence he regrets, I think he has found it, as Albert Thomas would have found it, greater in volume, infinitely greater in authority, in the response which the Conference has given to this Report as a whole.

Sir John made another criticism, which I do not propose to pursue at any length. He referred to the absence in my report of another trumpet call, although he did not give it that poetic name. He referred to the absence in the Report of any trumpet call to free enterprise. I would draw his attention to the fact that the subject is not neglected in my Report. On page 17, I wrote as follows:

Many of the extensions of State economic activity which are peculiarly characteristic of war economy... will no doubt be abandoned when the war is over. But there are many developments of State action about which no such assumption can be made and the longer the war lasts the more numerous and the more important they are likely to be. This is partly because much of the wartime enlargement of the economic functions of the State is no more than an extension of a trend already strongly marked and widely recognised. This trend is not likely to be suddenly reversed.

Sir John told you in the course of his speech that he had some difficulty, with his precise mind, in knowing exactly what was meant by social justice. May I say that, I have a similar difficulty in knowing exactly what is meant by "free enterprise"?

Free enterprise—Sir John and I will no doubt discuss it at meetings to come. But if some of the controls of industry which have been instituted during the war are applied to deal with the post-war situation; and if one of my eleven points suggesting that employers and workers should be associated with those controls is applied; and if there is governmental control at the end of the war to get us through the transitional period, saying, in full agreement or after consultation with the employers, that some form of control of production must be continued or applied because in no other way can we surmount the difficulties of the transitional period; then will that be or will it not be free enterprise?

I cannot answer that question to-day, and I do not think Sir John could. I think we would have to see what those controls are, what the nature of them is, and to what degree the employers and the workers are associated with them. But I will not pursue this discussion further. We will have it out on a future occasion. I doubt whether I shall wholly convince Sir John. I doubt whether he will wholly convince me. But however much we may disagree, it will make no difference to our personal relations and affect in no way our devotion to the International Labour Organisation.

One last word. Many delegates coming up to Columbia University every day may have seen the great building which houses the Metropolitan Museum of New York. They must have thought of it as a symbol of the history of man's efforts to secure his freedom, to better his conditions, and to free his spirit. It must have occured to them, passing that Museum, that all history leads to an encouraging conclusion.

Tyranny is no new order. It is the oldest order in the world. In the Metropolitan Museum, scholars have stored fragments from which the history of those tyrannies has been painfully pieced together. But the rest of them—the power and the domination—is dust in the deserts. And over the entrance to that great building are three words which I have read every day—three simple words, three fundamental words: Truth, Knowledge, Wisdom.

This discussion shows that this Conference and the Governments and the peoples which it represents have taken them and will continue to take them as their guide. Wisdom, that they may take wise decisions; knowledge, without which wise decisions cannot be made; and truth, because truth will prevail.

The PRESIDENT—We are grateful to Mr. Phelan not only for having summed up so much of our thought but for the beauty and precision with which he has expressed himself.

JOINT DECLARATION BY THE GOVERNMENT, EMPLOYERS' AND WORKERS' DELEGATES OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, GREECE, POLAND, AND YUGOSLAVIA

The PRESIDENT—Many friendships have been made here at this Conference. I knew that many would be made and I am glad to see the expression of those friendships. We have talked to each other within the Conference. We have talked to each other as we have gone about the city, and have enjoyed the hospitality of the various groups here.

There is a group of delegates who have cemented their friendship in the days that they have been associated together here in this Conference concerning their minds with the problems of extending social justice to all the peoples of the world. They are delegates who have come hither out of great tribulation and whose feelings and emotions at this time are full of thought of their own people and the vicissitudes through which they have come. They have lived in a free city and they have recognised, I think, the degree to which freedom of speech means something in this city, in this State, and in this country, and I am glad therefore to be able at this time to ask those delegates to make the statement which they wish to make on the hospitable platform of McMillin Theatre in Columbia University.

I call on Mr. Masaryk, Government delegate of Czechoslovakia.
Mr. MASARYK (Government delegate, Czechoslovakia) — I have been asked to make a joint declaration by the Government, Workers’ and Employers’ delegations of Czechoslovakia, Greece, Poland, and Yugoslavia.

The Government, Employers’ and Workers’ delegations of the Central European and Balkan countries represented at the International Labour Conference, having met and jointly reviewed the situation, have unanimously adopted the following declaration:

With feelings of indescribable sadness, we pay a tribute to our tormented peoples, to their unconquerable spirit, their courage, and the magnitude of their sacrifices. We proclaim the solidarity of our countries in the common struggle for freedom.

We protest before the civilised world against the innumerable and unprecedented atrocities that are being daily committed by the invaders and their satellites. For the sole crime of remaining loyal to their country, thousands of men, women, and children are subjected to the torture of the concentration camps or are executed. The invader respects neither the laws of God nor the rights of man. We do particularly protest against the barbarous practice of taking hostages and executing them.

We send a fraternal greeting to the oppressed nations of Europe. We encourage the spirit of resistance of the working masses through adopting unity of all the enslaved peoples. We pay tribute to the great and valiant peoples of the British Empire, of the Soviet Union, and the great American nation. Our most sympathetic thoughts go also to the people of China.

We solemnly assure our peoples that the struggle for their liberation, carried on jointly with the world’s greatest democracies, shall be continued untiringly until the day of victory.

In pursuing this struggle we count on the help and whole-hearted support of all the free nations, and above all of their organised working people. The duration of the war depends very largely on the extent to which these nations and especially their workers show the spirit of sacrifice.

The countries of Central Europe and the Balkans reaffirm their profound devotion to the democratic principle, and express their solidarity with the great democracies.

We express the firm conviction that the peace that will follow victory will bring to our peoples, as well as to all peoples throughout the world, enjoyment of the Four Freedoms defined in the Roosevelt-Churchill declaration.

We hope that the end of this war, which was forced upon us, will save 100 million inhabitants of Central Europe and of the Balkans from their present state of wretchedness by assuring them the possibility of stable employment, guaranteed by reconstruction and by the development of their industries, agriculture and merchant marine, and that those peoples will be included within the sphere of international exchanges of goods and services. Special attention goes to the masses of the peasant population and to their social and economic standards, because it is on those elements that peace and security depend. It is in this spirit that our present joint declaration has been conceived, and it is in this same spirit of frank and friendly collaboration that we conceive the part to be played by our countries in the reconstruction of a new Europe, enjoying a stable peace with freedom and prosperity.

Mr. DIMITRATOS (Government delegate, Greece) speaks in Greek.

Interpretation — The Greek delegation declares that it encourages and will welcome the adherence of the remaining States of Europe to the declaration filed, so that the co-operation of the peoples in the struggle for liberty, rehabilitation, and reorganisation may become more general and more effective.

Mr. STANCZYK (Government delegate, Poland) — In the name of my country I wish to express great satisfaction with the joint declaration which has just been announced, and I am deeply convinced that this declaration will contribute to free the invaded countries from oppression and will create in the future a source of peaceful collaboration and prosperity in these parts of Europe based upon liberty and upon democratic principles.

Mr. KOSANOYITCH (Government delegate, Yugoslavia) — My country, together with Czechoslovakia, Greece, and Poland, will do all that is in its power to facilitate the solution of the problems of the Balkans and Eastern Europe, and consequently of all Europe, and to make possible the creation of a new world of economic and political democracy.

The declaration of our four delegations, in its spirit as in its words, expresses the path which we are going. To those peoples who show their real striving towards liberty, and who feel and understand our common denominator — democratic solidarity and co-operation, political and economic — we are ready to give our hand.

Mr. KOSANOYITCH continues in Spanish.

Interpretation — And to you, the delegates of the free and democratic countries of Latin America, who, instead of having the misfortune of living next to the criminal Nazi machine, enjoy the neighbourhood of the great North American nation, to you we put a question in this solemn moment: will you uphold the spirit of solidarity displayed at this Conference, that spirit which is so important at the present time, since only the solidarity of the whole democratic world can overcome the terrible infection which is costing so much blood in Europe and elsewhere? Only that solidarity can save the world and protect you yourselves from infection.

Address by the Danish Minister to the United States

The President — Mr. Henrik de Kauffmann, who is the Minister of Denmark to the United States, and is recognised by the United
The PRESIDENT — The Conference will discuss the Report of the Committee on Collaboration.

Mr. DE KAUFFMANN — It is with the greatest interest that I have just listened to the speech of Mr. Phelan and the declaration made by various delegates.

This is the first time in history that the International Labour Organisation meets in a Conference at which the voice of the Danish people is not heard.

My country shares the misfortunes of other European nations. It is now occupied by the armed forces of Germany. Denmark is mute to-day. Her voice has been muffled by censorship and our freedom has been suppressed. My King and the Government in Denmark are not free to act. In reality, the Danish people are to-day prisoners in their own land. My countrymen are thus not only prevented from co-operating with you in finding ways and means of solving the problems which have confronted this Conference, but they are also prevented from expressing their deep interest and their admiration for your work and for the high goals towards which you are striving.

I want to thank the Chairman of the Government, Mr. Goodrich, for the way in which he called attention to the countries which are not represented in this Conference despite their equal devotion to its ideals. These countries have met in Geneva throughout the life of this Organisation. They participated in every effort to extend the influence and activity of the International Labour Office.

For centuries my own country, Denmark, has fought for the ideals for which you stand. She has sought to achieve within her own borders a social peace and economic equality which are the foundation of peace among nations.

I am glad to mention here that there are Danes who are fortunate enough to be able to fight for the liberty of their country in the ranks of their British and their Norwegian friends. There are also several thousand Danish sailors of our merchant marine who are daily risking their lives for the common cause, carrying vital goods to Britain and to her allies. But in addressing this Conference, I know that I do not speak only for the free Danes, but also, I might say, above all, for my countrymen in Denmark. The Danes at home expect us who have the good fortune to live in the happy lands of free speech to testify to you that the Danish spirit has made neither compromise nor concessions, and that Denmark now, as ever, is one with all who fight for freedom, for justice, and for liberty. On their behalf, I wish to express to you the confidence and the faith of the Danish people in the ultimate success of your efforts. I speak for all when I say that we Danes pray for the day when as a free people we can again take our place among the members of this Conference.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON COLLABORATION

The PRESIDENT — The Conference will discuss the Report of the Committee on Collaboration.

Mr. ASSHETON (Government delegate, British Empire), Chairman and Reporter of the Committee on Collaboration — I beg to present the Report of the Committee on Collaboration, which was unanimously adopted yesterday afternoon in a Committee of the whole Conference. In view of that, I think it would be out of place for me now, particularly in view of the shortness of time, to make any further comments upon the Report, and I propose therefore to put the resolutions submitted by the Committee to the Conference.

I move the adoption of the Report.

Mr. LANGSTONE (Government delegate, New Zealand) — I regret in a measure that the Report is toned down and that it deals only with the question of collaboration between employers and workers. In most countries that right exists; the Government cannot stand aloof at any time where there is any dispute or any conflict at all. Moreover, the Report on methods of collaboration was ready for the Session of the Conference which was to have been held last year, so that the matter has been under consideration for a long, long time. In addition it has cost a tremendous amount in money and time for the Governments to send delegates here. And what is the result of it all? Much discussion, and we end up exactly as we began! There is not one advance that has been made as a result of the discussions, or of the decisions, or in deed of the Conference.

We in New Zealand have had many, many years of experience, and although we are only a small country I think there is none that has had more experience in the drafting of legislation and in the setting up of machinery for its application. We have a Labour Department which is able to meet every difficulty which arises in our country, where it is not a question of the Government coming in by order of the Big Stick; it is a matter of co-partnership, it is a matter of negotiation all the time. Workers organisations are legalised and registered and form an indispensable part of the legal machinery. Why cannot the Government, the State, the controlling authority, take part in all our discussions between workers and employers, protecting the general public — we look upon that as a fundamental principle.

I know that many workers' organisations, particularly in countries where they have not had the experience we have had, may fear that the dice will be loaded against them and may believe that by the power which they wield they would be able to make a better agreement on their own than can be got through the intervention of the Government or the State. I know that the employers may feel that they are giving up some right, the right to hire and fire as they choose, or some other right which they hold to be of fundamental importance to them. But personally I think that our experience shows that all of those fears are completely unfounded.

Where an authority takes into consideration not only the cost of living, the situation of the

1 See Third Part, Appendix 1, p. 166.
industry, and the general economic conditions of the country but also all other relevant factors. I believe that the best agreements and the agreements that are most honoured are tripartite agreements. I do regret that the Conference in its wisdom has seen fit just to leave the tripartite agreement question until the next Conference. On the basis of that great publication — and it is a wonderful publication — setting out the history of all countries, showing the value of, and the pro and con arguments with regard to, agreements in many countries, and with all the information which the I.L.O. has placed before the delegates, I did think that there would have been unanimity in this Conference between Government, Employers’ and Workers’ delegates, to have embodied in our resolution a complete agreement with respect to tripartite agreements between workers and employers and the State.

The question before us is the motion of Mr. Assheton to adopt the resolution on the Collaboration Report. Are there any further objections?

Interpretation: Mr. PRADENAS MUÑOZ (Government delegate, Chile) — The Chilean delegation has submitted a suggestion for the adoption of economic measures to avoid large-scale unemployment at the end of the war, when large armies will be demobilised and many workers thrown out of work by the discontinuance of the manufacture of armaments. If we adhere to the principle that much chaos could be avoided if the countries at present at war would decide that during one year after the war they will devote as much money to providing for these men as they are now spending on war purposes. That is why I should like to see this proposal of the Chilean delegation included in the Report of this Committee.

The President — May I say for the benefit of the Conference, and for Mr. Langstone’s benefit, that I am reasonably sure — I raised this question myself — that it is only lack of time in the Collaboration Committee and the Sub-Committees that prevented the consideration of further elements in the Report. May I also say perhaps in a friendly way to Mr. Langstone, that some of us feel we need a little more experiment, a little more voluntary exercise, before we put on the white garment of New Zealanders.

The war is affecting all the nations, not only the belligerents. All nations are affected by the economic, political, social, and spiritual consequences of the war. How can we go back to them and say that we have done nothing in this Conference? The United States workers themselves have urged that the Conference should stress the necessity of collaboration.

We must have a greater feeling of responsibility in these emergency times. The American countries are also touched by this war. How can we go back and ask them then to make sacrifices when we are not willing to give them responsibility?

I feel the responsibility, my responsibility, in returning to Mexico, where in the manner of the International Labour Organisation we have set up a tripartite organisation. Seemingly the Conference cannot go as far as we have done. How can we tell the workers that the war is not a conspiracy against them and not open the door of their minds to all kinds of insinuations that this war is not a war for democracy but simply a war for their exploitation, if we do not give them and the employers responsibilities to which they are entitled?

These questions are not new. We have had them before us since before the postponed 1940 Conference. We have had years, months, days, and hours to consider them, and yet at this point we cannot arrive at complete conclusions to the effect that co-operation between workers, employers, and public authorities is the living force which must maintain freedom of conscience of the nations and be the guarantee of lasting peace.

(The Conference adjourned at 1.10 p.m.)
ELEVENTH SITTING

Tuesday, 4 November 1941, 3.30 p.m.

President: Miss Perkins.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON COLLABORATION (contd.)

The PRESIDENT — The Conference will resume the discussion of the Report of the Committee on Collaboration.

There is a motion before the Conference to adopt the Report and resolutions.

Interpretation: Mr. DOUSDEBES (Government delegate, Ecuador) — Ever since the beginning of this Conference, we have been discussing the Report on methods of collaboration. It includes, of course, a number of detailed problems, and there has not been sufficient time for the Committee on Collaboration to cover them all in its Report.

It is not the wish of the delegation from Ecuador — and I think I am expressing the views of many Latin American delegates — that the conclusion we reach should end up by saying that we had no time to consider all the points because they were too complex. We have here Government delegations including Ministers of Labour, directors of labour departments, and other experts, so that our discussion could have been much more detailed.

In many of our countries collaboration exists both in law and in practice. We came here to tell our experiences of tripartite collaboration. Moreover, the Ecuadorian delegation came here to ask for the fraternal collaboration of the other Governments in solving the country’s present problem. That was why we were so glad to hear the Peruvian Government delegate speak of his country’s wish for a peaceful settlement of our problems. Collaboration is needed not in the field of labour alone. For without peace there can be no work.

Our countries, and many others represented here, have been able in Geneva to discuss and settle American labour questions. The Latin American delegates to-day do not wish to return home knowing that here in America we have not discussed questions affecting Latin America.

That is why the delegation from Ecuador seconds the suggestion made by the Minister of Labour of Mexico, that we take whatever time is necessary to discuss all the problems of methods of collaboration. I call on the cooperative spirit of all the countries represented here, but particularly of the American countries, for I am convinced that, from the United States to Argentina, the national sentiment of each country rests on a real Pan-American sentiment.

Mr. ASSHETON (Government delegate, British Empire), Chairman and Reporter of the Committee on Collaboration — I am sorry that there should have been some misunderstanding in the Conference over the work of our Committee on Collaboration, and I do hope that members of the Conference will fully understand the difficulties in which the Committee was placed.

There has certainly not been any attempt whatever to sabotage the proceedings. We were merely limited by the limitations of time to which we are all unfortunately subject, particularly in these days.

Some members of the Conference have suggested that they will return to their countries empty-handed. Now, I do hope that they will not feel that. I think it would be quite wrong if they did so. The way the proceedings were conducted is perhaps open to criticism. Perhaps I did not succeed in conducting these proceedings as the Conference would have wished me to do, but I did what I thought was the will of the Committee at the time.

Various members of the Committee, representing all the groups, felt that a general discussion would be most profitable, and so we had a general discussion; and when the Sub-Committee was appointed, it became quite clear, after we had discussed principles, that there would not be sufficient time to discuss adequately the methods of collaboration.

We had the most admirable material provided for us by the Office here. The three volumes which we have are volumes which all members of the Conference must study and must study again. Many of us had studied them already. But there was one thing which was quite clear to me, and I think also to other members of the Committee, and that was that the matter was so serious, so important, that to come to hasty conclusions about it would have been the very negation of what we set out to do.
Now, in the resolutions which were submitted and which are reported to the Conference, you will notice that Resolution 4 affirms that the application of the principle of collaboration requires that in law and in fact: (a) the right of industrial organisations to represent workers and employers should be recognised by the State; and (b) the workers' and employers' organisations should recognise each other's right to represent workers and employers respectively.

Now, I think that the principle which we adopted carries us a very long way. I think that we shall look to the recognition of that principle as a great step forward, and I do hope that no representatives of any country will feel that we have not made a step forward when we adopt that principle.

I was a little surprised to hear this morning that there was some difficulty and some misunderstanding; because yesterday afternoon, when the Committee met, the Committee of the whole Conference, there was no objection whatever to the Report and it was adopted unanimously.

Now, should any member of the Conference feel that we did our work badly, I would ask him to remember this, that what we wanted to make sure above all things was that we took no false step. To take a false step at a time like this would do infinite damage to the cause of collaboration, which we all here have at heart.

We have all of us subscribed to these great principles set forth in the resolutions which were submitted to the Committee, and I do urge the Conference to accept those resolutions and to look forward to another opportunity of discussing fully those varied methods of collaboration which will help us all to carry those principles into effect.

The PRESIDENT — If there is no further objection, I shall declare the Report adopted.

Mr. HALLSWORTH (Workers' delegate, British Empire) — I move that a vote be taken.

The PRESIDENT — A vote has been requested and will be taken.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The Report and resolutions are adopted by 42 votes to 7.)

Interpretation: Mr. GARCIA TELLEZ (Government delegate, Mexico) — I wish to explain that our wishes for more complete consideration of this problem of effective collaboration between the three groups do not at all imply any criticism of any member of the Committees. Should any member believe that the support for those wishes implies the slightest criticism, may I, not only as a gentleman, but as a representative of my country, as a Minister of my country, assure him with heartfelt cordiality of the contrary.

The PRESIDENT — Thank you very much for the courtesy of your statement.

Interpretation: Mr. DOUSDEBES (Government delegate, Ecuador) — As I too shared in the adoption of the resolution referred to in the Report, I wish to explain that what the Ecuadorian delegation wanted was a more detailed study of the methods of collaboration. The delegate from Great Britain has just said that some of us may feel that we did our work badly. May I too explain how grateful we are to all who have taken part and have helped the Conference and the Committees to do their work.

I know that the time has been too short. What I had hoped was merely that we might be given more time to consider these things in detail. No criticism at all was implied.

The PRESIDENT — Thank you very much; we all agree in wishing that there were more time for this whole Conference.

FIFTH REPORT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE (contd.)

The PRESIDENT — The Conference will resume the discussion of the resolutions presented by the Selection Committee.

Draft resolution thanking Mr. Winant for his services as Director of the International Labour Office.¹

The PRESIDENT — The next resolution is resolution B, proposed by the Government delegates of Peru.

Interpretation: Mr. FERNANDEZ STOLL (Government delegate, Peru) — As a mover of this resolution of thanks to Mr. John G. Winant, former Director of the International Labour Office, and of sympathy to him in his new position, I should explain that the Government delegates of Peru are submitting it to you because Mr. Winant's last public act as Director of the I.L.O. was his visit to Lima to inaugurate the Peruvian social security system, and because he helped the Government of Peru in setting up the Inter-American Committee on Social Security, which is to meet next March in Santiago.

The PRESIDENT — You have heard the resolution. Are there any objections?

(The resolution is adopted.)

The PRESIDENT — I wish very much, not only in my position as President of this Conference but also as an American, to thank the Peruvian delegation for the courtesy and friendliness of this resolution and to say that it means a great deal to the Conference, and to the Americans in particular, to have Mr. Winant so beautifully recognised.

Draft resolution on post-war emergency and reconstruction measures.²

The PRESIDENT — The next resolution to be discussed is resolution C.

¹See Third Part, Appendix I, p. 165.
²See Third Part, Appendix I, p. 163.
I am asked to say that there is a misprint in the text of the resolution which is before you; on page 2, in the last sentence of the third paragraph, the word "adjustments" should be changed to "advancement".

Mr. GOODRICH (Government delegate, United States of America) — I am sure you will understand the correction that has just been made. The language of this resolution was based, as I am sure you would wish it to have been based, on the words of the Atlantic Charter. The mistake that had crept in, I think through my own fault, was a mistake in the wording of those words. This resolution began as the proposal of the Government, Employers' and Workers' delegates of the United States of America. It has become much more. It has grown by accretion. Its way has been cleared by the withdrawal of certain other resolutions.

In expressing appreciation for the great generosity of the authors of these resolutions, I should like to say that they contain certain statements of the problems to be met which I think were more eloquent than ours and certain specific proposals regarding parts of the programme of action which were more definite than ours.

The declaration has been strengthened, not weakened, as it has gone through the Committee process.

On the motion of the Workers' group, the Resolutions Sub-Committee added a request for representation at any peace or reconstruction conference at the end of the war. In this statement I should construe the word "represented" not in the strict diplomatic sense and usage, and not as prejudging the particular form of possible participation, but as expressing our purpose, our conviction, that the voice of the International Labour Organisation should be heard in the most effective way that it is possible to find in the great decisions that will follow the war.

What this resolution attempts to do is to set down certain points on which the will of this Conference has seemed to grow clearer and more definite, more concrete, with each day's discussions.

The first of these is the conviction that the attainment of the ideals of the International Labour Organisation can be made possible only by the victory of the free peoples over the aggressor nations. The resolution states that simply. I hope it states it unmistakably.

Second, the victory of the free peoples must be followed by a planned programme of reconstruction, which will require the closest international collaboration. It must meet with what may well be the appalling problems of much of the world in chaos; it must go further and enable the continuation of the steady progress, the advance of the standards of living for the workers throughout the world, for the workers in every part of the world, which has in so much of the world been interrupted by the outbreak of war, by the outbreak of totalitarian aggression.

Third, the International Labour Organisation must take its full part in the responsibility for these tasks of reconstruction. It must begin its preparations at once. For this, the resolution attempts to provide. It should be associated with the process of the planning of reconstruction which is going forward and should go forward in the various nations.

The resolution makes the further suggestion that this Organisation — because it includes representatives of industry and labour, and because it has the confidence of the free peoples, and more than that, of men of free spirit everywhere — may be able to render service in the application of measures of reconstruction, so that the performance of these necessary tasks may make the maximum contribution towards the building of a permanent peace.

Finally, it expresses the conviction that it is the duty and responsibility of the International Labour Organisation to give authoritative expression to the social objective, both in the decisions on reconstruction and in the creation of the permanent framework of international order.

I do not want to make a speech for this resolution. You have been making these speeches, I feel, all the week. If you adopt this resolution, you will claim much for the International Labour Organisation. You will be assuming large responsibilities for yourselves as members of this Conference, for the International Labour Office, which is your instrument, for all subsequent conferences, for all future meetings of the representative institutions which are the Organisation.

I hope you will make these claims. I hope you will assume these responsibilities and continue to assume them.

I move the adoption of the resolution.

Interpretation: Mr. GARCIA TELLEZ (Government delegate, Mexico) — I wish to express the sympathy of the Mexican delegation for this important resolution. We join in the wishes for the victory of the democratic nations, because we believe in calling on all the living forces in every country to take part in the work of reconstruction and in giving the masses their share in the treaties of peace. For, as Mr. Churchill said, those who have suffered most in the war have the most right to make the peace.

Mr. BRUCE (Workers' adviser, Canada) — In accepting this resolution in substitution of Resolution No. 5, introduced by delegate Moore from the Dominion of Canada, I wish to speak in support of it. Being of the opinion, along with so many present, that the peace will give us tremendous problems, the equal of those we are now confronting because of war, it is evident from the declarations made in this Conference that everyone is conscious that definite and determined action must be taken to evolve a sound plan of social and economic reconstruction, even during the period of this terrible carnage of war, and that hope and encouragement must be given to those who are courageously carrying on the conflict, either in the home or the workshop or in the military forces, that their efforts will not be in vain and that the ideals for which they are fighting will be established when hostilities cease.

It will require much more than pious resolutions or declarations of faith when we face the absorbing into civil life of our returning warriors, the adjusting of our social and in-
We must work with a purpose: that the vision of a new and better world, as envisaged by the workers, shall not be dimmed by the failure of Governments to implement their promises. Having found the means during the war period for the effective employment of men and women, old and young, it would be intolerable to have to again experience mass unemployment, with its attendant misery and poverty, when we secure a final victory and peace.

War has again forcibly brought to us the terrible tragedy of the brutal and useless slaughter of human beings, both combatant and non-combatant, and with it, the colossal waste of material things of life. As workers, we cannot be too emphatic in expressing our determination not only to desire but to demand that, for our participation in this terrible conflict, all the promises for a new and better world will be redeemed, and conditions established that will make future wars impossible. Peace will create problems that will test the integrity of our present established institutions and forms of government; and while it is desirable that a planned orderly transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy should be undertaken, considerable care will have to be exercised lest a spirit of revolt develop, because of unfilled promises, that will destroy all the possibilities of peaceful adjustment of world conditions.

The magnitude of our situation is further intensified when we realise the existing conditions, not only in those known asbackward countries, but even in the more progressive countries, where the conditions of life are a menace to future progress unless they are eliminated, and the physical as well as the material conditions receive consideration and are adjusted according to our needs.

To more aptly demonstrate our past negligence in Canada for not dealing adequately with the physical condition of our people, we have found that in the voluntary enlistment of men for Canadian military forces, authentic reports indicate that about one-third have been rejected as being physically unfit; and I am of the opinion that other countries would find an equal ratio. These conditions require adjustment, and the spirit of the people is not going to be appeased by glib phrases of liberty, freedom and democracy, if in the securing of them they are going to be further brutalised and suffer restrictions and oppression. That will be the challenge, and we must face our responsibility in designing and urging the adoption of those measures we believe essential for the establishment of a more just and equitable system of life.

We from Canada are alert to the situation and are giving serious consideration to the declaration of our own Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Mackenzie King, who has stated that if the new world order "is not already on its way before the war is ended, we may look for it in vain". In view of such a statement coming from so eminent an authority and leader of Government, are the workers unfair in requesting while the war is in progress that action for the implementation of promises now being made, of social and economic reform, shall be immediately undertaken?

Those who are courageous enough to attempt to visualise the conditions of the future cannot ignore the situation that prevailed at the conclusion of hostilities in the last war, and the experience of Governments in meeting the demands of those who participated in that struggle. Their failure to give effect to promised changes has been the cause of continued protest from workers and soldiers in every country, at times producing a spirit of revolt against our present forms of government. This condition can and will arise again if no action is taken to implement the promises now being given. Since the last war, we have been fully aware of the opposition to the mandates of the Council of the League of Nations and the International Labour Organisation, and this can be ascribed as one of the causes of the present struggle.

We have now reached the stage, because of the seriousness of the conflict, of Governments assuring the workers that their contribution will have its own reward in measures of social and industrial changes embracing the spirit of justice so essential for the proper recognition of a truly democratic State. If this is to be assured, it will be necessary to create a new economic organism and a broader spirit of justice than is now being displayed in some of the countries engaged in the conflict, with a more definite spirit of co-operation and recognition of the rights of the workers, instead of a lack of co-operation and co-ordination that can only bring chaos and inevitably lead to disaster. We speak impressively of the Atlantic Charter and its declarations. These will be meaningless phrases unless immediate efforts are made to implement them with the protective machinery of law, making them operative as soon as any sound plan has been developed.

In the Report of the Acting Director, Mr. Phelan, pages 91 and 92, he develops a very pronounced idea of what in his judgment is essential and what has been accomplished so far. The spirit of this resolution, if adopted, will be the authority for the I.L.O. to collect all the available data and co-ordinate them, to develop a plan outlining the scope and opportunities essential for the protection of the people of the world against danger of collapse when the crisis arises, and to forward this to the Governments of those countries who are represented here for consideration and adoption as speedily as possible, so that our post-war problem will be provided for in a well-defined plan of social and economic reforms that will carry us through the international crisis that we anticipate, providing a sound, fundamental basis for the protection of the people of the world, and so that the promised conditions will be developed and the foundation laid for a new and better world in which all mankind may live in the freedom, released from the fear of unemployment, want, misery, and poverty.

It is essential that in defining any plan or
in enacting legislation the welfare of the great mass of struggling humanity in all countries shall be fully protected and Governments urged to give recognition to their claims for justice in preference to those of powerful financial and industrial groups who oppose any change in our present economic system. The creative mind must of necessity, plan, and it can be anticipated that opposition will be aroused if the financial and industrial conditions are unduly disturbed. It is possible that attempts will be made to influence Governments against any changes that in our judgment will be necessary in establishing the conditions so essential for our progress. This is not a reflection on the honesty and integrity of those who own and control the machinery of production and distribution; but, as we know, the world has always been slow to accept changes. Excuses and subterfuges should not be tolerated, but a courageous approach by expeditious means must be developed in our efforts to secure the changes we desire.

Personally, I can visualise the opposition from the employers of labour that would be engendered if it was found that the thirty-hour week or less would be possible under a properly regulated system as a means of solving unemployment; or that for the strict regulation of industry it was found essential for employers or employees to be as ready to be regulated in employment; or that for the strict regulation of wages, it was found that the thirty-hour week or less would be possible under a properly regulated system as a means of solving unemployment. Excuses and subterfuges should not be tolerated, but a courageous approach by expeditious means must be developed in our efforts to secure the changes we desire.

Everywhere we hear the idea being propagated about social and industrial changes and a new world social order, and we note with interest the declarations of the Acting Director of his Report on the problem of social security, which can readily be supported. But the main problem is how and what to plan for, and the machinery required to put it into effect. There must be guiding factors in seeking a solution to our anticipated problems arising out of the present conflict. This will call for courageous and almost superhuman efforts, more especially when we recognise the varied conditions existing among the various classes of workers and different nations with their varied standards. If a better civilisation is to be established, we must avoid the danger of making snap decisions or outlining unsound and uneconomic plans. It is unfortunate, under existing circumstances, that we are entirely advisory. Our experience in dealing with working class problems gives us a practical knowledge of what is required, and it is exceedingly important that we make every effort to impress upon Governments the seriousness of the situation; it is more desirable to establish a system of revolutionary planned economy than to face a chaotic condition that can arise from a violent uncontrolled revolution. In our planning, we must be governed by experience, conscious of the incipient revolts that developed at the close of the last war. This means tremendous responsibilities for us, and will not be an easy problem to solve.

However, we must agree and plan before it is too late and the war is over; and the war should not be used as an excuse for postponing the necessary action for establishing means for the creation of a new social and economic system of life, so that all mankind shall be able to live their lives in freedom from fear and want, and that all of those who can be usefully employed shall have an opportunity of finding employment.

What would be the sum total of human progress for our efforts if we secure a complete victory and then are confronted by the refusals of Governments to give consideration to the adoption of measures developed for meeting our post-war problems because of financial and other considerations, and if we allow the world to face again the problem of poverty and mass unemployment, thereby losing the peace and drifting again into slavery.

Our experience of the past should not permit us to trust this important question to any reactionary Governments or allow of their standing in the way of progress; before it is too late, we must secure uncompromising approval of a plan of definite reconstruction and rehabilitation that will embrace all the reforms which we now visualise as so essential to the welfare of the people of the world.

As workers' representatives, we are not unmindful of the reactionary trend of the policies of many persons of higher authority who are confidants and advisers of Governments in our various countries. And we are firmly of the opinion that, unless our Governments are committed to a definite plan, it will be as our Prime Minister so aptly said, practically useless for us to live in anticipation that legislation will ever be enacted.

If we have faith and accept as guiding principles the declarations of the Right Honourable Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of Great Britain, and President Roosevelt of the United States, as outlined in the Atlantic Charter, then every authority should be given to the I.L.O. to direct the development of plans that will bring to all people hope and inspiration and a guarantee of social and economic conditions embracing a more equitable system of life, demonstrating how utterly useless and intolerable war is as a means of solving our national problems, and that it is a barrier to progress; so that when victory is won and peace is established, the people of the world may forever enjoy the freedom for which the democratic nations of the world are fighting.

Mr. STANCZYK (Government delegate, Poland) — In the resolution which I submitted in the name of the Polish delegation, I stressed more distinctly the principles on which the post-war economic and social order is to be organised. It seems to me that distinct expression of those principles would facilitate the work of the organisers of the future order and show the human masses very clearly the aim of our efforts, for which we are going through a very bloody struggle with the totalitarian tyranny. It seems to me that in this matter the American resolution is perhaps a
little vague. But nevertheless this resolution is an excellent one and advances the problem considerably. Our delegation will vote for this resolution, hoping that the Polish resolution concerning this problem will form a kind of outline and will be taken into consideration during the work of the planning body.

The PRESIDENT — Is there any objection to this resolution?

(The resolution is adopted.)

The PRESIDENT — And now, I myself want to break the rules of protocol and parliamentary procedure, as Chairman, by saying that, as an American, I am deeply gratified that this resolution has been adopted by this Conference, particularly as it represents a truly American point of view, a view that unites us rather than a view that separates us as people. It is not merely the view of the American delegates in this Conference; it is not merely the view of the head of the present Administration of the United States. The items and the details which are discussed, for instance, in paragraph 2 are the kind of objective and the kind of programme which unite the American people; and this, I think, will find a ready response in all groups of people, all groups who are not here to-day, but who represent the real meaning of American life. It is the objective of people who are extreme pacifists, and of those who are in favour of the immediate entrance of the United States into participation in the war; it is the view of those who agree with the President and it is the view of those who do not take his position; it is a point of view which farmers and housewives and businessmen and professional people, as well as workers and employers, will find it possible to accept and to adopt as their own, for we are at heart a very humanitarian people.

This is the key to the American nature, and I think that not all people realise it. We do not exclusively chase the almighty dollar, although we do it a good deal of the time. But we do also respect the laws of God and the rights of men; and we all do that, without regard to our economic and social divisions.

But we are a practical people, an extremely practical people; we do not know how to give adherence to a programme unless we see the particular steps in that programme, some of the things that you want us to do or want us to take part in, in order to be helpful. That is why the detail and items which have been adopted in the second paragraph make it possible for us to hope to follow and to participate with other nations in doing some of these things which we believe will reconstruct a healthy world economy.

I am particularly interested that the word "must" remained in the paragraph: "Whereas the close of the war must be followed by immediate action". This is an idiomatic word. It is very much an idiom in the American rather than the English language. With us, "must" has a moral meaning, it means what is right and also imperative. That is why it interests me that you should have felt it right to leave a word like that in.

I do hope that you will permit me to say that the American people are sensitive to the sufferings that are going on all over the world to-day, and that many of them can hardly bear to be well-clothed and well-fed while they know of the distress and suffering that exists among their brothers and sisters and their children all over the world. And so it is, I believe, that this kind of an objective expressed by the International Labour Organisation at this time may perhaps release the energies of the American people in a concrete, constructive, and creative way for the help of the world.

Draft resolution on planning for the regulation of economic and social conditions in the mercantile marine.

The PRESIDENT — Resolution D, on maritime affairs, is presented to the Conference.

Mr. OLDENBROEK (Workers' delegate, Netherlands) — The resolution in its present wording rather deviates from the original text. That goes to show that those who handed in the resolution have made an effort in order to try and bring about unanimity; for we desire that on this resolution, which, after all, means to show appreciation to the seamen, we should be undivided.

Those seamen are carrying on their work under difficulties, exposed to danger and sufferings and to the inhuman warfare of the enemy, and yet they continue to render invaluable services to the democracies in order to hold and keep the life-lines open.

I say invaluable services, services that cannot be rewarded, but I may add that seamen do not want you to reward them. They are, and they know that they are, in a very strong position to-day; but if they continue their work as they do, it is because they are fighting for their ideals, for freedom and for their countries, and I know that I am voicing the opinions and the wishes of hundreds of thousands of seamen when I say that they expect from you that you give them a token of your appreciation, not a reward, and that token is a promise to deal with their problems as soon as possible, and to regulate them as soon as this war will be over.

The shipping problem after the war will be almost as difficult as it is to-day. The moment the war is over, the possibility of action for the seamen will be restored to normal, and therefore I would ask of all of you to vote for this resolution, to show to the seamen not that you want to give them a token of your appreciation, not a reward, and that token is a promise to deal with their problems as soon as possible, and to regulate them as soon as this war will be over.

The previous speaker has said, it has been no special action on their part; it has been what they conceived to be

See Third Part, Appendix I, p. 165.
their duty as seamen, and a seaman's conception of duty is very high indeed.

Therefore, it gives very great pleasure to the British Government that this resolution has been proposed by the workers' group. We in Great Britain have taken special steps, most of which we hope will be permanent, to improve the conditions of seamen. We have made an Order which gives them permanent employment. When they come off their ships, they continue to receive wages until they go back to sea again. Then, again, they receive return tickets which enable them to go and visit their homes. If they are injured by torpedoing or anything of that sort, every possible arrangement is made for their relatives to go and see them.

Then, also, we have set up a permanent board, upon which the seamen's organisations and the employers' organisations are represented, to deal with the whole question of seamen's welfare, not only in an advisory capacity, but in a capacity which enables them to keep in close touch with all that is going on.

Abroad also, special arrangements have been made to deal with the welfare of seamen, and it is our firm intention as a nation that seamen shall never again be in the position in which they have been for so many years. We hope that with the assistance of the National Maritime Board, a joint organisation of which both sides are very proud, we shall be able to say in the future that the seamen are at least in as good a position as any other workers. I would like to finish again with a note of heartfelt gratitude for the work all seamen have done.

Mr. BECU (Workers' adviser, Belgium) — For various reasons, I feel very strongly the necessity to second, on behalf of the Belgian seafarers, officers, and lower ratings of the merchant marine, the resolution presented by my friend Oldenbroek, the workers' delegate for the Netherlands. I am sure the officers and men from all other maritime nations would whole-heartedly give the same support to it if they had an opportunity of doing so.

I say, for various reasons, but I will mention only two: firstly, because notwithstanding the great part they played in the first world war, seamen have not obtained those social improvements which they rightfully deserved and to which they were as much entitled as the workers ashore. Seamen have always been treated differently from other workers and have not been given the necessary consideration. They were not, as could have been normally expected, included in the 1919 Washington Convention regarding the eight-hour day. They were referred to a special Maritime Conference, and it was not until 1936, seventeen years after the Washington Conference, that they obtained a shadow of a Convention on hours of work. But notwithstanding that, our seamen are still working in many countries and in many trades long working hours, up to eighty and ninety hours per week. Some improvements for seamen have, however, been achieved through the International Labour Organisation, and for these we are grateful; but, as a whole, we have no profound reasons to be satisfied. I would certainly not exaggerate if I still called seamen the Cinderellas of the community. May we therefore not expect that after this war more serious consideration will be given to maritime questions and that history in that respect will not repeat itself?

The second reason is to be found in the tremendous efforts and sacrifices which seamen are making in this dangerous struggle. No effort or sacrifice is too great for them to combat the régime of slavery, to fight for the freedom of all those who love freedom, to wipe out a monstrosity. I do not need to tell you of all their efforts and sacrifices. Seamen are too modest to speak about their deeds of courage and heroism. But I am not prepared to be as modest as my friend, Oldenbroek. May I not demand that this Conference votes at least, and I hope unanimously, the resolution laid before it, even if only in recognition of the courageous and dangerous task fulfilled by seamen in these difficult times? May I not expect that the Conference will agree that if officers and men are fighting for the freedom of so many others, besides themselves, they are entitled to the best of treatment?

I happen to know that the Governing Body at its meeting to-morrow will examine the procedure to be adopted in maritime questions. It is my wish and sincere hope that it will decide to convene the Joint Maritime Commission in the nearest possible future in order to have a full discussion concerning those questions.

Mr. HAMBR0 (Government delegate, Norway) — In the name of the Norwegian Government and of the Norwegian employers and workmen, I want to support the resolution moved by Mr. Oldenbroek, and I want to mention what those seamen are doing and under what conditions they are working.

We have lost some two hundred ships, that have gone down in this war. A few thousand Norwegian sailors in the merchant marine have been killed while trying to keep open the Atlantic lanes. For centuries, the North Atlantic has been the grave of the unknown soldier in the history of my country. Those 25,000 men who are working those ships day and night have no means of communicating with their families. Their wives, their children are in Norway. They are working under fear of retaliation and the threats that their families will be starved, and they still continue to work.

It is true they have not asked for any reward and they are not going to do so, but we owe them a debt in all the nations where such men are doing their duty. We owe them a debt not only a token; we owe them in honour and heroism. But I am not prepared to be too modest to speak about their deeds of courage and heroism. I do not need to tell you of all their efforts and sacrifices. Seamen are making tremendous efforts and sacrifices which seamen are making in this dangerous struggle. No effort or sacrifice is too great for them to combat the régime of slavery, to fight for the freedom of all those who love freedom, to wipe out a monstrosity.

Mr. PRADENAS MUÑOZ (Government delegate, Chile) — The Chilean delegation supports this resolution because Chile also has a small fleet and understands
the seafarers' life of sacrifice and of heroism. They are exposed night and day to the risk of death and to the hard life that they have to lead. The war has not yet come to these shores, but one of these days it may, and we may see our seas stained with the blood of American sailors. That is why we ask you to approve this resolution.

The PRESIDENT — The resolution is before you. Are there any other comments? Is there any opposition?

(The resolution is adopted.)

(The Conference adjourned at 5.25 p.m.)
TWELFTH SITTING

Wednesday, 5 November 1941, 11.20 a.m.

President: Miss Perkins.

Sixth Report of the Selection Committee

Draft resolution on the place of meeting of the next Session of the International Labour Conference.¹

The President — The first order of business is the presentation of a resolution which has already been circulated in a Report of the Selection Committee, Resolution E.

Mr. Goodrich (Government delegate, United States of America) — This is a one-sentence resolution, and I think it needs about a one-sentence explanation. The resolution asks that the Conference express its opinion that, if circumstances continue to make it impracticable to hold the next International Labour Conference at Geneva — circumstances which are very different from those contemplated when the original rules of this Organisation were framed — the Governing Body should have no hesitation in deciding to hold the next Conference of this Organisation at a place other than Geneva, if circumstances at that time continue to make a meeting at Geneva unwise.

The President — If there is no objection to this resolution, I shall declare it adopted.

(The resolution is adopted.)

Draft resolution on the implementation of the Atlantic Charter.²

The President — We have before us also another resolution, Resolution F, which has been circulated in the same Report. I call on Mr. Fernández Stoll, the Government delegate of Peru, to present this resolution.

Interpretation: Mr. Fernández Stoll (Government delegate, Peru) — The Peruvian delegation, along with the delegation of China, has agreed to put before you a resolution, the aim of which is to link this International Labour Organisation with the statement of principles contained in the Roosevelt-Churchill Declaration known as the Atlantic Charter, and which in the opinion of the Peruvian delegation, should be called the Charter of World Freedom. These principles mean the certainty that when this war ends with the victory which we have no doubt will be won by the democracies definite ways and means will be found to ensure lasting peace and social security throughout the world.

Since we possess so suitable an instrument as the International Labour Organisation, why not use it for the practical application of these principles? The Peruvian delegation accordingly proposes that the Conference, which already supports the principles embodied in the Charter, should authorise the Organisation to take the necessary steps to ensure that practical effect is given to these principles.

I hope that the Conference will understand what the Peruvian delegation has in mind. What we want to do is to ensure that effect shall be given in every possible way to the decisions of this Conference with a view to resisting aggression and building a better world.

Mr. Langstone (Government delegate, New Zealand) — This resolution is a very important resolution and is one upon which we are all agreed. But to give effect to this resolution is more than a matter of co-operation of the I.L.O. with the various Governments. I want to speak now to the Government delegates, because the bringing into effect of the general abstract principles of the Atlantic Charter or the Charter of Humanity, as outlined by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill, means that the various Governments have got to get together. It means possibly a recasting of our trading system, of the question of dealing with our surpluses, at least. Where each nation has surpluses, it is important that those surplus goods be exchanged somewhere and somehow, and this will possibly mean the setting up of some form of international credit system through which this trade will be able to carry on. And I know — at least I think — that the I.L.O. hardly has the organisation to do such a stupendous job as this entails.

It is important that we should be able to convert abstract principles into a real practical

¹ See Third Part, Appendix I, p. 165.
² See Third Part, Appendix I, p. 163.
policy with the appropriate machinery, and in doing so, as between one nation and another, that the Governments representing the various countries should be able to get together and draw from the abstract declaration of the Atlantic Charter, down into the realm of the concrete, the means whereby we are going to carry this into effect. Now it rests very largely with each country. What is each country going to do to give effect to the Atlantic Charter? It can just be a pious resolution, accepted by the world, or it can be made the greatest charter of liberty, it can be made a most useful article as welding the relationship between man and man and nation and nation, more than anything that has previously been put forward.

I, whole-heartedly, and my country—and, I believe, all democratic countries—do fully and thoroughly endorse the principles of the Atlantic Charter. And I believe this further, that if we are going to pull the people who have suffered aggression and those who are in sympathy with the Axis Powers away from that bloc, it is necessary for the world that the democratic countries of the world should set up a system of trade from one country to another such that liberty and freedom of trade may be spread all over the nations that come into the group or into the bloc. The Atlantic Charter is very comprehensive and needs the co-operation and the assistance of all Governments, so that they will come into the broad outline within its framework, with the necessary experts and technicians, and other people who understand the ramifications of world trade, who understand all about exchanges and different currencies and all of the other details which are very complex indeed.

Unless we can get down to the work of simplifying those difficult problems that exist in our economic and our commercial system, I do not think that we shall be able to give full effect to the Charter. Although endorsing the resolution, I think that more is needed than granting the full co-operation and assistance that lie within the power of the International Labour Organisation. I believe that the initiation and the real practical steps must be the responsibility of the Governments individually and collectively, so that they can write into a real practical programme the Atlantic Charter in a real trading form. Unless we do that, we cannot exchange our goods and all the wealth that is the result of the application of human energy to the raw materials provided by nature.

One of the problems that have arisen in recent years, even in this great country, is that too much has been produced, and there have been people starving because we have had no co-ordinated system of exchanging goods between one country and another or because countries try to protect themselves against their own particular economic order within their national boundaries. Every country has had to erect tariff barriers and do all sorts of things to try and protect its own trade.

Therefore, if this resolution and the Atlantic Charter are going to be made a real workaday programme in the interests of the world, there has got to be a pretty big change of heart in all of our Governments. Democratic as we may be, peace-loving as we may be, we have possibly got to discard many of our preconceived ideas, many of the existing methods of trade, many of the forms by which the Government gets its revenue. And I can see that when a Government, particularly the Treasury of a Government, is getting so much revenue to run the country, say, from the Customs Department through tariffs, then before it will forgo that revenue, it will want some other means of getting the revenue. It is a very difficult problem; I feel that this is the very foundation of the whole thing, that the foundation of our social security, the foundation of our hours of work, the foundation of the rates of pay, of all our social legislation, the very basis of a man’s existence, is embodied in this resolution this morning. I think that the I.L.O. should give the matter its consideration, and I quite agree to support the resolution. But I think we all, and particularly the Government delegates, have got to be busy in our respective countries to see if we can formulate a programme which will give practical effect to the great, big, broad principles outlined in the Atlantic Charter.

The President — The Chairman of the Select Committee wishes to explain some changes that have been made in this resolution.

Interpretation: Mr. Van Zeeland (Government delegate, Belgium), Chairman and Reporter of the Select Committee — At this morning’s meeting, the Select Committee decided to propose a slight change in the form, not the substance, of this resolution. It simply amounts to giving a full and exact quotation of items 4, 5 and 6 of the Atlantic Charter, instead of the text given in the original resolution.

The President — Is there any objection to this resolution?

(The resolution is adopted.)

Draft resolution on collaboration with the River Plate Regional Office of Economic Information and Studies.¹

The President — The next resolution bears the letter G.

Interpretation: Mr. Santos Munoz (Government delegate, Argentine Republic) — This is perhaps one of the resolutions on which it is easiest for this Conference to come to an agreement. At the beginning of this year delegates from Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, Bolivia, and the Argentine Republic held a regional meeting, at which various resolutions were adopted with regard to measures for bringing those countries into closer relationship with each other. One of those resolutions decided upon the setting up of a Regional Office of Economic Information and Studies and added that that Office should co-operate with international bodies and specifically with the International Labour Office. Therefore the

¹See Third Part; Appendix I, p. 165.
delegations of the Argentine Republic, Brazil, and Uruguay are putting before you this resolution, which has been approved by the Resolutions Sub-Committee, requesting the Governing Body to instruct the International Labour Office to give its support to the Regional Office of Economic Information and Studies and to collaborate in its work.

Collaboration between the two bodies will be mutually profitable. The International Labour Office will receive information from the Regional Office and will be able to circulate that information to other Members of the Organisation; and the Regional Office will be able to count on the efficient co-operation of the I.L.O.

Interpretation: Mr. FERNANDEZ STOLL (Government delegate, Peru) — I wish to state that Peru sent a delegate to the La Plata Conference, by agreement, and although not one of the movers of this resolution, supports it since it is one of general Latin American interest.

The PRESIDENT — If there is no objection, the resolution is adopted.

(The resolution is adopted.)

Draft resolution on the war and peace.1

The PRESIDENT — The Conference will now consider resolution H.

Interpretation: Mr. RENS (Workers' delegate, Belgium) — The object of this resolution, submitted by all the Workers' delegates, is to give expression to three sentiments: in the first place, the feeling of sympathy shown by all delegates for the millions who are suffering from the invasion and war in Europe and elsewhere; secondly, and no less strongly, the feeling of admiration, expressed in almost all speeches made here, for the great democracies which are fighting for civilisation and the deliverance of the oppressed peoples; and thirdly, the hope, which has been expressed especially by the Workers' delegates, that practical recognition will be given to the need for planning now for post-war reconstruction. The Workers' delegates venture to hope that this resolution will be adopted unanimously by the Conference.

The PRESIDENT — Is there any objection to this resolution?

Mr. SANTOS MUNOZ (Government delegate, Argentine Republic) — Owing to the political considerations set forth in the resolution, the Argentine delegation feels obliged to abstain.

The PRESIDENT — If there are no further objections, the resolution is adopted.

(The resolution is adopted.)

1 See Third Part, Appendix I, p. 164.

The PRESIDENT — The Sitting will be suspended for a few minutes until the next resolutions are ready for distribution.

(The Conference adjourned from 12.05 p.m. to 12.25 p.m.)

Seventh Report of the Selection Committee

The PRESIDENT — We are obliged to proceed in a rather unusual fashion and I ask your permission to do so.

The Report of the Selection Committee is ready, but unfortunately, owing to the inadequate facilities which the Secretariat has here, we have not been able to get the Report and resolutions distributed in mimeographed form in French, English and Spanish as has been the custom with regard to the others. It could be done by waiting an hour or so, but it seems better not to wait. I propose therefore that Mr. van Zeeland, Chairman of the Selection Committee, should present the Report of the Committee. He will read the report in French, and it will be translated from the tribune into English. It will be translated simultaneously over the telephone into Spanish. The Conference will then proceed to the adoption of the Report.

The resolutions will be read both in English and in French and will be translated into Spanish simultaneously over the telephone. If this meets with your consent, we shall proceed in this way in order to save time and to make it possible for us to adjourn at a reasonable hour as has been scheduled.

Interpretation: Mr. DOMENECH (Workers' delegate, Argentine Republic) — I support the proposal.

The PRESIDENT — Is there any objection? If not, we shall proceed in this fashion. I want to remind you that the Selection Committee has done very hard and very faithful work, and the Conference is grateful for what it has accomplished.

Draft resolution on the war and trade between American countries.

Draft resolution on living wages and on agrarian reform.

Draft resolution on collaboration between Governments, workers and employers in the planning and application of public policies.1

Interpretation: Mr. van ZEELAND (Government delegate, Belgium), Chairman of the Selection Committee — The Selection Committee has considered and is transmitting to this Conference three resolutions, numbered I, J, and K. Resolution I is the resolution formerly numbered 44; J was formerly numbered 45; and K was a resolution numbered 23, moved by Mr. Watt. The text of the resolutions is as follows:

1 See Third Part, Appendix I, p. 164.
Resolution I:

Whereas restrictions imposed upon export trade between certain American countries unquestionably represent a danger for industry and trade, which run the risk of being paralysed with the consequence of causing inevitable unemployment among large numbers of workers, creating thereby a serious internal situation in the countries concerned;

Whereas all American countries wish to export the maximum possible of their products and this would represent a more practical and effective collaboration in the present difficult period;

The Conference requests the Governing Body to take appropriate steps, and to consider the appointment of a committee for the purpose of encouraging the exchange of goods between the countries indicated above.

Resolution J:

Whereas physiological data prove that there is inadequate nutrition of workers in various countries which are Members of the International Labour Organisation;

The Conference emphasises the necessity for the promulgation of laws where necessary fixing minimum rates of wages in order to ensure to the workers the means of satisfying the essential requirements of human beings who undertake their work in the conditions and with the exigencies of our present civilisation;

Considers also that it is indispensable for countries which have extensive territory in relation to the number of their inhabitants to undertake agrarian reforms which will permit of a rational mobilisation of their agricultural and pastoral riches and the proper satisfaction of aspirations of greater social justice for the workers.

Resolution K:

Whereas workers and employers of any country are so vital to the production and general mobilisation and defence effort of any nation; and

Whereas wisdom and justice both dictate that the workers and employers of each country should by virtue of their importance to these efforts be accorded a voice in the determination of their economic and social interests;

The Conference resolves that in governmental agencies which include among their functions the planning and application of public policies which directly or indirectly affect the interest of workers and employers, the policy-making and administrative agencies should include representative and responsible spokesmen of workers and employers acting jointly with their Governments.

The Committee noted with very great regret that it had not enough time to consider with due attention the numerous and very interesting draft resolutions which still remained before it. It fully appreciates the value of the ideas and suggestions contained in those resolutions, and thanks the authors of those texts for the very useful contribution that they have thus brought to the work of the International Labour Organisation.

In order to give appropriate effect to these proposals, the Committee suggests that the texts of the resolutions in question should be annexed to the Record of the Conference of the International Labour Organisation and referred for study to the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Some very important resolutions were submitted by the workers from the Latin American countries. The fact that these figure among those referred to the Governing Body for further consideration and appropriate action in no way means that the importance of the questions raised is not fully recognised; on the contrary, it is because of the wide range of the important questions concerning this course is proposed to the Conference, in order to give them fuller and more effective consideration.

The Committee further suggests that the Conference, in transmitting these resolutions to the Governing Body, should draw the Governing Body's attention more particularly to the various resolutions submitted by the delegates of Latin American countries, concerning the situation of those countries. It will be for the Governing Body to decide the effect that might usefully be given to those resolutions, either in connection with the next General Conference or in connection with the next Regional conference of the International Labour Organisation.

Further, the Committee recommends that the Conference should draw the particular attention of the Governing Body to draft resolutions nos. 4, 12, 25, and 26, in order that it may consider the most appropriate method of giving real effect to them.1

The Committee hopes that this procedure will give full effect to the individual contributions of the various members of the Conference.

The PRESIDENT — The Report is before the Conference for adoption.

Interpretation: Mr. ALDUNATE PHILIPS (Employers’ delegate, Chile) — I wish to explain the point of view on which the Chilean resolution, no. 44, is based. It is superfluous to say that we all, and especially I myself, feel the greatest admiration for the gigantic efforts now being made by Great Britain and the United States of America, but we also feel that this Conference ought to bear in mind the very severe economic repercussions of the war on the Latin American countries.

This, I admit, is a resolution of a somewhat abnormal character, but we are living in abnormal times, and the Conference has agreed to take into consideration and to adopt various other resolutions of an emergency nature which we have supported.

It has to be realised that, on the one hand, the raw materials that we produce and that are the basis of our national economy have

1 See Third Part, Appendix III, p. 164.
lost most of their markets and that, on the other hand, owing to the necessities of war production in Great Britain and the United States, it is impossible for us to get our former supplies of indispensable manufactured goods.

To show what this means, I should like to draw your attention to a telegram that has just been received by the Chilean workers' delegation, from our iron workers' union. It reads:

Anxious situation created by absolute lack of iron plates resulting in unemployment. Please intercede with Chilean and North American authorities to obtain supply iron in order to avoid disaster which would mean complete paralysis for our industry.

What the workers of Chile are asking for, therefore, is simply work. They are asking that steps shall be taken to avoid the complete paralysis of our industries. We understand that to take the necessary steps involves certain sacrifices; but please understand the situation created for us when a whole industry can be paralysed for lack of certain small but essential parts or tools, and when our agriculture or mining industry cannot find markets for its products.

I should like to associate myself with the very intelligent remarks made in the Selection Committee by the Argentine Workers' delegate, who pointed out that by adopting resolutions of this kind the Conference would avoid disasters in the future.

Mr. HORN (Government delegate, Union of South Africa) — A point of order. Are we now discussing the Report of the Selection Committee?

The PRESIDENT — We are discussing the Report of the Selection Committee, which is before us for adoption.

Mr. GRILLO (Workers' adviser, United States of America) — In speaking before you here, I can appreciate that I may be talking in vain and that possibly I may not be understood. I think that if you have read the resolutions that were presented to you, particularly resolution no. 23, you will observe that a resolution was presented by the American delegates and signed by the delegates from some other countries; you will observe in that resolution that what we intended to seek primarily was the full recognition of labour, the right to participate in the planning and waging of a war, starting right to-day, and throughout the entire duration of the war. We also asked in the resolution the right to discuss peace proposals and to participate in the peace pact, and we have been talking here for eight days of the necessity of collaboration between the three parties — the Governments, the employers, and the workers.

Now I understand that the resolution has been modified, and it does meet with my approval, certain sections of it, namely, the first "whereas", the second "whereas", and the "resolves". But I observe in the "resolves" that it has been modified to include the employers. That is correct. It should include the employers — the employers, the workers, and the Government. Ours only spoke of the workers.

But there is something lacking in that last "resolves", quite a bit lacking. There is no mention in it whatsoever of active participation on the part of the employers and labour in the formulation and the administering of the war programme, in other words, the waging of the war. I sincerely believe that we ought to give consideration to the four points which are enumerated in that resolution, which definitely states just where industry and labour are supposed to be, not during the reconstruction period, but where they are supposed to be at this very moment.

Now, this is my first attendance at a conference of this type. I don't know what the procedure is, but if it is permissible, Madam President, I am wondering if it is in order to make an amendment at this time.

The PRESIDENT — To which resolution?

Mr. GRILLO (Workers' adviser, United States of America) — To Resolution K. The amendment is that it shall also include these four points which I will read to you, because it is possible that all of you do not have the resolution before you:

(1) Those agencies which are charged with the responsibility of mobilising resources and production for the general welfare and for the waging of the war against aggressor nations;
(2) Agencies which are now or will be charged with the responsibility of formulating the social and economic aspects of peace proposals;
(3) Agencies which will be charged with the responsibility of consummating the proposals agreed upon; and
(4) Agencies which are or will be charged with the responsibility of formulating and administering plans for economic and social reconstruction.

Here I would like to withdraw point (4), because if my memory serves me well, I think that has already been incorporated in another resolution. I move those three points as an amendment to the resolution which is before you at the moment for consideration.

The PRESIDENT — An amendment has been proposed to Resolution K. I shall ask the Chairman of the Selection Committee to explain its action on the matter.

Interpretation: Mr. VAN ZEELAND (Government delegate, Belgium), Chairman of the Selection Committee — The Selection Committee had before it proposals of the kind just submitted to you. After discussion the Committee decided to leave it to a small drafting sub-committee to try to embody the main features in a text on which everyone could agree. But it was clearly understood that every suggestion made to the Governing Body would be referred to it for consideration and the most effective action.

It seems to me that in the interest of unanimity we should abide by the decision of the Selection Committee.
The PRESIDENT — The amendment offered by Mr. Grillo is before us, and the explanation of the Selection Committee has also been made. It appears to me that this matter, which is under discussion now in the form of an amendment, is properly something which ought to have been taken up in the Collaboration Committee and ought to have been considered in the Collaboration Committee.

I understand that it was considered on the matter of collaboration, and no agreement was reached upon it there. It was also proposed as a part of a general resolution which went to the Selection Committee and to the Resolution Sub-Committee. Therefore it is, of course, a little surprising to the whole Conference to be asked to act on an amendment which, although the content was discussed in the Collaboration Committee and in the Selection Committee, failed to impress itself sufficiently upon those two Committees to make them willing to add it to their general report.

I think it is a rather unusual procedure to take it up as an amendment; however, I am willing to put the amendment since it has been made.

Mr. DE VRIES (Workers' delegate, Union of South Africa) — May I just put in a word here? I happen to be a Workers' member on the Selection Committee, and I can bear out what Mr. van Zeeland has had to say in regard to this matter. We have discussed all the points submitted by Mr. Grillo. I would make an appeal to him at this late hour that this be accepted, with the assurance that the International Labour Office will undertake to go into the matter more fully as soon as it is humanly possible to do so.

I would like to inform him that this is really the maximum that we could get out of a number of resolutions phrased in the way that Mr. Grillo would like them to be phrased.

The PRESIDENT — Major Attlee, British Government representative, has asked to speak on this matter.

Mr. ATTLEE (Government representative, British Empire) — I found a little difficulty in understanding exactly what is the scope of this resolution. My difficulty is this. I am heartily in agreement with the general idea that, in all this matter of planning and policy, there should be the fullest consultation and co-operation with organised labour and with organised employers. But the resolution, which mentions "governmental agencies which in-clude among their functions the planning and application of public policies", seems to me to go so far that I might find myself voting in favour of something with which I disagree. I might be voting for a changed form of government in which the policy-making body, which with us is the Cabinet, would not be a body composed from the Legislature and responsible to the Legislature, but would be some mixed kind of body. That is my idea. If I could understand what were the limits on the words "governmental agency", it might put me in an easier position to give a vote.

The PRESIDENT — I should like to call on the Chairman once more for a comment on this point.

Interpretation: Mr. VAN ZEELAND (Government delegate, Belgium), Chairman of the Selection Committee — I should explain once again the decision of the Selection Committee on this Resolution K. It was agreed to turn over the original resolution to a small sub-committee to be redrafted. The text which we are now considering is the one submitted by the small sub-committee. But it was also agreed that if the resolution could not be formulated in a manner that would gain unanimous, or nearly unanimous, support, it should be referred to the Governing Body. This would not mean that the matter would be lost from sight; on the contrary, the Governing Body would be urged not only to consider the problem but to try to give the greatest possible effect to the recommendations made.

The PRESIDENT — As I understand it, it was agreed upon within the Selection Committee that this particular resolution would be withdrawn if there were differences in the Conference which indicated a lack of understanding or a difference of opinion for which there is not now time to find all the answers; that it would be withdrawn and referred to the Governing Body, with a direction to the Governing Body to give the matter study and to try to bring out a programme which would embody the spirit of the resolution and yet be an effective and practical method.

Is there any objection to that?

Mr. GRILLO (Workers' adviser, United States of America) — That meets with my approval, and I so move.

The PRESIDENT — Mr. Grillo moves that this entire resolution be withdrawn from the report.

Mr. MOORE (Workers' delegate, Canada) — I wish to raise objection to the withdrawal of the resolution in its modified form, if that means we are making no declaration at all. I am in agreement with the desire for an amendment placed in there. At the same time I recognise that at this hour it would open the door to every resolution being brought forward again, and I would have hoped that Mr. Grillo would have withdrawn his amendment, so that we could leave the resolution as it is in the Report. I would ask him to do that.

The PRESIDENT — The action has been taken, I am afraid, Mr. Moore. And I do not think we ought to feel that because the resolution has been referred to the Governing Body that no action has been taken. A great deal of time and thought has been used in this Conference in discussing just these relationships. I think we are all illuminated by those discussions and that we expect to go home and to set up in our own nations such steps as are practical and adapted to the life of that nation. We look towards a greater consultation with all the groups affected in the production made necessary by the war, and the Governing
Body, which will meet not only frequently throughout the year, but will meet again this afternoon, is particularly charged to give us its advice upon how these matters may be moved forward most practically.

So I think it is improper to conclude that to send the resolution to the Governing Body means that nothing has been done with it. A number of other extremely important resolutions have also been referred to the Governing Body for further study. That is due to the fact that we are meeting under the pressure of wartime in a period when we have but ten days to devote to our work, instead of the usual three to four weeks.

I hope that you will not feel that there has been any desire to kill the resolution by referring it to the Governing Body. I think the disposition is exactly contrary.

Mr. MOORE (Workers’ delegate, Canada) — I am somewhat at a loss to understand our position. I wish to understand whether, because one representative at this Conference desired something inserted, our entire freedom of action of endorsing the Report is done away with and the whole matter is withdrawn without our consent?

The PRESIDENT — I understand that the Selection Committee agreed when this matter was under discussion that if there was any objection on the floor, if there was not agreement on the floor, that the whole resolution would be taken out of the Report and referred to the Governing Body.

The principal objection was not only Mr. Grillo’s amendment but Major Attlee’s comment, in which he found difficulty with the wording of the primary resolution, not the amendment, and felt that it would be open to confusion which he could not at this moment clarify.

Mr. de VRIES (Workers’ delegate, Union of South Africa) — That is not my recollection of the decision of the Selection Committee. My recollection is that this resolution as it stands now would be submitted to the Conference for adoption, that the Conference would be asked to accept this resolution as it stands; that is my recollection of it. With regard to the point made by Mr. Attlee, I would like to point out that the resolution advocates the inclusion of representatives; that in itself should be sufficient, and it does not say that they must be included. I think that would overcome the fear that Mr. Attlee has in mind. My recollection definitely is that this resolution would be laid before the Conference for acceptance. Now, Mr. Grillo has come along with certain amendments. The decision he has brought about means that it is likely that the resolution will be withdrawn entirely. I agree with Mr. Moore that that is an impossible procedure, and it was never contemplated by the Selection Committee that that should be the case.

The PRESIDENT — I am informed by Mr. Grillo that he intended his remarks to be interpreted as withdrawing his amendment, not withdrawing the whole resolution; therefore, since he made the amendment, there is no action of any sort necessary for us. The amendment is withdrawn and we are discussing the resolution.

I gather that Major Attlee so understood in the course of his remarks, and that his remarks were directed to Resolution K as reported by the Selection Committee? Is that correct?

Mr. ATTLEE (Government representative, British Empire) — Yes. My only point really was, I want to know what “governmental agencies” include.

Interpretation: Mr. OCAMPO PASTENE (Workers’ adviser, Chile) — I wish to express my regret that Mr. Grillo has withdrawn his amendment, of which several Workers’ delegations approved as giving them hope of collaboration between Governments, employers, and workers, in the fight against Nazi-Fascism and in the post-war period.

Interpretation: Mr. FERNANDEZ (Workers’ delegate, Cuba) — In the name of the Cuban Workers’ delegation, if my colleague Grillo has withdrawn his amendment, I wish to reintroduce it because it is indispensable that the workers should participate in all bodies that are to deal with problems affecting their interests and rights. Since this is a sovereign body and is not necessarily bound by the decisions of the Selection Committee, I now support this proposal.

Interpretation: Mr. RODRIGUEZ ANEIROS (Workers’ delegate, Uruguay) — In the name of the Uruguayan Workers I too wish to emphasise the necessity of not sending everything that comes before the Conference to the Governing Body, where there is a risk of its being buried. We do not wish to return empty-handed to the workers of our countries.

This question is being discussed together with draft resolution no. 44, concerning the cooperation of all Latin American countries. The workers of Latin America fully understand the importance of the questions of iron and of other raw materials; but we know also that many of our raw materials have been going to Axis Powers, and we are definitely opposed to anything else going to them or to Fascist Spain, Vichy France, or militarist Japan.

The workers will be disappointed if there is no decision in favour of labour participation in the agencies that are to give effect to democratic policy.

Mr. WATT (Workers’ delegate, United States of America) — As a Workers’ member of the Resolutions Committee and as one of the three members of the sub-committee selected by the Selection Committee to draft this resolution, I want to assure Major Attlee that we are not referring to the Cabinet of either President Roosevelt or Prime Minister Churchill. What we meant was well understood in the Selection Committee.

The Workers asked that we make a declaration which would put this Conference on record as in favour of representation of employers and
workers in the great mobilisation and defence effort which most of our nations are making. Personally, I am keenly interested, but I have no hesitation in saying to Major Attlee, if it is a question of words, I shall be glad indeed to make an effort, with men who have more ability in the drafting of those resolutions than I have, to conform to some better standard of words. All I am saying is that I hope we shall not let this opportunity slip past to declare to the world that we do believe not only in political democracy, but that we do believe, not only in theory but in fact, in industrial democracy. This is the best way to do it.

The PRESIDENT — I call on Mr. van Zeeland, Chairman of the Selection Committee, for a brief statement.

Interpretation: Mr. VAN ZEELAND (Government delegate, Belgium), Chairman of the Selection Committee — I should like to remind the Conference of the fact that the Selection Committee has no power of its own, that it works for the Conference, that the right to decide rests with the Conference and not with the Selection Committee. The Committee has tried to submit to the Conference texts which could command here in the Conference a unanimous or practically unanimous approval, and could thus achieve the psychological effects that we all desire.

Now, I have one small amendment to propose to you which might enable you to reach unanimity. It is to substitute the words "Recommends that in agencies set up by public authority" for the words "Resolves that in Governmental agencies" in resolution K. This would meet Mr. Attlee’s objection.

An amendment has been put before you, withdrawn in a spirit of conciliation, and again introduced. But I still think we might reach an agreement.

Mr. ATTLEE (Government representative, British Empire) — Might I say that that meets my objection?

The PRESIDENT — Then is there any objection to the adoption of the Report as modified? If there is no objection, it is adopted as modified.

(The Report is adopted.)

The PRESIDENT — We have adopted the Report which includes these three resolutions. Three people have asked to be heard, some of them with regard to these resolutions, but I think all three of them with regard to a matter not made a matter of resolution.

Interpretation: Mr. FERNANDEZ R. (Workers’ delegate, Cuba) — I have read the Report of the Chairman of the Selection Committee on the various resolutions submitted concerning Latin America. In particular I have noted the phrase that those resolutions were very interesting and called for special attention on the part of the International Labour Organisation.

But we have been extremely disappointed that, although those resolutions were submitted chronologically before many others that have been taken into consideration, these have not been taken into consideration but referred to the Governing Body. These resolutions included No. 10, referring to the creation of a mercantile marine for Latin American countries. There was No. 11 referring to aid to Spanish refugees at present being made to perform forced labour by the Vichy Government. There was No. 12 referring to the necessity of freedom of association in those of our countries where the workers are not allowed to organise. This important principle, laid down in Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles, must be given effect for all the workers in every country. Resolution No. 13 referred to social legislation for agricultural workers in our countries. At present they are treated as slaves and not on a footing of equality with other workers. No. 14 referred to the credits granted countries like Cuba, where the big foreign companies are drawing enormous profits and the workers are getting no benefits. Resolution 15 referred to the necessity, in order to secure victory against the totalitarian powers, of cutting off all commercial relations with so-called neutral countries that supply them with raw materials derived from our countries.1

I insist that these resolutions submitted by the Workers’ delegations of Latin America should receive the very special attention of the Governing Body.

The PRESIDENT — In view of the lateness of the hour, the Conference will adjourn until 3 p.m. I want it to be clearly understood that we have adopted the Report of the Selection Committee and that in adopting that Report we approved of resolutions I, J, and K.

(The Conference adjourned at 1.45 p.m.)

1 See Third Part, Appendix III: No. 10, p. 175; No. 11, p. 175; No. 12, p. 174; No. 13, p. 173; No. 14, p. 176; No. 15, p. 178.
THIRTEENTH SITTING

Wednesday, 5 November 1941, 3.20 p.m.

President: Miss Perkins.

SEVENTH REPORT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE (contd.)

The PRESIDENT — There are two applications to address remarks to the Report of the Selection Committee. I call on Miss Graciela Mandujano, of Chile. Miss Mandujano is a Government representative of Chile and we are delighted to have her here.

Miss MANDUJANO (Government adviser, Chile) — I will speak in English, not because I speak it better than my own language, but because what I have to say is well-known to the Latin American delegates who are here to-day, and for whom I shall speak.

I want to refer to a resolution submitted to this Conference by the Chilean delegation, referring to the conditions of the agricultural labourers in Latin America. For three years now my work has kept me in constant and direct touch with the agricultural labourers in Chile, and I feel that whatever I may say about my country is probably true of all other Latin American countries. I could, if I had the time, tell you tragic stories of the lives of these people whom you do not know — stories that you would hardly believe to be true. They live, because our countries are so large and for the most part under-populated, isolated and uneducated.

In Chile at least they are covered by the social laws, but not really protected by them. Although we have good social security laws, our peasants cannot go to the polyclinics. They cannot get real medical assistance. They cannot send their children to schools, although we have very good systems of public education. In fact, they do not benefit by any of the provisions of our laws regarding our industrial workers. Efforts to educate them have been made in my country during these last three years through betterment of their economic situation. After talking to them, after seeing them in their miserable huts, after watching the way they live, we have come to realise that we just cannot talk to them about sending their children to school, that we just cannot talk to them about adult education, because the first thing for them is to be fed and clothed. And so we have started by improving their economic standards through home industries, in pitiful little efforts that are starting us, we think, on the right way, but which have not yet done anything important to improve the economic standards of our peasants. Learning to read and write is just as romantic for them as it would be for us to start studying Latin and Greek to improve our education at this moment of the world's history.

In doing the work that we have started through home industries, through little books which we send free of cost to them, through lending libraries, through educational missions, through every way we have been able to find in order to help them, we have come to realise a very surprising truth, that our peasants, who constitute probably more than half of our population, are very worth-while people. They are intelligent; they are courageous; they are loyal. They have, deep down in their souls, by some miracle that I do not understand, the same democratic ideas that we are defending in this Conference. They are easily taught and we have already seen that they can easily improve their capacity for greater production, and we feel that we have to increase their capacity for consumption. We must make of them a good consumer group.

We should not, then, feel any sense of generosity on our part, we should not merely pat ourselves on the back in self-approval, when we think of the agricultural labourers of our nation. We must realise that in giving something to them we are doing it for ourselves. We are not granting social justice altruistically, but we are giving them better means to serve us.

I cannot end by talking about the country labourers as a mass. I have to talk especially about the country women in our peasant population, who have borne a double burden from the economic situation, from their lack of education, from the exploitation of which they are the constant victims, and I am just going to give you this example so that you may know that I know what I am talking about in this instance.

Women, peasant women, in my country, usually devote themselves to helping their husbands in rural work, but they sometimes get paid specially for their labour, especially
when they are dairy maids, who get one Chilean cent a day for every pint of milk they have milked; so at the end of a very tiring day, when they have had no time or strength to think of their homes or their children, they receive the equivalent of thirty to sixty Chilean cents a day, and there are thirty Chilean pesos to a dollar and a hundred cents to a peso.

Well, the voices of these women must be heard by you. You are the most influential, the most intelligent group thinking about social justice in the world to-day. And we must remember that they are not only doing this, living this life in wartime. This is their daily life. We are in my own country allowing half of our population to live in conditions that are comparable to war conditions in countries where there are refugees, where there are concentration camps; but the people living in those conditions are not like free men and women working for their daily living.

So may I ask the Conference to take these points into account so that, at future Conferences in a world under reconstruction, the problems of the peasants and the problems of the women may be taken into account?

The voices of women, let me say before this Conference is closed, have been heard before in these Conferences. This time a single resolution about women has been referred to the Committee, although on other occasions they have received more attention. We would like in our country to have you influence our Government so that there will soon be bureaux to deal with the problems of women in industry, of peasant women, of children. The voices of these people, who make up at least one-third of the workers of the world, should be heard officially and not just by gracious courtesy in these Conferences.

We cannot expect better homes, better children, better countries, better democracy if the women of the world are neglected.

Well, I am speaking for women, but it is hardly necessary for me to do so, because the splendid work of our President in this Conference has done more for women in the world than I could possibly say; but now member, Chinese women are fighting with Chinese soldiers, Russian women are fighting, English women are fighting. Latín American women are suffering and bearing the burden of the war, just as much as any soldier in the war. That is all I wanted to tell you and to remind you of.

The PRESIDENT — We are all grateful to Miss Mandujano for having made application at the very close of the Conference to say a few words on behalf not only of her country but of the point of view and the problems of two groups whose problems are being too little discussed here, the agricultural workers and the women workers of the world. She has done it most gracefully and acceptably.

CLOSING SPEECHES

The PRESIDENT — And now, we have come to the hour which I suppose comes to all enterprises of this sort, the hour when we must bring our proceedings to a close, when we must say good-bye to each other for the present, when we must highly resolve that what we have promised each other here we will in some measure carry out in our own lives, in our own countries, and in our own activities.

It is never pleasant to close a Conference; it is always delightful to open one. But on this occasion I really feel that, in announcing that the hour for closing has come, I can announce it with a certain sense of pride. Here is a group which has not just met and gone away full of good wishes and hospitality, but a group which has struggled with ideals, with problems, with decisions, and with decisions which led them to conscientious action. For the thing that strikes me as important in this Conference is the practicality with which we have clothed our resolutions, the practicality with which we have addressed ourselves to our problems.

The discussions have not been the discussions of people giving lip service to a set of ideals, but of people who seriously intend to take the first steps necessary on the path of accomplishment which should last for generations. It is because it has been serious and purposeful and practical that I think it deserves a place in the history of this and other international organisations.

This Conference has been marked by the presence of people of unusual responsibility and influence. We have had fifteen people of ministerial rank in their own countries here. This means that on the Government side we have had a group of people peculiarly responsible for the formulation of policy and for the carrying on of administration in the field of social justice in their own countries. On the employers' side, we have had representation from twenty-two countries, we have had employers who have been sent by their Governments — as has Mr. Kelly, come all the way from Australia — who have come with a distinct purpose, to represent the real employer groups of those countries, not merely a group who had a formal spokesman, but people who have themselves borne the burdens of developing productive industry. We have had representatives, a large group of employers; we have had representatives who have been chosen by organisations of employers who have been meeting freely in association for many years and had arrived at a policy to which they were mutually pledged and to which they had previously agreed. We have had exceptionally good representation of the workers of all countries, people who have impressed us with their integrity, their courage, and people who have impressed us with the degree of responsibility which they hold for the leadership of thought and action of the working people in their own country.

This makes the present Conference a most significant one.

We have all made speeches. There have been, I am told, more speeches than usual, and that not because of any intent or purpose on the part of the Office or the President but because in this time of stress, in these days of danger, it seemed that men and women of courage and insight and inspiration from each of the countries and from each of the groups here represented wanted to put themselves and
their people on record as joining in the determination to have social justice and liberty and to give that social justice some real content in these days.

So we have had many speeches, but they have been responsible speeches by responsible people, and I am using the word "responsible" rather than "representative", although they were not representative people. I am using the word "responsible", because each of us here realises that as he spoke from the tribune or from the floor, he pledged not only his country and his group to adhere to and to follow in his daily actions these principles, but that he pledged himself. Each of us feels a kind of individual responsibility to carry out in our own personal lives, in our own personal sphere of influence, these principles, each of us feels deeply within the country, within the nation of which he is a part, to work with others, not by himself or with his own group alone, but to work with others of the population for the achievement of laws and practices and habits which will in some way contribute to the uplifting of the social standards of the world.

So it is that we have as a programme of action to go back to our own homes and nations and to see what we can do in that nation to begin the work of thinking out what our people can do to establish programmes that will achieve a better living standard within that country and at the same time to be thinking how our people by so doing may contribute to the social welfare of the world. In other words, we have learned, I think, that no nation, just as no person, lives to himself alone, that in the mere existence on this planet and in association with others we have responsibilities as nations.

This, I think, gives some objectivity to the deep emotional current that has run through this Conference. We cannot help the fact that emotions have been close to the surface here. In times like these, when so many of you have come from countries of great suffering, it was but natural that the emotions generated by that kind of situation should be uppermost in the mind and on the tongue, and I want to thank those who have come through tribulations for the moderation of their speech and for the impact they have made which they have approached the common world problem even at a time when they saw the people, the working people and the simple people, of their own country in deep and unnecessary suffering.

That has been a great contribution to those of us whose countries are not ravaged and devastated, because we have learned by your courage to have a certain new kind of courage of our own to give you the help and assistance, both moral and material, which it is our duty and our obligation to give.

We have come to certain conclusions as to the content of the next steps in social justice, and that I think is important, for we must as the years go on recognise that adherence to a doctrine, adherence to a proposition means nothing unless we take the steps that give it reality, that make it live, make it certain that Mary Jane and José and John may do this, away out in the country, in the big cities or in the slums where they live, have the results in their own living of these principles which we assert to-day.

We have learned, I think, and have expressed, too, the objectivity of the programme which we have undertaken to fulfil, and we have realised the importance and significance of this institution which we call the International Labour Organisation. Most of us have had a new conception of its value in the organisation of the world. Most of us have realised that it is a reality in the world of the future and what it is now as an instrument for the meeting of men's minds in the world of warfare.

Most of us have realised, I think, that if this Organisation had not existed, it would have been impossible for you and me and each of us — all people of good will, all people who in their own personal lives have worked for the betterment of society — it would have been impossible for us to meet and exchange and affirm these views and ideas, to agree with each other solemnly to do our best to give them reality.

We could not have met and done this had it not been that we had years ago created an institution to which we adhere. It is, I think, with feelings of real gratitude to the staff and secretariat of that institution that we close our Conference, for we realise, in part, the great trials and difficulties through which this staff and the secretariat have gone in recent months. It was only about a year ago that they arrived here by ship and by clipper and any way they could come, with suitcases and packing boxes, trying to live and work all these months under conditions in which they never were certain of where their papers were or where their references were, in which they were separated, in which the old associations had been broken. They came with a very much reduced group, just a skeleton working force, and this was a great hardship. Many of the members of the staff and secretariat have come through circumstances of personal trial and personal trouble, of sorrow about the people of their own country, of sorrow about personal problems, which they have bravely overcome in order to give their best work to the I.L.O. in this year of trial.

And so we shall be grateful to them for what they have given and for what they have brought through and for what they have made possible. I think I should not close what I have to say without expressing for the Conference our deep sense of gratitude not only to Mr. Phelan and all the other secretaries, but to the simple, hardest working people on the staff all the way down the line for what they have done to make all this possible.

I want to say that this Conference feels deeply grateful to the Dominion of Canada for having given refuge to this institution which we now know and feel to be so valuable, and that we are particularly grateful to McGill University (and the City of Montreal), which has put so many of its fine facilities at the disposal of this institution and Organisation. We hope that that University will find, in the growing understanding and implications of what social justice means in reality, we hope they will find the satisfaction and the reward for their generosity.

We have been discussing, of course, problems of social justice, how to secure social
THIRTEENTH SITTING

Justice, and freedom and personal liberty, and I think we have to warn ourselves about some of our undertakings. We have to realise that we cannot accomplish all of these things in one year, in one day. It takes a long time to move the habits of the people, and we must have courage. We must bring to play upon these problems all of our intelligence, and deal with them with a sense of moderation and a sense of flexibility. For the only thing that gives liberty to individuals, to human beings, is flexibility in the pattern of life which is set up for society. It must be a good pattern, good enough for all groups, but there must be flexibility within it, so that you and I and other peculiar individuals may find within that pattern some kind of personal choice, so that we may have something to say and a part to play in the development of our society.

This, of course, is what is the deep inner psychological meaning of the resolution that we adopted to-day known as Resolution K. It expresses the aspiration of the employer groups, those who carry on the great manufacturing enterprises of our countries, and the aspiration of the worker groups, those who with their hands produce the goods, to have some part to play as men in the activities and in the development of those institutions which are the pattern of order for our industrial and social life. This same moral desire to participate exists in each of us. It is inherent in mankind. So we must be willing and able to give humanness and flexibility to these programmes as time goes on.

What we have said about the I.L.O. we have said boldly, not timidly or modestly. We believe that the International Labour Organisation has a part to play in the future and that groups associated with it have a part to play in the future development, not so much of a world order, but in the conscious development of a set of agreements, patterns, and habits in the great economic and social enterprises and adjustments that are bound to be made necessary by the disorders and confusions of the post-war period.

Each of us must help the other to fulfill the unspoken promises. Each of us in planning must recognise for the life of our country, that in so far as we make a good society for ourselves, we are also helping other nations to make a good society for themselves. This is, I think, a part of our obligation which we have here undertaken for each other.

Now, I know that we shall leave each other to-morrow with many unexpressed and deeply rooted emotions, and we can, none of us, who live here in this safe and as yet comfortable and easy country, we can none of us say good-bye to those of you who go for a long distance and into unknown hazards and dangers, we can none of us say good-bye to you, without saying what is, I think, implicit in our whole friendship that has been developed here, God be with you and may we soon meet together again.

Mr. STANCZYK (Government delegate, Poland), Vice-President of the Conference — Before we bring our work to a close, I have the honour to express to our distinguished President, Miss Perkins, our deepest gratitude for the efficacious and noble manner in which she has guided the work of the Conference. Much has been done in this short time, and not only the members of the Conference, but all nations represented here, thank Miss Perkins for this wonderful achievement.

I desire particularly also to thank the Latin American countries for their spirit of friendly co-operation, and especially the workers from those countries for their support of their fellow workers who are actively resisting aggression.

Sir John Forbes Watson (Employers' delegate, British Empire), Vice-President of the Conference — It is with particular pleasure that I stand here, on behalf of the Employers' group of this Conference to express our sincere appreciation of the efficiency, the graciousness and, above all, the understanding spirit in which you have presided over our deliberations. We are living in great joy, but I am sure we will all take away with us some deep and some happy memories. This is no ordinary conference. I like to think that we have come here not merely as delegates and advisers but as pilgrims, not clothed in the garb of pilgrims but assuredly in the spirit of pilgrims, to worship at the shrine of the Statue of Liberty.

And now we are folding our tents and going our several ways. Some of us back to our bombed cities, to take our share with our fellows, with women and with little children, in defending the principles of liberty which allow us to be here this afternoon; back to share the horrors, the sacrifices, and the fortunes of a war that is being waged to protect liberty and being waged against the doctrine of brute force. I tell you that we go home gladly to take our place in the ranks. Some of you are going back to your homes which have not yet been touched by the foul finger of aggression; and there are some who cannot go home, the exiles, and I would like to say to them that they are in the minds and hearts of us all, and that it is that same spirit of bravery of these men and women which will ultimately bring liberation to us all.

And now, as we go our various ways, I am sure we will all feel strengthened, fortified, and inspired by our common communion here. We knew before we came here that there are millions of men and women in slavery whose eyes are turned towards us and the echo of whose prayers we could hear, but now we know something more. We know from this Conference that there are millions of men and women, free men and free women, who have had the courage to send you here as free representatives, and you have come wearing fearlessly the badge of liberty upon your brow. That fact will sustain us, and may I say there is something else that will also sustain us — it will certainly sustain me — that something else, Madam President, is your woman's faith in the justice of our cause, your woman's faith in the closing words of our Acting Director's speech, when he said that truth and liberty shall prevail.

I sometimes think that in these days of complex life it is by getting back to simple things and simple faiths that democracy shall find

1 See Third Part, Appendix I, p. 164.
its ultimate strength. For I am profoundly convinced that the things of the spirit transcend material things. And this much I can confidently state, that there never was a time in the history of this world when democracy owed so much to the brave hearts and brave faith of women. It is easy to be a brave man in the presence of a brave woman, and I am certain that when this victory is won — as it will be won — the history of my country will show that one of the brightest pages in our history has been the patience, the courage, the sacrifice, the endurance, and the faith of the women of my country.

It is therefore with particular pleasure and in that spirit that I transmit to you the tribute of my colleagues at this Conference.

And just one last word, to thank those members of the Office staff whose circumstances have permitted them to stand by it in its days of trial and to thank them for all the hard work they have done to make this Conference a success.

Interpretation: Mr. DOMENECH (Workers' delegate, Argentine Republic), Vice-President of the Conference — The agreements which this Conference has been able to arrive at are of fundamental importance for the workers of the whole world. I do not mean to make a long speech in summing up the results of this Conference, but I wish to call upon all who have been taking part in this Conference to see that these agreements, which are based on social justice, do not remain a dead letter.

The very fact of our having come together, as the President said, is the best proof that we are lovers of liberty, because this is a representative assembly of all free peoples and free citizens of the world who wish to live, in spite of all the difficulties, freely. This liberty, this method of exchanging opinions and arriving at agreement on a general basis is possible because we have this thing which we call the International Labour Organisation, which can only live in free countries and which does not fit, of course, in the totalitarian scheme of things.

I too wish to associate myself with the fine words of the President, to pay tribute to all the officials and the staff of the Office and Organisation, beginning with Mr. Phelan, Mr. Carter Goodrich, Chairman of the Governing Body, and all the officials and all the employees of the Office who, to the last one, have worked and are working unceasingly, so as to bring about a little more social justice in the world.

I wish also to express my thanks to the authorities of Columbia University for having received us here.

I want to point out that the workers have claimed and are still claiming that part of social justice which consists in equal treatment for men and for women, because there are no differences between the two. There is as much capacity and as much humanity in the one sex as in the other. The best proof of that is given to us by our President, who has proved her intelligence and has been doing so since President Roosevelt entrusted to her the Department of Labor, which she directs so well. In this world, therefore, women and men must be treated equally.

And now, all that remains for me to say is this: We have expressed our views. We must now set about turning them into facts.

I have noticed in my country and in this country among the representatives of all the countries who are represented here, a great confidence in victory, in the victory of public liberty throughout the world. I am glad to remark this and to say so here aloud. We are all certain of final victory, but I want to remind you all that to arrive at victory we need to be confident that the rear will not give way; because it is not so impossible that those of us who are in the rear may be one day in the front line.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL — It is the tradition of the International Labour Conferences that the Secretary-General attempts to sum up the achievements of each Session at the end. But before I attempt to do that — or rather, as I shall explain in a moment, to evade that responsibility for very good reasons — I would like to add my word of thanks and appreciation to you, Madame President, for the way in which you have presided over this Conference. We know what heavy calls that has made upon your time. We realise that as Secretary of Labor of this great country you bear some of the heaviest responsibilities laid upon the shoulders of any citizen of the United States, with the possible exception of the President, at this time. We know that, in addition to those responsibilities, you are presiding over certain committees connected with defence and production, and that in spite of those responsibilities you have given us your time, your intelligence, your tolerance, without stint and without hesitation.

I know that the whole Conference feels what the previous speakers have expressed, that our debt of gratitude to you cannot be put in too high terms. I would like to thank you, Madame President, as I would like to thank the three previous speakers, for what they have said about the staff of the Office, and in that connection. I would like to mention particularly Mr. Tixier, who took off my shoulders the responsibility for the work of the Collaboration Committee, which was a Committee of the whole house and in fact a second Conference. I would like also to mention Mr. Weaver, who has been responsible for all the material arrangements which have enabled this Conference to go about its work, utilising to the full such facilities as were available.

And I would like to tell you that I will convey your thanks specially to all the other members of the staff, interpreters and translators and those whom perhaps many of you have not seen, stenographers and typists and distribution clerks, and those who are responsible for the reproduction of the daily record, and in fact every member of the staff who has worked long hours, very often into early hours of the morning, in order that there should be no hitch in your proceedings.

And since I am talking of our material arrangements, I would like also to express on this occasion the thanks of the International Labour Office to the International Business Machines Corporation and especially to Mr. Watson, its President, for having placed at your disposal
the system of telephonic interpretation, which has been a great economy in time and has facilitated your mutual understanding.

And lastly, I would like to thank, and I think I may do so not only on behalf of the Office but on your behalf, the press and the press representatives who have given so much, so wide and so useful publicity to your discussions.

I will say only one or two words more. Mr. Goodrich, the Chairman of the Governing Body, told you at the very opening of your proceedings that this Conference had been called as an act of faith. It was called as an act of faith. It ends, I think I may say, in a blaze of achievement and of promise.

I will not attempt to summarise the resolutions you have taken, nor will I attempt to repeat the summary that I attempted to give you a couple of days ago of the real substance and value of your decisions. I believe, and I think you believe, that something has happened since Monday of last week. Before Monday of last week, the free peoples had expressed their views, expressed them separately, expressed them individually. By Wednesday of this week, they have expressed them collectively with a volume, with an authority, and with a determination which I believe mark a significant change in the moral aspect of the conflict with which the world is faced at this moment.

I would like to underline what you, Madam President, have so eloquently said. How could that expression have been reached; how could this collective view have been conveyed, not to Governments through diplomatic channels, but to organised public opinion in the free countries, in Africa, Asia, on this continent, and in London, which is more than a country because it is the seat of so many Governments at this moment; how could this collective opinion, this unambiguous view have been conveyed in that world-wide fashion except through the instrumentality of this Conference of the International Labour Organisation?

You have, as Members of this Organisation, as employers, as workers, and as Governments, an institution which in this Conference has proved its potentiality. It now lies with you to draw from it in the future all that it can give.

The PRESIDENT — At this time we do not close the Conference. That will be done tomorrow afternoon in Washington, and now we stand adjourned until 2.15 tomorrow in the White House at Washington.

(The Conference adjourned at 4.15 p.m.)
FOURTEENTH SITTING

The White House, Washington, D.C.
Thursday, 6 November 1941, 3 p.m.

President: Miss Perkins.

(Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, takes his place on the platform.)

ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

The President — Mr. President, the International Labour Conference has been meeting in New York City for ten days. Thirty-five nations have had representatives here, twenty-two of them with a full representation of Government, Employer, and Worker delegates. Twelve nations have sent their Ministers of Labour, three nations have sent other Ministers of their Cabinets, and the representation from the employer and worker groups has been equally responsible and representative. I am delighted now to have the opportunity to present to you, and you to them, the delegates to the International Labour Conference, the President of the United States.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT — Miss Perkins, Mr. Goodrich, Mr. Phelan, delegates and advisers to the Conference: Taking part in a Conference of the International Labour Organisation is not a new experience for me. It was exactly at this time of the year, in 1919, that the I.L.O. had its first Conference in Washington. Apparently someone had fallen down on the job of making the necessary physical arrangements for the Conference. Finally, someone picked on the then Assistant Secretary of the Navy to help. I had to find office space in the Navy Building, as well as supplies and typewriters, to get the machinery organised.

In those days the I.L.O. was still a dream. To many it was a wild dream. Who had ever heard of Governments getting together to raise the standards of labour on an international plane? Wilder still was the idea that the people themselves who were directly affected — the workers and the employers of the various countries — should have a hand with Government in determining these labour standards.

Now, twenty-two years have passed. The I.L.O. has been tried and tested. Through those extravagant years of the twenties it kept doggedly at its task of shortening the hours of labour, protecting women and children in agriculture and industry, making life more bearable for the merchant seamen, and keeping the factories and mines of the world more safe and fit places for human beings to work in.

Then through the long years of depression, it sought to bring about a measure of security to all workers by the establishment of unemployment insurance and old-age insurance systems; and again to set the wheels of industry in action through the establishment of international public works, rational policies of migration of workers, and the opening of the channels of world trade.

Now, for more than two years you have weathered the vicissitudes of a world at war. Though Hitler's juggernaut has crowded your permanent staff out of its home at Geneva, here in the New World, thanks in large part to the efforts of our friend, John Winant, you have been carrying on. And when this world struggle is over, you will be prepared to play your own part in formulating those social policies upon which the permanence of peace will so much depend.

To-day, you, the representatives of thirty-three nations, meet here in the White House for the final session of your Conference. It is appropriate that I recall to you, who are in a full sense a parliament for man's justice, some words written in this house by a President who gave his life in the cause of justice. Nearly eighty years ago, Abraham Lincoln said: "The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues, and kindreds."

The essence of our struggle to-day is that men shall be free. There can be no real freedom for the common man without enlightened social policies. In the last analysis, they are the stakes for which democracies are to-day fighting.

Your concern is the concern of all democratic peoples. To many of your Member States, adherence to the International Labour Organisation has meant great sacrifice. There is no greater evidence of the vitality of the I.L.O. than the loyal presence here to-day of the representatives of the nations which suffer under the lash of the dictator. I welcome those representatives especially.

I extend the hand of courage to the delegates of those labour organisations whose leaders are
to-day languishing in concentration camps for having dared to stand up for the ideals without which no civilisation can live. Through you, delegates from these despoiled lands, the United States sends your people this message: "You have not been forgotten; you will not be forgotten."

We in the United States have so far been called upon for extremely limited sacrifices, but even in this country we are beginning to feel the pinch of war. The names may be unfamiliar to you, but the workers of Manitowoc, Wisconsin, who used to make aluminium utensils, have had to sacrifice their jobs, that we may send planes to Britain and Russia and China. Rubber workers in a hundred scattered plants have had to sacrifice their opportunities for immediate employment in order that there may be ships to carry planes and tanks to Liverpool and Archangel and Rangoon. Tens of thousands of automobile workers will have to be shifted to other jobs in order that the copper which might have been used in automobiles may carry its deadly message from the mills of the Connecticut Valley to Hitler. But with all this, we have not yet made any substantial sacrifices in the United States.

We have not, like the heroic people of Britain, had to withstand a deluge of death from the skies. Nor can we even grasp the full extent of the sacrifices that the people of China are making in their struggle for freedom from aggression. We have in amazement witnessed the Russians oppose the Nazi war machine for four long months at the price of uncounted dead and a scorched earth.

Most heroic of all, however, has been the struggle of the common men and women of Europe, from Norway to Greece, against a brutal force which, however powerful, will be forever inadequate to crush the fight for freedom.

As far as we in the United States are concerned, that struggle shall not be in vain. The epic stand of Britain, of China, and of Russia, the day of real sacrifice, shall receive the full support of the free peoples of the Americas. The people of this country insist upon their right to join in the common defence.

To be sure, there are still some misguided among us — thank God they are but a few — both industrialists and leaders of labour, who place personal advantage above the welfare of their nation. There are still a few who place their little victories over one another above triumph over Hitler. There are still some who place the profits that they may make from the occupation of Russia above their obligation to the national defence. There are still some who deliberately delay defence output by using their "economic power" to force acceptance of their demands, rather than use the established machinery for the mediation of industrial disputes.

Yes, they are but few. They do not represent the great mass of American workers and employers. The American people have made an unlimited commitment that there shall be a free world. Against that commitment, no individual or group shall prevail.

The American workman does not have to be convinced that the defence of the democracies is his defence. Some of you, from the conquered countries of Europe and from China, have told this Conference with the eloquence of anguish how all that you have struggled for — the social progress that you and your fellow-men have achieved — is being obliterated by the barbarians.

I need not tell you that one of the first acts of the Fascist and Nazi dictators — at home and in conquered countries — was to abolish free trade unions and to take away from the common people the right of association. Labour alone did not suffer. Free associations of employers were also abolished. Collective bargaining has no place in their system; neither has collaboration of labour, industry, and Government.

Nor need I tell you that the Nazi Labour Front is not a labour union but an instrument to keep labour in a state of permanent subjection. Labour under the Nazi system has become the slave of the military State.

To replace Nazi workers shipped to the front and to meet the gigantic needs of her total war effort, Nazi Germany has imported about two million foreign civilian labourers. They have changed the occupied countries into great slave areas for the Nazi rulers. Berlin is the principal slave market of all the world.

The American workman has no illusions about the fate that awaits him and his free labour organisations if Hitler should win. He knows that his own liberty and the very safety of the people of the United States cannot be assured in a world which is three-fourths slave and one-fourth free. He knows that we must furnish arms to Britain, Russia, and China and that we must do it now — to-day.

Our place — the place of the whole Western Hemisphere — in the Nazi scheme for world domination has been marked on the Nazi timetable. The choice we have to make is this: shall we make our full sacrifices now, produce to the limit, deliver our products to-day and every day to the battle fronts of the entire free world? Or shall we re-establish, like Russia, the present rate of armament output, postponing the day of real sacrifice — as did the French — until it is too late?

The first is the choice of realism — realism in terms of three shifts a day; the fullest use of every vital machine every minute of every day and every night; realism in terms of staying on the job and getting things made, and entrusting industrial grievances to the established machinery of collective bargaining — the machinery set up by a free people.

The second choice is the approach of the blind and the deluded who think that perhaps we could do business with Hitler. For them there is still "plenty of time". To be sure, many of these misled individuals believe that if we should later find we can't do business with Hitler we will roll up our sleeves later — later — later. And their tombstones would bear the legend, "Too late".

In the process of our working and fighting for victory, however, we must never permit ourselves to forget the goal which is beyond victory. The defeat of Hitlerism is necessary so that there may be freedom; but this war, like the last war, will produce nothing but destruction unless we prepare for the future now. We plan now for the better world we aim to build.
If that world is to be a place in which peace is to prevail, there must be a more abundant life for the masses of the people of all countries. In the words of the Atlantic Charter, we “desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security.”

There are so many millions of people in this world who have never been adequately fed and clothed and housed. By undertaking to provide a decent standard of living for these millions, the free peoples of the world can furnish employment to every man and woman who seeks a job.

We are already engaged in surveying the immediate post-war requirements of a world whose economies have been disrupted by war. We are planning not to provide temporary remedies for the ills of a stricken world; we are planning to achieve permanent cures—to help establish a sounder life.

To attain these goals will be no easy task. Yes, their fulfilment will require “the fullest co-operation between all nations in the economic field”. We have learned too well that social problems and economic problems are not separate watertight compartments in the international any more than in the national sphere. In international, as in national affairs, economic policy can no longer be an end in itself. It is merely a means for achieving social objectives.

There must be no place in the post-war world for special privileges for either individuals or nations. Again in the words of the Atlantic Charter: “All States, great or small, victor or vanquished,” must have “access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.”

In the planning of such international action, the International Labour Organisation, with its representation of labour and management, will have an essential part to play. Its technical knowledge and experience, its membership of all parts of the world, and its representation of labour and management, will be an invaluable instrument for peace. Your organisation will have an essential part to play in building up a stable international system of social justice for all peoples everywhere. As part of you, the people of the United States are determined to respond fully to the opportunity and the challenge of this historic responsibility, so well exemplified at this historic meeting in this historic home of an ancient democracy.

The PRESIDENT—In order that you may see with your own eyes the tripartite character of this Conference, the three Vice-Presidents wish to thank you for your statement to them. I will first introduce Mr. Jan Stanczyk, Minister of Labour of Poland, but to-day speaking on behalf of all Government delegates.

Mr. STANCZYK (Government delegate, Poland), Vice-President of the Conference, speaks in Polish.

Interpretation—I am deeply gratified at having the honour to thank you on behalf of the International Labour Conference for the hospitality we have enjoyed in your beautiful and free country.

We, representing nations subjected at this moment to unequalled oppression and suffering, better than others are cognisant of the blessings of liberty.

May I be permitted to express the cordial and warm feelings towards you, Mr. President, of all free nations and those fighting for liberty, in appreciation of your lifelong endeavour for the betterment of the lives of the working people and for national and individual freedom.

You not only head a great nation but also, guided by an enlightened vision of the future, you steer a course towards happier times, when work will be denied to no one and a just participation in its fruits will be a common heritage of all.

The PRESIDENT—Sir John Forbes Watson, Mr. President, who represents the British employers, but who speaks to-day as the Vice-President for all employers in the Conference.

Sir John FORBES WATSON (Employers’ delegate, British Empire), Vice-President of the Conference—Mr. President, it is my privilege on behalf of the Employers’ group of this Conference to unite with the Government and Workers’ groups in expressing to you our deep gratitude for your presence with us here to-day. For twenty-two years the Employers’ group has co-operated with this Organisation, which is the international emblem of democracy. We have not always agreed with the Workers’ group, nor with the Government group, but we have always realised and recognised that there is more that unites these three groups than drives them apart. To-day, when the very foundations of liberty are challenged, the three groups stand shoulder to shoulder to defend the rights of free men to associate and speak freely with each other.

Mr. President, in the past your words and your voice across the air have sustained us in dark days. We have now met in this great free country, pilgrims to the Statue of Liberty, and now we greet several ways inspired by your message. Sir, feeling your guiding hand upon our shoulder and confident that decency, honour, and self-respect shall not perish from this earth.

The PRESIDENT—Mr. José Domenech, Workers’ delegate from Argentina, but to-day speaking to you on behalf of all the workers in this Conference.

Interpretation: Mr. DOMENECH (Workers’ delegate, Argentine Republic), Vice-President of the Conference—At this moment, when the Conference of the International Labour Organisation—that tripartite institution which is the hope of all the workers of the world who love freedom and democracy—is coming to a close, we wish to express to you, Mr. President, our earnest wish that your Government will enter into commercial treaties with the other Governments of the Continent, in order
to prevent the paralysis of industry and unemploy-
ment, and revive the economy of the differ-
ent nations, thus acting as a stimulus to the
convictions upheld by the workers in the fight
for the triumph of freedom and democracy.

The PRESIDENT — I declare this Con-
ference of the International Labour Organ-
isation closed.

(The Conference closed at 3.45 p.m.)
THIRD PART
APPENDICES
APPENDIX I

Resolutions Adopted by the Conference

References to the discussion in the Conference are given in parenthesis after the title of each resolution.

(1) Resolution on post-war emergency and reconstruction measures.
(See pp. 135-139, Resolution C.)

Whereas the victory of the free peoples in the war against totalitarian aggression is an indispensable condition of the attainment of the ideals of the International Labour Organisation; and

Whereas the close of the war must be followed by immediate action, previously planned and arranged, for the feeding of peoples in need, for the reconstruction of the devastated countries, for the provision and transportation of raw materials and capital equipment necessary for the restoration of economic activity, for the reopening of trade outlets, for the resettlement of workers and their families under circumstances in which they can work in freedom and security and hope, for the changing over of industry to the needs of peace, for the maintenance of employment, and for the raising of standards of living throughout the world; and

Whereas the accomplishment of these purposes will require the "fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field"; and

Whereas such collaboration will set tasks of organisation and administration calling for the highest ability and for the most sympathetic understanding of the needs of peoples; and

Whereas the International Labour Organisation, which possesses the confidence of the free peoples and includes in its structure the representatives of workers and employers, is for these reasons peculiarly fitted to take part in this work in such a way as to minimise misunderstanding and unrest and to promote a stable and enduring peace:

The Conference of the International Labour Organisation

Requests the Governing Body:

(a) to transmit this resolution forthwith to the Governments of all Member States, to call their attention to the desirability of associating the International Labour Organisation with the planning and application of measures of reconstruction, and to ask that the International Labour Organisation be represented in any Peace or Reconstruction Conference following the war;

(b) to suggest to the Governments of the Member States that they should, if they have not already done so, set up representative agencies for the study of the social and economic needs of the post-war world and that such agencies should consult with the appropriate organs of the International Labour Organisation;

(c) to set up from its own membership a small tripartite committee, instructed to study and prepare (i) measures of reconstruction, and (ii) measures to deal with unemployment, which should be empowered to enlist the assistance of technically qualified experts and authorised to co-operate with governmental, intergovernmental and private agencies engaged in similar studies and with those agencies whose present activities in the social and economic field affect the conditions under which post-war programmes will be carried out;

(d) to make full use of such existing organs of the International Labour Organisation as the International Public Works Committee, the Permanent Agricultural Committee, the Permanent Committee on Migration for Settlement, and the Joint Maritime Commission, and from time to time to make such modifications in the composition of these agencies, and to set up such new agencies, as may be needed to meet the responsibilities implied in this resolution;

(e) to direct the programme of work of the International Labour Office to fulfil the purposes of this resolution; and

(f) to report on the subject matter of this resolution to the next and subsequent meetings of the International Labour Conference so that the International Labour Organisation shall be in a position to give authoritative expression to the social objectives confided to it, in the rebuilding of a peaceful world upon the basis of "improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security".

(2) Resolution endorsing the Atlantic Charter.
(See pp. 142-143, Resolution F.)

Whereas the Atlantic Charter the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom have
announced eight common principles in the national policies of their respective Governments on which they base their hopes for the better future of the world; and

Whereas these principles have been approved by all the Allied Governments; and

Whereas the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth of these principles are as follows:

Fourth, they will endeavour, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.

Fifth, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security.

Sixth, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a 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.

and

Whereas the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation proclaims that a lasting peace "can be established only if it is based on social justice":

The Conference of the International Labour Organisation endorses the aforementioned principles of the Atlantic Charter, requests that the fullest use be made of the machinery and experience of the International Labour Organisation in giving effect to these principles, and pledges the full co-operation of the International Labour Organisation in their implementation.

(3) Resolution on the war and peace.

(See p. 144, Resolution H.)

The Conference of the International Labour Organisation, meeting in New York from 27 October to 5 November and attended by delegates from forty nations,

Having received the reports of the representatives from the countries occupied by the Axis armies,

Notes that in all the countries occupied by these armies freedom of association has been suppressed, as well as all other democratic rights and liberties;

Expresses its deepest sympathy with the millions of human beings in China, Great Britain, Russia and on the continent of Europe on whom the Axis war machine has inflicted indescribable sufferings and who are living at the present time in the most acute moral and material distress.

The Conference solemnly declares that it is only the victory of free nations the world over, who are fighting for democracy and for the maintenance of the inalienable rights of man, which can save the world from hopeless chaos.

The Conference expresses its warmest admiration and profound gratitude to the brave peoples who are fighting against the most savage barbarians that history has ever known, and thus saving mankind from complete defeat; by their heroic resistance these free men and women have not only saved the world from defeat but have also laid the foundations for the victory of democracy which can alone guarantee social progress and freedom.

The Conference urges all free peoples to contribute to the uttermost limit of their power for the victory of China, Great Britain, Russia and their Allies by supplying all the arms which their industry can produce.

The Conference insists that, after having made sure of victory, the most important task for the democracies will be to establish the principles of economic co-operation which should be laid down between all the nations of the world; it is important that a start should be made immediately with the study of the economic conditions which will make social progress possible, so that, when victory has been won, the free nations will be ready to face the great task of reconstruction in order that the blessings of peace on earth and goodwill among men may become real and universal.

(4) Resolution on the war and trade between American countries.

(See pp. 144-149, Resolution 1.)

Whereas restrictions imposed upon export trade between certain American countries unquestionably represent a danger for industry and trade, which run the risk of being paralysed with the consequence of causing inevitable unemployment among large numbers of workers, creating thereby a serious internal situation in the countries concerned;

Whereas all American countries wish to export the maximum possible of their products and this would represent a more practical and effective collaboration in the present difficult period:

The Conference requests the Governing Body to take appropriate steps, and to consider the appointment of a committee for the purpose of encouraging the exchange of goods between the countries indicated above.

(5) Resolution on collaboration between Governments, workers and employers in the planning and application of public policies.

(See pp. 144-149, Resolution K.)

Whereas workers and employers of any country are so vital to the production and general mobilisation and defence effort of any nation; and

Whereas wisdom and justice both dictate that the workers and employers of each country should by virtue of their importance to these efforts be accorded a voice in the determination of their economic and social interests:

The Conference recommends that in agencies set up by public authority which include among their functions the planning and application of public policies which directly or indirectly affect the interest of workers and employers, the policy-making and administrative agencies should include representatives and responsible spokesmen of workers and employers acting jointly with their Governments.

(6) Resolution on living wages and on agrarian reform.

(See pp. 144-149, Resolution J.)

Whereas physiological data prove that there is inadequate nutrition of workers in various
countries which are Members of the International Labour Organisation:
The Conference emphasises the necessity for the promulgation of laws where necessary fixing minimum rates of wages in order to ensure to the workers the means of satisfying the essential requirements of human beings who undertake their work in the conditions and with the exigencies of our present civilisation:
Considers also that it is indispensable for countries which have extensive territory in relation to the number of their inhabitants to undertake agrarian reforms which will permit of a rational mobilisation of their agricultural and pastoral riches and the proper satisfaction of aspirations of greater social justice for the workers.

(7) Resolution on the Establishment of a World Textile Office.
(See pp. 124-125, Resolution A.)
The Conference of Representatives of Members of the International Labour Organisation
(1) Requests the Director of the International Labour Office to begin immediately the preparation of a definite scheme for the establishment under the aegis of the International Labour Organisation of a World Textile Office, based on the tripartite principle, to be responsible for the international organisation of economic and social measures to secure prosperity and social justice in the textile industry;
(2) Authorises the Director of the International Labour Office to initiate consultations with all parties concerned to the fullest extent which circumstances permit with a view to such a scheme being put into effect with a minimum of delay after the termination of hostilities.

(8) Resolution on planning for the regulation of economic and social conditions in the mercantile marine.
(See pp. 139-141, Resolution D.)
Whereas seafarers have made many sacrifices and shown great devotion to duty; and
Whereas the international character of shipping will become even more pronounced after the war than before; and
Whereas a speedy and satisfactory regulation of the economic and social position of seamen is therefore imperative for the future development of the shipping industry:
The Conference of the International Labour Organisation authorises the Director of the International Labour Office
(a) to consult all interested organisations, institutions and individuals in order that at the end of the war plans will be available for the immediate regulation of economic and social conditions in the mercantile marine; and
(b) to consult the Joint Maritime Commission regarding the desirability of the inclusion therein of Government representatives.

(9) Resolution on collaboration with the River Plate Regional Office of Economic Information and Studies.
(See pp. 143-144, Resolution G.)
Whereas the Convention establishing the Regional Office of Economic Information and Studies, set up by the Regional Conference of River Plate Countries in January 1941, provides that that Office should co-ordinate its researches with those undertaken by the International Labour Office, and such work could be most useful for securing improvement in the economic and social conditions of the American States:
The Conference requests the Governing Body to instruct the International Labour Office to give its support to the Regional Office of Economic Information and Studies and to collaborate in its work.

(10) Resolution on the place of meeting of the next session of the International Labour Conference.
(See p. 142, Resolution E.)
The Conference of the International Labour Organisation places it on record for the information of the Governing Body that the members of the present Conference advise that the next session of the International Labour Conference may be held outside of Geneva if circumstances should so require.

(11) Resolution thanking Mr. Winant for his services as Director of the International Labour Office.
(See p. 135, Resolution B.)
Whereas, whilst it is impossible under present circumstances to assess the importance for the future of humanity of the work of the Directorate of the International Labour Organisation in difficulties as serious as those which the Organisation has overcome since June 1940, the States Members owe a special debt of gratitude for the fact that the life and spirit and the freedom of action of the Organisation itself have been preserved, so that the most appropriate instrument for achieving social justice has been safeguarded;
Whereas in carrying out this task the heaviest responsibility has fallen on, and the greatest success has been achieved by, the last Director, Mr. John G. Winant, to whom this Conference, possible thanks to his efforts, owes an explicit declaration of gratitude; and
Whereas the present personal task of Mr. Winant, in representing in two great democracies the Roosevelt-Churchill doctrine of the freedom of the world, known as the "Atlantic Charter", implies a collaboration in the work of this Conference as important as if he were present in person:
The Conference of the International Labour Organisation declares its gratitude to Mr. Winant, former Director of the International Labour Office, for his success in preserving the life, spirit and freedom of action of the Organisation, and expresses to him its warmest and most hearty sympathy in his present duties.
APPENDIX I

Resolutions adopted by the Conference on the Report of the Committee on collaboration.
(See pp. 132-135 and p. 170.)

I

The Conference

(1) Recognises the universal and permanent importance for all nations of effective collaboration between the public authorities and workers' organisations and employers' organisations, which occupy a place of increasing prominence in economic and social development;

(2) Underlines the special importance of such collaboration

(a) during the present war, because the success of the military operations largely depends on the result of the battle of production which will be won by the democracies only by the complete collaboration between the workers and the employers in the work of national defence;

(b) after victory, for the transition from war economy to peace economy and for the economic and social reconstruction of the world, which will be of interest to all countries, belligerent and neutral, and which will call for a gigantic and co-ordinated effort on the part of the public authorities, workers and employers;

(3) Declares that real collaboration is possible only within the framework of democratic political institutions which guarantee the freedom of association of workers and employers;

(4) Affirms that the application of the principle of collaboration requires that in law and in fact

(a) the right of industrial organisations to represent workers and employers should be recognised by the State;

(b) the workers' and employers' organisations should recognise each other's right to represent workers and employers respectively;

(5) Recognises that methods of collaboration vary with place, social pattern, prior experience, temperament and custom, from country to country and within the experience of a single nation, as is illustrated by the variety and adaptability of practices in countries dealing with similar situations which have been reported in the discussions of the Conference, and that positive results can best be assured by development along the lines of national experience, always provided that collaboration is based on the principles enunciated above and subject to the fundamental necessity for full participation of employers' and workers' organisations through representatives of their own designation being fully assured.

II

Whereas it is the desire of this Conference to secure that the International Labour Organisation render the greatest possible service in extending the practice of collaboration, both in emergency organisation and in the field of permanent industrial and economic organisation:

The Conference

(1) Requests the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to take steps to ensure the fullest use of the resources of the Organisation for

(a) the exchange between Governments and organisations of workers and employers of information concerning both wartime and permanent machinery of collaboration so as to facilitate its widest developments, and

(b) aiding interested countries to make use in their machinery for emergency industrial and economic organisation of the most suitable methods of collaboration in the field under consideration;

(2) Urges the Governments to provide the Office not only with a record of structural developments, but with adequate information on the operation of the machinery of collaboration, both where it is successful and where it falls short of achieving its purpose, so as to permit comparative analysis.

III

Whereas the question of methods of collaboration between the public authorities, workers' organisations and employers' organisations is very complex and it has been impossible on the present occasion, owing to shortness of time, to proceed to a detailed discussion of its many aspects:

The Conference requests the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to place the question on the agenda of the next Conference.

* * *

Annex

The following are the texts of the various resolutions submitted to the Conference which formed the basis of the resolution on post-war emergency and reconstruction measures (Resolution No. 1 above) adopted by the Conference.

Resolution submitted by Mr. Moore, Workers' Delegate, Canada.

Whereas workers employed in war industries are making a vital contribution to the defence of democracy, and
RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE CONFERENCE

Whereas if appropriate plans are not made in advance these workers will, on the restoration of peace, be plunged into unemployment and all its attendant misery through the wholesale dismissals from war plants.

Whereas to avoid this it will be essential to find alternative employment immediately on the termination of hostilities for such workers as well as for the members of the fighting forces, and labour legislation and social insurance is impossible without international co-ordination and stabilisation of economic life. Technical progress, mechanisation of production and rationalisation deprives millions of workers and white-collar employees of their employment. This results in diminished consumption, increased unemployment and in idleness of modernised plants and workshops.

As a consequence the absurd situation arises that at a time when production of goods is made possible in quantities that would provide a decent standard of living for all, the lack of international co-ordination of output and employment on one hand with consumption on the other leads to general misery and economic chaos.

If it is our purpose to secure for the people employment and well-being, we must first prepare a plan of international economic co-operation which would exclude savage competitive struggle for markets leading the national economies to disintegration and the people to misery.

The economic plan must consider as a whole the problems of production and of distribution of raw materials and of markets among nations as well as between economic systems. It has to guarantee to the people permanent employment and earnings that will secure to them a decent standard of living. In a planned economy the problem of unemployment cannot be treated in isolation from that of production and international financing of economic reconstruction.

To keep in step with the technical progress which enables us to produce increasing quantities of goods with the aid of machinery, it is necessary to shorten the working hours of labourers and of white-collar employees through the following methods:

1. A shorter working day.
2. Paid vacations.
3. A longer period of vocational training.
4. A lowering of the age limit for pension eligibility.

Wages as well as pensions must be established at a level enabling the employed and the receivers of pensions to constitute adequate consumers of the industrial production.

Therefore, the Conference resolves:

That in order to co-ordinate production, employment and consumption; in order to secure rational allocation of raw materials to all countries and rational distribution of markets; in order to organise the financing of reconstruction and expansion of production in the countries which are devastated by the war or economically undeveloped, there should be created at the International Labour Office a committee composed of representatives of governments, employers and workers which will deal immediately with these problems.

After the termination of the war, the International Labour Office should become an institution for the practical realisation of the economic plans of co-ordination of production, employment, consumption, distribution of raw materials, international exchange of goods, protection of labour, and social legislation.

The nations, and particularly their working people, having experienced utmost suffering at the hands of Nazi and Fascist tyranny, devote themselves with great sacrifice to industry, agriculture, commerce and maritime transport in order to win the struggle. They do so in order that, after the victory is won, out of the economic chaos, unemployment and misery, which were their lot before the war, there shall be restored a different economy. The future world order must secure to all people the right to work and to a decent standard of living founded upon national and individual freedom.

Resolution submitted by Mr. Jan Stanczyk, Government Delegate, Poland.

The experience of the period preceding the war shows that social progress in the form of labour legislation and social insurance is impossible without international co-ordination and stabilisation of economic life. Technical progress, mechanisation of production and rationalisation deprive millions of workers and white-collar employees of their employment. This results in diminished consumption, increased unemployment and in idleness of modernised plants and workshops.

As a consequence the absurd situation arises that at a time when production of goods is made possible in quantities that would provide a decent standard of living for all, the lack of international co-ordination of output and employment on one hand with consumption on the other leads to general misery and economic chaos.

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Resolution submitted by Dr. J. van den Tempel, Government Delegate, The Netherlands and Mr. Paul van Zeeland, Government Delegate, Belgium.

Whereas by reason of the demobilisation of the armed forces, the closing down of war industries, the increased employment of women during the war, the disruption of normal economic life, and the decreased buying power of many nations which have played an important part in international trade relations, there might during the period following the war be an unemployment crisis of the gravest character, to counter which it is necessary to take timely measures for the maintenance of employment by promoting economic recovery and securing the resumption of international trade,

Whereas one of the leading aims of the democratic nations is to achieve “the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security”; the Conference of the International Labour Organisation requests the Director of the International Labour Office to take, in consultation with the Members of the Organisation, steps to have established a special commission for the purpose of:

(a) investigating the probable nature and dimensions of the unemployment which might be anticipated on the cessation of hostilities and the determining factors in the situation;
(b) making a comprehensive study of the national and international measures which should be taken as a matter of urgency in order to ensure the maintenance of employment by the resumption of peace-time industrial activity;
(c) considering the emergency measures necessary to secure adequate provision for the unemployed;
(d) submitting to the Members of the Organisation and to the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, on the basis of its investigations and studies, proposals for timely action, especially as regards measures of an international character.

Resolution submitted by Mr. Jan Masařík and Mr. Jaromír Nečas, Government Delegates, Mr. Richard Moravec, Employers’ Delegate, and Mr. Joseph Kosina, Workers’ Delegate, Czechoslovakia.

It follows from the Director’s Report and from the statements made by all the delegates who have addressed the Conference that reconstruction is considered to be the most important post-war problem.
Several commissions have been proposed for different reconstruction purposes (for example, commissions on public works, on remedies for unemployment, on immigration, on transport, etc.). It would be useful to have all the questions dealt with together by one co-ordinating reconstruction commission. The Czechoslovak Delegation has the honour to propose the setting up of such a commission.

Resolution submitted by Mr. Paul van Zeeland, Government Delegate, Belgium, and Mr. J. van den Tempel, Government Delegate, Netherlands.

Whereas in order "to afford the assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want" it is essential that public policy should be directed specifically to the maintenance of the highest possible level of employment; and

Whereas under modern conditions the maintenance of employment and the assurance of "a constantly increasing and widening standard of living" can be achieved only by "the fullest collaboration between nations in the economic field with the object of securing efficient and improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security"; and

Whereas there are regions where employment opportunities could be greatly expanded by the development of natural resources if the necessary capital could be provided through organised international co-operation; and

Whereas in many regions economic progress could be stimulated by the resumption of migratory movements on the basis of adequate organisation and financial provision; and

Whereas successive decisions of the International Labour Conference, and notably the resolutions on economic policy adopted by the Conference in 1932, 1933, 1934 and 1936, and the Public Works Recommendations, 1937, have consistently adumbrated energetic national and international action to improve economic equipment and maintain effective demand for the products which modern technique can make available in unprecedented abundance; and

Whereas by a Statute approved by the Governing Body on 4 February 1938 the International Labour Organisation established the International Public Works Committee, the immediate agenda of which at the outbreak of war consisted of the consideration of the measures which the International Labour Organisation might contemplate in the event of a decrease in the manufacture of armaments making necessary a re-adaptation of employment, particularly by means of public works; and

Whereas the Governing Body of the International Labour Office established on 5 February 1940 a Permanent Committee on Migration for Settlement which in the view of the Second Labour Conference of American States "has a constructive part to play in the methodical and rational re-suscitation of migratory movements after the war" and included in the agenda of the said Committee the question of methods of international financing of projects for settlement; and

Whereas the dislocation of economic life during the war, the destruction of economic equipment and the uprooting of populations have made both these problems more acute and urgent; and

Whereas the measures to be taken to solve these problems may in various respects coincide or be complementary to each other;

The Conference requests the Director of the International Labour Office to convene at the earliest opportunity the International Public Works Committee and the Permanent Committee on Migration for Settlement in order to consider the measures of international collaboration necessary in their respective spheres in order to contribute, within the general framework of plans for post-war reconstruction, to the maintenance of a high level of employment and a rising standard of living for all.

Resolution submitted by the Government, Employers' and Workers' Delegates of the United States of America.

Whereas (1) The victory of the free peoples in the war against aggression is an indispensable condition of the attainment of the ideals of the International Labour Organisation;

(2) The close of the war must be followed by immediate action, previously planned and arranged, for the feeding of peoples in need, for the provision and transportation of raw materials and capital equipment necessary for the restoration of economic activity, for the reopening of trade outlets, for the resettlement of workers and their families under circumstances in which they can work in freedom and security and hope, for the changing over of industry to the needs of peace, for the maintenance of employment, and for the raising of standards of living throughout the world;

(3) The accomplishment of these purposes will require the "fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field;"

(4) Such collaboration will set tasks of organisation and administration calling for the highest ability and for the most sympathetic understanding of the representatives of workers and employers, is for these reasons peculiarly fitted to take part in this work in such a way as to minimise misunderstanding and unrest and to promote a stable and enduring peace;

The Conference requests the Governing Body:

(a) To transmit this resolution forthwith to the governments of all Member States and to call to their attention the desirability of associating the International Labour Organisation with the planning and the administration of measures of reconstruction.

(b) To set up from its own membership a small tripartite committee instructed to study and prepare measures of reconstruction. This committee should be empowered to enlist the assistance of affiliated organisations and to be authorised to co-operate with governmental, intergovernmental and private agencies engaged in similar studies and with those agencies whose present activities in the social and economic field affect the conditions under which post-war programmes will be carried out.

(c) To make full use of such existing organs of the I.L.O. as the International Public Works Committee, the Permanent Agricultural Committee, the Permanent Committee on Migration for Settlement, and the Joint Maritime Commission, and from time to time to make such modifications in the composition of these agencies, and to set up such new agencies, as may be needed to meet the responsibilities implied in this resolution.

(d) To direct the programme of work of the International Labour Office to fulfil the purposes of this resolution.

(e) To report on the subject matter of this resolution to the next and subsequent meetings of the International Labour Conference, so that the International Labour Organisation shall be in a position to give authoritative expression to the social objectives confided to it, in the rebuilding of a peaceful world upon the basis of "improved labour standards, economic adjustments and social security".
Resolution submitted by Dr. P. Santos Muñoz, Government Delegate, Dr. A. Shaw, Government Delegate, Mr. Raúl Lamuraglia, Employers' Delegate, Mr. José Domenech, Workers' Delegate, Argentina; Dr. Amadeo Almada, Government Delegate, Mr. Luis Giorgi, Government Delegate, Mr. A. Díaz Aznarez, Employers' Delegate, and Mr. Enrique Rodríguez, Workers' Delegate, Uruguay.

Whereas economic and social problems will predominate at the peace conference—which it is hoped will take place in the near future, so that the world may be spared from still greater suffering— and that if these problems are not placed in the forefront of that conference, neither military nor political peace can lead to social peace whether in particular countries or throughout the world;

The Conference

Recommends that the International Labour Conference should be invited to sit at the same time as the peace conference, with a view to submit proposals to ensure by future meetings that the problems of labour based upon a stable organisation of the world in the future shall receive the consideration to which they are entitled.
APPENDIX II

Report of the Committee on Collaboration

As a result of a proposal submitted by the Selection Committee, the Conference decided to go into Committee to consider the question of "Methods of Collaboration between the Public Authorities, Workers' Organisations and Employers' Organisations."

In order to permit members of the Committee to exchange information on the experience gained in their respective countries in the use of various methods of collaboration, the Committee decided to begin with a general discussion. In the course of the discussion, it was decided to appoint a Sub-Committee composed of five Government, five employers' and five workers' members "to prepare a draft report and/or resolutions on the question of methods of collaboration between public authorities and organisations of employers and workers".

The Officers of the Committee were Mr. Ralph Assheton (British Government Delegate), Chairman, Mr. W. C. Coulter (Canadian Employers' Delegate) and Mr. Jef Rens (Belgian Workers' Delegate), Vice-Chairmen.

The Sub-Committee was composed of:

**Government Members**
- Argentine Republic
- Belgium
- China
- New Zealand
- United States of America

**Substitutes**
- Mexico
- Canada
- India
- Norway
- Union of South Africa

**Employers' Members**
- Mr. Coulter (Canada)
- Mr. Harriman (U.S.A.)
- Mr. Lamuraglia (Argentina)
- Mr. Morawetz (Czechoslovakia)
- Sir John Forbes Watson (British Empire)

**Substitutes**
- Mr. Aldunate Phillips (Chile)
- Mr. Brito (Cuba)
- Mr. Turton (Brazil)
- Mr. Valstar (Netherlands)

**Workers' Members**
- Mr. d'Aoust (Canada)
- Mr. Grillo (U.S.A.)
- Mr. Hurtado (Mexico)
- Mr. Rens (Belgium)
- Mr. Thomson (British Empire)

**Substitutes**
- Mr. Barra Villalobos (Chile)
- Mr. Becu (Belgium)
- Mr. Hindromartono (Netherlands)
- Mr. Kosina (Czechoslovakia)
- Mr. Perez Leiros (Argentina)

I. GENERAL DISCUSSION

The Assistant Secretary-General opened the general discussion by recalling the reasons for placing the question on the agenda and emphasising its importance in time of war and during the post-war period. The efficient organisation of production, which could only be ensured by full tripartite collaboration, was a matter of great urgency in time of war and was no less necessary for the task of reconstruction following the victory.

The fundamental necessity of securing collaboration in all countries, whether belligerent or neutral, was first raised by a number of speakers. It was pointed out that if such collaboration is not firmly established during normal times, it cannot develop sufficiently to meet the needs of the emergency.

The second point brought out by the great majority of the speakers was the significance of established tradition and practice of voluntary collaboration as the basis for collaboration during the emergency.

The British Workers' member particularly emphasised that the stability of the British trade union movement had made possible the development of collective bargaining between employers and workers, while collaboration with the public authorities had become an established practice even before the war.

The British Employers' member agreed fully with this point of view and added that collaboration itself is based upon the existence of strong industrial organisations of employers and workers. He recalled that the employers' organisations in Great Britain have the same status as trade unions and have developed in a parallel manner.
Because of the unity in organisation of both the workers and the employers, the two sides had been able to arrive at a mutual appreciation of their different points of view, so that when the war came it was possible for them to agree voluntarily to put aside industrial disputes for the duration and settle by arbitration all differences not otherwise settled. This agreement was reached voluntarily without Government intervention.

This same spirit of mutual understanding is at the basis of the methods of collaboration that have been initiated in individual industries, particular mention having been made of the engineering trades and the iron and steel industry as essential war industries.

The British Government member described the aims of the Government in collaborating with the employers' and workers' organisations, namely: to give the workers the protection of collective strength; to regulate conditions of work in a constructive and fair manner; to enable the Government to have the continuous benefit of up-to-date knowledge of the experience of the employers and workers; to promote the establishment of self-government in an increasingly widening circle, so that people might be educated to take part in the government of their country, relieving the public authorities of some of their responsibilities.

In the opinion of the British Government member the ultimate aim of collaboration is to maintain the freedom of the individual by collective action.

All the British members expressed the conviction that collaboration between Governments, employers and workers will be continued in the same spirit in the rebuilding of the post-war world.

The two workers' members and the Government delegate from the U.S.A. stressed the necessity of organising collaboration on an essentially voluntary basis. They called attention to the example of collaboration in recent legislation, such as for example, the National Industrial Recovery Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act and the Social Security Act.

Since the outbreak of war, collaboration has been extended into wider fields. Thus for example the O.P.M. does not take decisions concerning workers without first consulting the Labor Policy Advisory Committee. Similarly the National Defense Mediation Board is an example of tripartite collaboration, providing that every case dealt with by the Board should be presented before a panel of one or more employers and one or more representatives of the workers concerned, as well as representatives of the public.

As in the case of the British members, the United States members affirmed their conviction that the spirit in which collaboration is practised is of greater importance than the formal character of the tripartite machinery.

The American workers' delegate, however, noted that real collaboration is dependent on the acceptance of responsibility on all sides and responsibility is only possible with direct participation, where organised labour itself designates those who are to act as its representatives.

Two New Zealand Government members, in describing the situation in their country, pointed to the part played by the State in tripartite collaboration. When the State determines working conditions its intervention should not be considered as interference by an outside authority. A democratic State is a people's organisation and there was no more suitable agency for dealing with problems, whether in industry or in any other sphere in which the varying interests had to be satisfied with due regard for their different claims. They called attention to the way in which collective labour disputes are solved by voluntary conciliation or compulsory arbitration and indicated that this method had in the main stood the test of more than half a century. The question was not whether the State should intervene, but the spirit in which and the purpose for which such intervention should be made.

The problem of securing tripartite collaboration in countries in which employers' and workers' organisations were at a comparatively early stage of development was raised by the Government member from India, who emphasised the necessity of gradual application of the accepted principles. The Mexican employers' member pointed to the differences in the application of methods of collaboration among countries not directly concerned with the war. The Chilean workers' member, however, stressed the effect of the war on the preservation of democratic policy everywhere, the development of which could only be achieved through the victory of the democracies. The Peruvian Government member recalled that the suggestions made by the Office concerning methods of collaboration were the results of international analysis of the problem and should be taken as the basis for discussion.

The Argentine Government member emphasised the necessity of ensuring that collaboration be applied not only as between employers and workers but also as between consumers and producers, with a view to improving relations between nations, particularly to bring about a better distribution of those goods which are indispensable for human needs.

The Belgian workers' member, in underlining the significance attached to the whole question of collaboration by the workers of his country, recalled that the subject was before the Conference largely as a result of a proposal made by the Belgian workers' member of the Governing Body, Mr. Corneille Mertens. He stressed the importance of collaboration in achieving social progress, which should be the accepted goal of economic activity. To this end he proposed that suitable economic machinery be devised, on an international basis, and that the Governments should either set up an international economic organisation analogous to the International Labour Organisation which had been established to deal with social questions, or make the International Labour Organisation responsible for economic questions. If two agencies were created, which should both be composed of representatives of employers and workers and Governments, they should work in close association with one another.

Following the close of the general discussion, the Committee requested its Sub-Committee to draw up its report and resolutions.
MEETING OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE

The Sub-Committee met at 3 p.m. on 1 November 1941, under the chairmanship of Mr. Ralph Assheton. It had before it two draft resolutions, one submitted by Miss Miller, Government Delegate of the United States of America, and the other by the Office.

The Sub-Committee decided to proceed in the first instance to examine the resolution submitted by Miss Miller and Part I of the document submitted by the Office, which contained a general declaration of the principles of collaboration between the public authorities, employers' and workers' organisations.

In the first place, the Committee adopted, subject to modification in form, the first four points of Part I of the draft resolution submitted by the Office.

The Sub-Committee then decided to add to this text a fifth point taken from the draft resolution submitted by Miss Miller. They then adopted Part I as follows:

The Conference

(1) Recognises the universal and permanent importance for all nations of effective collaboration between the public authorities and workers' organisations and employers' organisations, which occupy a place of increasing prominence in economic and social developments.

(2) Underlines the special importance of such collaboration:

(a) during the present war, because the success of the military operations largely depends on the result of the battle of production which will be won by the democracies only by the complete collaboration between the workers and the employers in the work of national defence;

(b) after victory, for the transition from war economy to peace economy and for the economic and social reconstruction of the world, which will be of interest to all countries, belligerent and neutral, and which will call for a gigantic and co-ordinated effort on the part of the public authorities, workers and employers.

(3) Declares that real collaboration is possible only within the framework of democratic political institutions which guarantee the freedom of association of workers and of employers.

(4) Affirms that the application of the principle of collaboration requires that in law and in fact:

(a) the right of industrial organisations to represent workers and employers should be recognised by the State;

(b) the workers' and employers' organisations should recognise each other's right to represent workers and employers respectively.

(5) Recognises that methods of collaboration vary with place, social pattern, prior experience, temperament and custom, from country to country and within the experience of a single nation, as is illustrated by the variety and adaptability of practices in countries dealing with similar situations which have been reported in the discussions of the Conference, and that positive results can best be assured by development along the lines of national experience, always provided that collaboration is based on the principles enunciated above, and subject to the fundamental necessity for full participation of employers' and workers' organisations through representatives of their own designation being fully assured.

The Sub-Committee, taking up the proposal of Miss Miller, decided to accept the suggestion to invite the Governing Body to take steps to ensure that the Office organises a systematic exchange of information on the machinery of collaboration in time of war and in time of peace and give all possible aid to countries interested in improving their own machinery of collaboration. These ideas were incorporated in Part II of the draft resolution in the following form:

Whereas it is the desire of this Conference to secure that the International Labour Organisation render the greatest possible service in extending the practice of collaboration, both in emergency organisation and the field of permanent industrial and economic organisation;

The Conference

(1) Requests the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to take steps to ensure the fullest use of the resources of the Organisation for:

(a) the exchange between Governments and organisations of workers and employers of information concerning both wartime and permanent machinery of collaboration so as to facilitate its widest developments, and

(b) aiding interested countries to make use in their machinery for emergency industrial and economic organisation of the most suitable methods of collaboration in the field under consideration.

(2) Urges the Governments to provide the Office not only with a record of structural developments, but with adequate information on the operation of the machinery of collaboration, both where it is successful and where it falls short of achieving its purpose, so as to permit comparative analysis.

In the draft resolution submitted by Miss Miller the two following suggestions had been included:

(c) the examination and evaluation of the manner in which the principle of collaboration has been applied in the International Labour Organisation and of the relevance of the experience of the Organisation with a view to a full survey of the subject being available for use in the reconstruction efforts that must follow the present war;

(d) the planning and organisation of collaborative machinery to take a part in international problems of post-war reconstruction.
After an exchange of views, the Chairman decided that the question raised in point (c) of Miss Miller's resolution went beyond the competence of the Sub-Committee, and that point (d) was covered by other resolutions submitted to the Conference.

The general resolution having been adopted, the question was raised as to how the Sub-Committee should continue its work. Two points of view were expressed.

Several members of the Sub-Committee emphasised the great importance, at the present time and for the future, of the various methods of collaboration outlined in the document submitted by the Office and stated that if the Sub-Committee did not undertake an examination of these questions it would not have carried out the purpose of the Governing Body in twice deciding to place the question of collaboration on the agenda of the Conference.

A number of other members of the Sub-Committee stated that the questions put forward in the documents submitted by the Office gave rise in various countries to serious differences of opinion, and that it would probably be impossible to reach unanimous agreement. Moreover, it was desirable that the authorities (Government, employer and worker) in the various countries should have an adequate opportunity of considering the application of the principles which had been agreed, in the light of their own special circumstances.

After a lengthy discussion, the chairman decided that there was a clear majority in the Sub-Committee against continuing the examination of the various methods of collaboration and in favour of limiting the conclusions to the general resolutions adopted.

Mr. Rens, Belgian Workers' member, protested against this decision and stated that the absence of the necessary time came from the short duration of the Conference itself. In his view also the idea of proceeding to a general discussion in Committee of the whole was unfortunate and that better results would surely have been achieved if it had been decided from the opening of the Conference to send the examination of the question of methods of collaboration to a small committee. He requested that his opposition be noted in the Minutes of the meeting of the Sub-Committee.

The Argentine Government member, however, indicated his disagreement with this view and emphasised the necessity of avoiding premature settlement of the application of the agreed principles in face of the varied circumstances in different countries. Time was necessary to allow all countries to give careful consideration to their own possibilities and it would be unwise to proceed further without such consideration.

On the proposal of the Assistant Secretary-General, the Sub-Committee decided to propose that the Governing Body be asked to reinscribe the question of methods of collaboration on the agenda of the next Conference. This proposal was agreed, and the Chairman was asked to prepare a text which is submitted herewith:

Whereas the question of methods of collaboration between the public authorities, workers' organisations and employers' organisations is very complex and it has been impossible on the present occasion, owing to shortness of time, to proceed to a detailed discussion of its many aspects,

The Conference Requests the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to place the question on the agenda of the next Conference.

(Here follow the texts of these three resolutions submitted by the Committee to the Conference, for which see Appendix I: Resolutions adopted by the Conference.)

(Signed) Ralph Assheton,
Chairman and Reporter.

3 November 1941.
On the recommendation of the Selection Committee, the Conference decided to draw the special attention of the Governing Body to the following resolutions, and to ask the Governing Body to consider the most appropriate method of giving real effect to them.

Resolution concerning creation of an International Transport Section (4), submitted by Mr. Spaak, Government delegate, Belgium; Mr. Krier, Government delegate, Luxemburg; Mr. Hindahl, Government delegate, Norway; Mr. Stanczyk, Government delegate, Poland; Mr. Adamczyk, Workers' delegate, Poland; Mr. Hallsworth, Workers' delegate, Great Britain; Mr. Haugen, Workers' delegate, Norway; Mr. Kosina, Workers' delegate, Czechoslovakia; Mr. Oldenbroek, Workers' delegate, Netherlands; and Mr. Rens, Workers' delegate, Belgium.

Whereas immediately after the war, the problem of international transport will be of paramount importance and call for the greatest possible measure of international co-operation and supervision in order that the goods to be transported reach their destination quickly and safely;

Whereas it is in the general interests that all who are concerned with the work of transport and distribution be consulted on the steps to be taken;

The Conference

Authorises the Director of the International Labour Office to prepare a scheme for the creation of an International Transport section, based on the tripartite principle, and to consult all organisations, institutions, and individuals who may be helpful in the preparation of such a scheme, in order that at the end of the war plans may be available for the international regulation of economic and social conditions in transport.

Resolution concerning the right of workers to organise in trade unions (12), submitted by Mr. Fernández R., Workers' delegate, Cuba; Mr. Hurtado, Workers' delegate, Mexico; Mr. Ibáñez Aguila, Workers' delegate, Chile; and Mr. Rodríguez Aneiros, Workers' delegate, Uruguay.

Whereas in certain countries which are Members of the International Labour Organisation it has become the practice in disregard of the principles laid down by the Organisation to prohibit workers in the same industry from organising freely according to branches of industry or production;

Whereas certain Governments, although recognising the right to organise of industrial workers, refuse to recognise the same right for agricultural workers;

Whereas the defence of democracy is dependent on the will of the workers to defend their rights and their social achievements, since in absence of such rights they could not defend with the necessary vigour and conviction a form of government which does not give full satisfaction to their most elementary aspirations:

(1) The Conference recommends to the Governments represented at it that the principles of the International Labour Organisation should be applied by recognising the right of workers to organise by industry and abolishing any provisions which limit or restrain the freedom of trade union organisations;

(2) The Conference recommends that effect be given to the resolutions adopted with a view to guaranteeing the right of agricultural workers to organise in trade unions.

Resolution concerning co-ordination of defence and reconstruction programmes of American Republics (25), submitted by Mr. Domenech, Workers' delegate, Argentine Republic, and Mr. Ibáñez Aguila, Workers' delegate, Chile.

Whereas the American Republics have not co-ordinated their economic, political, and social programmes for defence and reconstruction;

Whereas a continental collaboration of this kind is indispensable, not only for the future prosperity and well-being of the Americas, but also for the solution of their main defence programmes;

Whereas the International Labour Organisation is an institution with the technical and scientific personnel necessary for the development of that co-ordination;
The Conference

Decides that the International Labour Organisation shall enter into direct communication with the governmental institutions of all the American Republics with a view to making known the experiences and information available regarding defence works. In its relations with these institutions it shall supply information and the results of experience and shall also give advice, and technical and other assistance in order to secure the co-ordination and collaboration necessary for the satisfactory achievement of the programme of defence and reconstruction.

Resolution concerning facilities for international relations between trade unions (26), submitted by Mr. Noda, Workers' delegate, Venezuela; Mr. Rodríguez Aneiros, Workers' delegate, Uruguay; and Mr. Ibáñez Aguilá, Workers' delegate, Chile.

Whereas it is desirable to bring about a better understanding between workers of all countries;

Whereas such an understanding would permit the development of a better knowledge of the problems which affect the working class;

Whereas in certain countries obstacles are put in the way of relations between their trade-unions and the trade-unions of other countries;

The Conference

Demands that all governments represented at the Conference shall grant all necessary facilities for the free establishment of trade-union relations throughout the world.

* * *

The Conference also decided, on the recommendation of the Selection Committee, to draw the attention of the Governing Body more particularly to the various resolutions submitted by the delegates of Latin American countries concerning the situation of those countries, and to ask it to consider the effect that might usefully be given to these resolutions, either in connection with the next General Conference or in connection with the next regional conference of the Organisation.

In addition to Resolutions 12, 25, and 26, the texts of which are given above, the following resolutions fall within the scope of the above decision of the Conference.

Resolution concerning creation of merchant navies (10), submitted by Mr. Fernández R., Workers' delegate, Cuba; Mr. Ibáñez Aguilá, Workers' delegate, Chile; Mr. Hurtado, Workers' delegate, Mexico; and Mr. Rodríguez Aneiros, Workers' delegate, Uruguay.

Whereas commercial relations between countries have been hampered because of difficulties due to the war and because of the shortage of shipping and the difficulties of maritime transport;

Whereas the volume of imports and exports between the countries of America has suffered from the repercussions of this abnormal situation owing to the insufficiency of the merchant marines of those countries;

Whereas at the recent Pan-American Conferences and Conferences of Ministers of Foreign Affairs special attention has been paid to the necessity for improving and extending maritime transport between the countries of this continent;

The Conference recommends that the necessary measures be taken by the nations concerned with a view to the creation of a merchant navy in each of them, in order to facilitate trade and to provide employment for new groups of workers under the conditions laid down by the Conventions of the International Labour Organisation dealing with work on board ship and with work in ports.

Resolution concerning immigration facilities for Spanish refugees (11), submitted by Mr. Fernández R., Workers' delegate, Cuba; Mr. Hurtado, Workers' delegate, Mexico; Mr. Ibáñez Aguilá, Workers' delegate, Chile; and Mr. Rodríguez Aneiros, Workers' delegate, Uruguay.

Whereas the Second Labour Conference of American States held at Havana (Cuba) in 1939 decided, on a motion dealing with Spanish refugees in France submitted by the Chilean Delegation, "to recommend to the International Labour Organisation to give special attention to this humanitarian problem";

Whereas very few democratic countries have opened their gates to those who were first in the fight for democracy and against Fascism, as were the citizens of the Spanish Republic, many of whom are still in France and in Africa and are suffering persecution and hardship;

The Conference invites the Governments represented at this Conference to come once more to the rescue of these fighters for democracy and of their families, by allowing them to immigrate and providing them with land, agricultural instruments and means of transport, so that they may begin life afresh in democratic countries.

Resolution concerning extension of social legislation to agricultural workers (13), submitted by Mr. Fernández R., Workers' delegate, Cuba; Mr. Hurtado, Workers' delegate, Mexico; Mr. Ibáñez Aguilá, Workers' delegate, Chile; and Mr. Rodríguez Aneiros, Workers' delegate, Uruguay.

Whereas the legislation of certain countries excludes agricultural workers from the benefits of social legislation such as that dealing with paid holidays, maternity provision for working women, the maximum working day, the minimum wage, social insurance, etc.;

Whereas agricultural workers constitute the most numerous and most exploited class of the population in all the countries of Latin America and form the great majority of the working class, but are entirely deprived of the benefits of social legislation;
The Conference recommends to all the countries which are Members of the International Labour Organisation that all the advantages conferred by social legislation on industrial workers should be extended likewise to agricultural workers, eliminating the limitations and exclusions which operate to the detriment of agricultural workers who constitute the majority of the working class in all the countries of Latin America.

Resolution concerning regulation of trade relations between American countries (14), submitted by Mr. Fernández R., Workers' delegate, Cuba; Mr. Hurtado, Workers' delegate, Mexico; Mr. Ibáñez Agulla, Workers' delegate, Chile; and Mr. Rodríguez Aneiros, Workers' delegate, Uruguay.

Whereas the present situation has given rise to grave economic changes in the countries of Latin America, owing to the closing of European markets with a consequent increase in poverty and unemployment among the workers of those countries;

Whereas it is necessary to foster the industrial development of the Latin American countries so that they may no longer be exclusively sources of raw materials but may also create and develop their own industries and so give employment to thousands of workers who now lack all means of livelihood;

Whereas the defence of the American continent and the co-operation of the countries of that continent in ensuring the triumph of democracy in the world make it imperative to remedy the critical economic situation due to the war by facilitating the exchange of products and ensuring an outlet for products which are no longer consumed by European countries;

(1) The Conference recommends that the Governments of those countries which are industrialised and economically the strongest should grant facilities with a view to the fixing of quotas for imports of the products which have been most affected by the loss of other markets, for example, sugar, tobacco, nitrates, coffee, etc., in order to assist in the solution of the grave economic problem from which the Latin American countries are suffering;

(2) In order to facilitate such exchanges of goods the Conference recommends the adoption of measures for the reduction of customs tariffs and for the elimination of the barriers which hinder the improvement of commercial relations between the countries of America;

(3) There should be a guarantee that concessions and advantages of this nature will effectively benefit the working population of the countries concerned by an improvement in wages and conditions of work and by the extension of the benefits of social legislation of all kinds, so as to ensure that the advantages should not accrue solely to big business corporations.

Resolution concerning trade policy in respect of tobacco (18), submitted by Dr. Díaz Rivera, Employers' adviser, Cuba.

Whereas the close relation between social and economic problems is becoming ever more widely recognised;

Whereas in consequence the work of the International Labour Organisation should be extended into the economic field, which exercises a decisive influence on all social developments;

Whereas the normal development of the basic industries of each country depends upon fair commercial methods, which favour production and improvement of conditions of labour, instead of reducing the one and injuring the other;

The Conference invites the Governing Body to recommend to the International Labour Organisation that it use its influence with the Governments and the organisations of employers and of workers of the Member States with a view to securing the adoption of fair and equitable methods with regard to tobacco, particularly by the removal of discriminations and of the use of false indications of origin.

Resolution concerning elimination of middlemen in dealings in goods of current consumption (30), submitted by Mr. Fernández R., Workers' delegate, Cuba; and Mr. Noda, Workers delegate, Venezuela.

Whereas the raising of the standard of living of the working classes is one of the common aspirations of the countries taking part in the Conference, and represents at the same time an indispensable condition of any programme of economic and social collaboration between these countries;

Whereas one of the difficulties encountered by countries which produce raw materials in their attempts to obtain an improvement in their standards of living is due to the low prices which they obtain for their products in the markets of the industrial countries;

Whereas the workers of the industrial countries do not benefit from these low prices because the goods which they consume are sold at high prices resulting, amongst other reasons, from the operation of middlemen who engage in the international transactions;

Whereas, also, from the social point of view the democracies should attempt to reduce, even if they cannot altogether abolish, the inequalities and injustices which result from the exchange of raw materials and industrial products owing to the fact that the prices of the first are subjected to the tendencies, often resulting in low prices, of a seller's market, whilst the second are subject to the laws of imperfect competition or to very definite monopolistic tendencies;

The Conference

Demands that the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation shall use its influence to recommend to the workers' organisations to establish, whether by means of co-operative societies or by means of their social insurance institutions, the organisations necessary to bring about direct dealings in the
goods which enter into current consumption, eliminating the middlemen and consequently distributing equitably the net profits of these dealings, which are themselves rendered possible in the last resort by the workers; Authorises the Governing Body in addition to undertake studies with a view to achieving these purposes and to put the results of their studies at the disposal of those workers' organisations which may desire to make use of them.

Resolution concerning organisation of distribution of raw materials for food and clothing (49), submitted by Mr. Santos Muñoz, Government delegate, Mr. Shaw, Government delegate, Mr. Lamuraglia, Employers' delegate, Mr. Domenech, Workers' delegate, Argentina; Mr. Almada, Government delegate, Mr. Giorgi, Government delegate, Mr. Díaz Aznarez, Employers' delegate, and Mr. Rodríguez Aneiros, Workers' delegate, Uruguay.

Whereas the problems of food and clothing constitute an essential element among the conditions in which a better world should be constructed after the war;

The Conference
Invites the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation to study the measures likely to lead to a better distribution of the raw materials necessary for these essential commodities.

Resolution concerning trade and economic problems of American countries (50), submitted by Mr. Almada, Government delegate, Mr. Giorgi, Government delegate, Mr. Díaz Aznarez, Employers' delegate, and Mr. Rodríguez Aneiros, Workers' delegate, Uruguay.

The continental defence of America demands that the problem of the interchange of products among all the countries of America be solved completely and urgently, without any kind of delay.

A large part of Latin America possesses an unsold surplus of agricultural and cattle products, and this destroys the balance of its economic, financial and social organisation.

On the other hand, the whole of Latin America needs products of North American industry and fuel that the United States alone can supply. Various Latin American countries are placed in the following difficult situation: complete lack of certain materials essential to their economic existence, e.g., iron, building materials manufactured abroad, in general; oil and coal. This state of affairs will force some of these countries to paralyse their building industry and to restrict consumption of electric power to an extent that will affect their security and normal development to a considerable degree.

It will be said that such products are necessary to the countries that are fighting against aggression and to the United States' own national defence preparations, and it may even be added that the latter country has restricted and is continuing to restrict the consumption in civilian industries of a large quantity of products necessary for its war industries. It must nevertheless be pointed out that the paralysis of a part or the whole of a civilian industry in the United States does not produce the same disastrous effects as the paralysis of the industries of Latin America, which though infinitely less important, generally speaking, are vital for Latin America's economic balance and maintenance, seeing that the activities of the countries in question possess very little variety. The closing down of an automobile factory for instance, in the United States is not an insoluble problem for the workers employed in it. They are certain soon to find work in factories producing for war purposes or in those that are daily being established for the same object.

The resulting situation of distress into which these nations are thrown is not the best calculated to lead to a solid international understanding in the political field such as is so urgently required, or to the establishment of a strong and united continental front, without suspicion or distrust, but rather inspired by such forces of reciprocal trust and friendship as will permit us to face aggression confidently. For these reasons the supplying of the raw materials essential for the main industries of the countries of Latin America constitutes an urgent problem of continental defence.

Shortage of fuel owing to the lack of transportation will, in the case of countries with no such resources in their own soil like most of those that have been mentioned, force them to paralyse a large number of factories. The paralysis of manufactures in countries like these, whose activities are very restricted, creates grave problems of subsistence for which no solution can be found.

It is therefore exceedingly urgent to provide for a supply of fuel and other products that the whole of Latin America urgently requires if her industries are to survive. The solution of this problem cannot be delayed a moment longer if we wish to avoid creating despair, anarchy and disorder.

A united front in the American continent can only be obtained when democracy, in the true sense of the term, is applied not only inside each country but also in the relations among all the American countries, both in political and in economic, financial and social matters.

It is certain that discord and hunger do not provide a propitious atmosphere for a good understanding. And in our case understanding must be rapid and full if it is to be effective, because the dangers threatening America are very great and will not wait.

For identical reasons it is necessary to consider as soon as possible the finding of markets for the surplus agricultural and cattle products of Latin America. A number of countries have already signed reciprocal trade treaties for the interchange of their products. It will be necessary without loss of time to make a complete study of the subject in order to find means to enable the democratic countries mutually to absorb the whole of their production.

The reasons given in respect of the lack of products necessary for certain industries apply also in respect of the problem of unsold surpluses. The situation of the building workers...
who is unemployed because building activity is paralysed is as wretched as that of the farmer who cannot sell his produce.

The following further problems connected with the improvement of conditions for mutual exchanges and social conditions in the life of the American peoples are of similar importance even though their solution can be spread over a longer period, and we should be thinking now about how to solve them:

In the first place, steps should be taken for the industrial development of all the countries of America. Such development is indispensable, not only for the purpose of diversifying their production and reducing the intensity of the crises that arise owing to the occasional shortage of certain raw materials, but also, and chiefly, for the purpose of equipping each nation to contribute effectively, and in greater independence of existing centres of mechanical manufacture, to its own defence and thus to continental defence. The industrial development of the Latin American countries will lighten the heavy burden at present being borne by the United States in respect of those countries and will in turn enable those countries to absorb their own produce more easily. The object is not to make any country absolutely independent of all others — that would be inappropriate and contrary to nature and above all it would be anti-economic. All that is aimed at is to use the special resources and capacities of each nation in order to develop in it, with the collaboration of the capital and technique of richer and stronger countries, those industries which, whether large or small, appear to be the most suitable.

It will further be necessary decidedly and frankly to face the following two other problems, as being also connected with the interchange of products: currency stabilisation and levelling up of standards of living for all countries of America.

Positive solutions in this respect will contribute effectively to facilitating mutual exchanges and it may further be added that a levelling up of standards of living is an immediate and absolute requirement of social justice. It does not appear permissible that, whilst the inhabitants of some countries live more or less comfortably on the produce of their labour, others in other countries, making no less a contribution to the wealth of the community, drag out a miserable existence. There is something out of gear in the mechanism that regulates our social life that makes it possible for those exasperating injustices to exist; and these injustices are the source and fundamental origin of envy and covetousness.

For all these reasons the delegation of Uruguay submits the following proposals to the consideration of the Conference, as suggestions for action by the I.L.O.:

(1) Consideration, as a problem of national defence, of the supply of raw materials for the vital industries of each of the free countries.

(2) Consideration, in the same light, of the supply of fuel and equipment necessary for the production of power in the above-mentioned countries.

(3) That all countries of America should be urged immediately to define, study and solve problems arising from the existence of economic surpluses.

(4) That the American countries should be urged to study and put into effect at the earliest possible moment a general plan for the industrial development of Latin America, with the technical and financial co-operation of the United States.

(5) That the American countries should be urged to undertake a study of currency stabilisation.

(6) That the countries of America should be urged to solve at the earliest possible moment the problem of levelling up standards of living as among the twenty-one Republics of America.

* * *

The remaining resolutions submitted to the Conference and referred by it to the Governing Body for consideration are given below. In cases where resolutions adopted by the Conference cover more or less completely points raised in resolutions referred to the Governing Body.

Resolution relating to the war situation

(15), submitted by Mr. Fernández R., Workers' delegate, Cuba; Mr. Hurtado, Workers' delegate, Mexico; and Mr. Rodríguez Aneiros, Workers' delegate, Uruguay.

Whereas the present war provoked by the Nazi-Fascists is a conflict which not only affects the European nations but is a death struggle between nations which are united in accepting democratic forms of social life and the minority groups which desire to destroy the cultural, political and social progress made throughout the world;

Whereas in consequence any government in power in any state which assists, whether politically or economically, the dictators of the aggressor countries in their conflict against the people of China, Great Britain, and the U. S. S. R., and which has destroyed the independence of the majority of European peoples, is an enemy of the principles upon which the International Labour Organisation is founded;

The Conference

(1) Recommends that a study be immediately undertaken by Governments, workers and employers of all the means possible for preventing goods destined for neutral countries from being diverted to countries in conflict with the democratic world, special attention being directed to Spanish imports in view of the statement that part of the oil, cereals and nitrates imported are passed on to the Nazis;

(2) Insists that the governments represented at the Conference undertake an enquiry into the collaboration of certain so-called "neutral" countries with the Fascists, in order that appropriate measures may be taken to stop anti-democratic trade, if necessary by going so far as to break off diplomatic and commercial relations with governments which collaborate with the enemies of democracy;

(3) Recommends that, as the U. S. S. R.
which is an ally and defender of democracy, is the country now being subjected to the most bitter and deadly attack of the war declared by the enemies of culture and civilisation, the countries represented at the Conference which are not now in diplomatic and commercial relations with that country should resume them as soon as possible.

Resolution concerning funds for post-war reconstruction purposes (46), submitted by Mr. Pradenas Muñoz, Government delegate, Mr. Torres, Government delegate, Mr. Ibáñez Aguila, Workers' delegate, and Mr. Aldunate Phillips, Employers' delegate, Chile.

Whereas the termination of the war at a date and in circumstances which cannot be foreseen may result in millions of workers suffering from enforced unemployment as a result of the cessation of war production and the demobilisation of the fighting forces, which inevitably result in chaos and insecurity among the peoples or nations concerned:

The Conference

Decides to recommend to the countries engaged in the war and to those which may consider themselves likely to take part in it, to establish the necessary funds to cover, during the first year after the signature of peace, the cost of the readaptation of both industries and workpeople to peacetime activities, without which difficulties will arise or dangerous unemployment will be experienced by the masses of the workers; and the funds should also provide for the economic adjustments necessary to ensure the future well-being of the peoples.

Resolution concerning vocational retraining of persons suffering from accidents or war wounds (16), submitted by Mr. Torres, Government delegate, Chile.

Whereas in each country a large number of workers are unable to earn their living as a result of industrial or other accidents or of war wounds;

Whereas such incapacitated persons should be given all facilities to undertake paid work, both from the standpoint of their self-respect and their means of livelihood and of the economy and production of the country concerned;

Whereas one of the fundamental purposes of the International Labour Organisation is to avoid distress and to assist in improving the earning capacity of the workers:

The Conference

Decides to recommend to the different countries the establishment of institutes for the vocational retraining of persons suffering from the effects of accidents or war wounds.

Resolution concerning general principles of social reconstruction (31-41), submitted by Mr. García Téllez, Government delegate, Mexico. Mr. García Téllez had submitted eleven resolutions, but agreed to combine them in the following single text.

The delegation of the Republic of Mexico, having considered the pertinent suggestions contained in the Report of the Acting Director of the International Labour Office respecting the exigencies of the present exceptional time, and with due regard for the processes of free collaboration that have been recommended, submits to the Conference the following resolution.

I

Whereas it is a primary duty to endeavour to abolish those surviving traces of exploitation that still subsist in a certain number of countries and at the same time to take steps to put an end to the lack of adequate nutrition, clothing and housing accommodation;

Whereas efforts should also be made to establish healthy conditions, spread culture and grant facilities for recreation to a large number of wage-earners who are at present deprived of those benefits, and above all to indigenous and agricultural workers, who, under a system of genuine economic democracy, are entitled to enjoy such advantages to just the same extent as they should enjoy the benefits of air, sunlight and water;

Whereas the struggle to achieve this aim cannot and should not stop, it being the duty of the I.L.O. to guide and aid that struggle, proceeding along the lines that it has so largely helped to lay down;

The Conference

Considers that these aspirations must be effectively realised by the application of the political principles of liberty and equality, fundamental to democracy, in such a way that not only is individual freedom of association assured and guaranteed, but also, as is laid down by Mr. Phelan, the Acting Director, all nations of the world are given a social mandate setting out the essential rules and a minimum code of social welfare for all peoples.

II

The above objects can only be achieved if the free association of employers and workers is understood and practised and if their participation in economic, industrial, political or social councils, set up to co-ordinate programmes of a national, continental and international character, is also stimulated. Similarly, it should be regarded as a fundamental issue that the designation of employers and workers to examine and carry out any programme of national emergency should be derived from their authorised organs, so that they should participate with appropriate authority in the preparation of every kind of convention and particularly of the future peace treaties, in accordance with the idea that the trade union associations of employers and workers represent the genuine living forces of each country.
III

This is the way that will bring us, when the day of constructive peace arrives, to the path leading to the military, economic and moral disarmament of the enemies of democracy; and thus, too, it will be possible to bring it about that the war industries shall not continue to prosper at the expense of creative activities.

IV

A further inescapable duty is to lay down the outlines of a new economic policy in relation to the aspirations defined above, and which must aim at preventing the great imperialist undertakings from transforming the means of procuring wealth into instruments of conquest, domination and violence.

V

As regards public debts, it will be no less indispensable that they should not be treated as booty, or allow scope for the manoeuvres of international usury, or be recovered under any circumstances by means of force, in disregard of the autonomy and ability to pay of each nation.

VI

It will also be necessary to take steps to abolish all privileges or discouraging treatment based on differences of race, nationality, religion or wealth.

VII

It will therefore be necessary to lay down the fundamental bases of a technical plan of world collaboration, drawn up in such a way as to co-ordinate the interchange of natural resources and a larger contribution of material, technical and moral values and efforts aiming at guaranteeing the development and safeguarding of a form of harmonious cohabitation in the national, continental and international spheres, based on the mutual solidarity of all nations — a solidarity which will be fruitful if it is realised in accordance with the principles of social justice and peace.

VIII

The defence of these noble aims shall be confided to an institution symbolising justice and expressing at the right moment the right of each and every people in the world. This institution must possess coercive power sufficient to make its decisions respected, and will also be empowered to inflict penalties on transgressors.

If these broad powers were granted to an institution, the I.L.O. in turn would be given a share more in harmony with its mission, so that it would lose its ephemeral character and could contribute more effectively towards completing the work begun by the great champions of democracy and the defenders of human freedom.

Resolution concerning reparations in countries occupied by Germany (7), submitted by Mr. Adamczyk, Workers' delegate, Poland.

The Conference denounces the violation by the German Government of existing international conventions and national laws in force in the countries occupied by the Germans, as regards conditions of labour and wages, and the social and civic rights of the workers in these countries.

Specifically international conventions and national laws have been and are being violated by:

(a) Application of forced labour, especially in war industries;
(b) Deportations;
(c) Non-observance of the legal hours of labour;
(d) Child labour;
(e) Abolition and curtailment of workers' holidays;
(f) Abolition of arbitration courts;
(g) Interdiction of collective agreements between employers and employed;
(h) Abolition and restriction of social insurance;
(i) Discrimination against citizens of occupied countries;
(j) Export of foodstuffs from occupied countries and failure to provide adequate food for the population of those countries, etc.

The Conference empowers the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to prepare international recommendations to be included in the terms of the future peace treaty, and covering:

(a) Claims for damages by citizens, workers and white-collar workers of all occupied countries, against the treasury of the Reich as compensation for forced labour, the abolition or curtailment of rights guaranteed by the labour legislation of the countries now occupied by Germany, and penalties imposed in connection with the application of German enactments governing labour relations.
(b) Such claims to be a first charge on the property of the German Reich.

Resolution concerning reconstruction of Central Europe (17), submitted by Mr. Falter, Employers' delegate, Poland.

The Conference recommends to the proper organs of the International Labour Office to start immediately, in co-operation with the proper allied institutions, working out a plan of reconstruction of economic life in the countries occupied by the Germans immediately upon the cessation of hostilities and also to work out a plan aimed at a systematic improvement of economic conditions in the countries of Central Europe.

From the Report of the Acting Director of the International Labour Office and from the declarations already made at the Conference, it appears that the International Labour Office
should in the future include in its activities, in addition to matters directly connected with the improvement of conditions of labour, also the problems of co-ordinating world economic developments in order to ensure social progress and safeguard its rational and stable development.

Within the framework of the organisation which the International Labour Office will create for these purposes, a special division should be established devoting its planning activities to the economic reconstruction of the occupied countries; this should have for its aim, as soon as Central Europe will be freed from occupation, the fastest possible systematic raising of their economic level with the aid of international co-operation.

I do not have in mind a speedy help in articles of first necessity, which is the purpose of already existing interallied organisations, but the rebuilding of industry and supplying it with the essential raw materials. Unless these plans are worked out in advance and preparations are made with a view to putting them into effect immediately upon the cessation of hostilities, there will be a danger of outbursts of despair on the part of the population, which suffered and lived through so much in the expectation of this day of deliverance.

The countries of Central Europe, and particularly Poland, which of all is the largest, could not keep pace in the 19th century (because of political domination by the aggressor states) with the economic and particularly the industrial development in proportion to Poland's national resources and the industrial abilities of her population. The period of political independence between the two wars was too short and the general economic conditions in the world too difficult to make up for this lack of development.

During the present war these countries were subjected to another devastation and what had been spared by the occupying forces has been deliberately destroyed with the aim of making these countries permanently dependent on the German economy and thus strengthening the industrial and military potential of Germany.

To this state of affairs the democratic nations must react with energetic measures.

The saving of the one hundred million people inhabiting Central Europe from the state of their present misery, giving them an assurance of a possibility of stable employment in their own establishments, their inclusion in the orbit of intensive exchange of commodities with the democratic countries and freeing them from the economic influence of the German production apparatus (which, because of the neglect of the mutual economic assistance of democratic countries over-invested itself considerably), are the conditions of permanent peace in that part of the world, which so often, because of present conditions, was the starting point of the world conflagration.

Resolution concerning the protection of children (21), submitted by the Government delegates, United States of America.

Whereas the Conference declared in 1930 at its 14th Session that the workers of every country should have opportunity to develop their intellectual, moral and physical capacities to the fullest extent, in order that they may lead full human lives;

Whereas the child of to-day will be the worker and the citizen of to-morrow;

Whereas it is a first duty of a democratic country, whose prosperity depends on the free and full development of the talents and aptitudes of its citizens, young and old, and on the application of their abilities to activities useful for the community, to provide for every child such conditions of life as will foster this full and free development;

Whereas this duty calls for help and assistance to every child, through his family and through the resources of the community, that will provide for him the security of an adequate home and of family affection, physical care, health services, a broad general education, and preparation for a satisfying and useful occupational life;

Whereas the war situation and the resulting abnormal conditions of life menace the child's safety and future opportunities and impose on society new and urgent problems and responsibilities for the protection of the child;

Whereas the solution of these problems requires both preliminary study and prompt action;

The Conference requests the Governing Body:

(1) To take steps to stimulate in all States that are Members of the Organisation the acceptance of full responsibility by their governments for assuring, on their own initiative and through appropriate channels of international co-operation, full protection to all children, regardless of the income of their parents, as the best means of developing to the fullest extent the vigour of the workers of the future. This protection should afford:

(a) freedom from oppressive child labour;
(b) full access to educational opportunity and vocational preparation;
(c) health supervision;
(d) whatever assistance in conserving home life or providing special protection or care as their needs may require;

(2) To instruct the Office to undertake such studies as will be helpful to the competent national authorities in fulfilling these aims;

(3) To prepare the way for international collaboration to co-ordinate the activities of public and private services for the protection of children so that the maximum results of these efforts may be attained;

And, in line with the recommendations twice formulated by the Conference of the American States Members of the International Labour Organisation (Santiago de Chile, 1936, and Havana, 1939), urges all States that are Members of the Organisation to make provision, through specialised personnel in their Labour Ministries or other appropriate bodies, for the consideration and promotion of a
nation-wide and effective social policy relating to the protection of children.

Resolution concerning political, religious and social discrimination (22), submitted by Mr. Masaryk and Mr. Nečas, Government delegates, Czechoslovakia; Mr. van Zeeland, Government delegate, Belgium; Mr. van den Tempel, Government delegate, Netherlands; Mr. Li, Government delegate, China; and Mr. Goodrich, Government delegate, United States of America.

Whereas the Constitution of the International Labour organisation is based on social justice;

Whereas, in consequence, there should be no discrimination between workpeople whatever their political or religious beliefs or their national or racial origin;

Whereas, at the present time many thousands of workpeople are enduring unspeakable sufferings inflicted upon them by totalitarian governments solely because of their beliefs or of their origin;

The Conference, denouncing these inadmissible discriminations, reaffirms its confidence in the return in all countries, with the triumph of democracy, to the protection of children.

Resolution concerning social conditions in colonial territories (27), submitted by Mr. Oldenbroek, Workers' delegate, Netherlands, on behalf of Mr. Hindromartono, Workers' adviser, Netherlands.

Considering the great importance of the part played by the native workers in the so-called "colonies, mandatory territories, protectorates and other possessions not fully self-governing", in the production of goods for the defensive and offensive task of the democratic front and for the reconstruction of the countries now under the heel of the aggressors;

Considering that it is necessary to strengthen the conviction of the colonial workers and peoples that the struggle and the victory of the democratic front offers the best guarantee for their liberty, development and human existence;

Considering that the prevention of a still greater catastrophe after this war requires the full realisation of the conceptions of social justice for the working classes all over the world;

Considering that in certain colonial countries even after the more than twenty years' existence of the I.L.O. the most important principles relating to working conditions, such as, for instance, the eight-hour day and the weekly rest day with pay in the most important industries, transport undertakings and mines, as laid down in Article 41 of the Constitution of the I.L.O. and furthermore adopted by the Washington Convention of 1919 and the weekly rest Convention of 1921, have not yet been applied;

Be it resolved

(1) To request the Government concerned to take, without awaiting the conclusion of the war, necessary steps with a view to:

(a) the introduction of the minimum conditions laid down in Article 41 of the Constitution, particularly in the main industries, transport undertakings and mines;

(b) the introduction of minimum wages, based upon the material and cultural needs of a human existence;

(c) the guaranteeing of the freedom of association of the workers; and the promotion of trade unionism;

(d) the institution of arbitration boards based upon the tripartite principle.

(2) To hold a special conference in 1942 for the purpose of discussing the results of the above recommendations.

Resolution concerning sex differentials in wage standards (43), submitted by Mr. Monk, Workers' delegate, Australia.

Whereas the existing practice of employing women in industry and services at less than the prevailing male rates of pay for the same or similar work or work of equal value to the employer is inimical alike to the economic well-being of men and women workers and detrimental to the social interest of the whole community;

Whereas such unequal wage standards involving sex discrimination, firstly ignores the recognised principle of equality of men and women, secondly denies the woman worker full payment for her work and, thirdly, exposes male workers to the unfair competition of underpaid female workers;

Whereas the present world-wide replacement of male labour by female labour has intensified the problems arising from sex differentials in wage standards;

Whereas the whole incidence of female labour has changed since the beginning of this war in consequence of the universal use of women workers in industry, commerce, and the public services, including the armed forces in many countries:

The Conference

(1) Considers that the male occupational standard rates or the rates for the job irrespective of the sex of the worker should be recognised as the basic principle of war and post-war industry and is of the opinion that steps should be taken immediately to secure the elimination of sex differentials in wage standards;

(2) The Conference requests the International Labour Office to resume its investigation of women's work, and, through the Governing Body, to formulate plans to combat the exploitation of this pool of efficient and underpaid labour, and that all available information on this problem be circulated and the governments of all countries be requested to eliminate sex differentials in wage standards by legislative and administrative action.
Resolution concerning the teaching of the English language (2), submitted by Mr. Krier, Government delegate, Luxemburg.

The Conference,

Considering that the countries at present under foreign domination will owe the restoration of their independence after this war in the main to the efforts of the Anglo-Saxon World Powers — to the heroic struggle of Great Britain and her Dominions and to the assistance of the United States;

Considering that, consequently, the liberated nations will be animated by a natural feeling of gratitude and admiration towards the Anglo-Saxon Nations;

Considering further that the dissemination of the English language, in conjunction with the dissemination of Anglo-Saxon ideas, ethics and civilisation, will serve as an important means of educating the peoples, and more especially the European peoples, for democracy and peaceful co-operation;

Considering that the English language, already spoken by many millions in all continents, has of all the main languages of the human race the best prospects of becoming a universally understood world language;

And considering, finally, that it is in the general interest to further this process, whereas the existence of a universal language constitutes an important factor in achieving international understanding and lasting peace;

Invites the Governing Body to use the influence of the International Labour Office with the Governments and organisations of the different countries, and especially of the European countries, to the effect of making the teaching of the English language compulsory in all schools after the conclusion of the present war.
APPENDIX IV

Report by the Selection Committee on Credentials

The Selection Committee has the honour to submit to the Conference the appended Report presented to it by its Sub-Committee on Credentials.

4 November 1941.

Report of the Sub-Committee on Credentials

(1) The Sub-Committee on Credentials (Sub-Committee of the Selection Committee) met on Saturday, 1 November 1941.

(2) The meeting was attended by the following members:

Mr. van Zeeland, Government delegate (Belgium),
Mr. Banats, Employers' delegate (Yugoslavia), and
Mr. Hallsworth, Workers' delegate (British Empire).

(3) The Sub-Committee took note of the files submitted to it by the Secretariat of the Conference containing the credentials received by the delegates from the Governments of their countries or the official communications received by the International Labour Office before the Conference or since its opening.

(4) The composition of the Conference may be summarised on the following tabular statement:

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<th>Employers' Officers</th>
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1 Observer.
2 Including 1 observer.

(5) The Sub-Committee noted, in addition, the following points, directly affecting the composition of the Conference:

(a) the British Government had intimated that the Right Honourable Clement Richard Attlee, M.P., Lord Privy Seal, would also attend the Conference as representative of the British Government;

(b) the Governments of Canada and of Mexico have each notified the attendance of two observers attached to their delegations.

(6) The Sub-Committee was informed that the Government of Costa Rica, a State the active participation of which in the work of the Organisation had been interrupted, but which had been represented by an observer at the Second Labour Conference of American States, held at Havana in 1939, had again nominated an observer to represent it at the present Conference.

(7) To sum up, the membership of the Conference is as follows:

States represented at the Conference: 35.
Delegations including Government, Employers' and Workers' delegates: 22.

Number of Delegates
Governments: 58
Employers: 22
Workers: 22

Total . . . . 102

Number of Advisers
Governments: 45
Employers: 22
Workers: 26

Total . . . . 93

Observers . . . . 2
Secretaries . . . . 9
Others . . . . 5

Total number of persons attending the Conference . 211

(8) The provisions of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation applicable to the composition of the International Labour Conference are not directly applicable to the present Conference; the special character of this Conference has been defined in the letter convening it, which was sent to the Governments of the States Members in accordance with a decision of the Governing Body; the Sub-Committee was therefore of the opinion that the presence in certain delegations of a greater number of technical advisers than was envisaged, did not call for any further comment.

(9) The Sub-Committee took note of the fact that the credentials of some delegates had been communicated to the International Labour Office in the form of official instruments,
whereas others were based simply upon official letters or official telegrams; although the method of nomination by official letter or telegram is not in accordance with customary diplomatic procedure, the International Labour Conference has always considered this method of nomination as satisfactory; the Sub-Committee held the view that in the case of the present Conference it would be appropriate to follow the same practice.

(10) The Sub-Committee suggests to the Selection Committee that the present report be transmitted to the Conference.

New York, 3 November 1941.

(Signed) Paul van Zeeland
Božo Banats
Joseph Hallsworth.
APPENDIX V

Standing Orders adopted by the Conference

Article 1 — Composition of the Conference

(1) Two Government Delegates, one Employers’ Delegate, and one Workers’ Delegate for each Member of the International Labour Organisation shall be entitled to take part in the Conference as Delegates.

(2) Delegates may be accompanied by Advisers, and any Delegate may by notice in writing addressed to the President of the Conference appoint one of his Advisers to act as his substitute.

(3) An Adviser who is acting as substitute may speak and vote under the same conditions as the Delegate whom he is replacing.

(4) The credentials of Delegates and of their Advisers shall be deposited with the Secretariat of the Conference and shall be examined by the Selection Committee.

Article 2 — The Officers of the Conference

(1) The Conference shall elect as officers, a President and three Vice-Presidents, all of whom shall be of different nationalities.

(2) The three Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Conference on the nomination of the Government, Employers’ and Workers’ Delegates respectively.

Article 3 — Duties of the President

(1) It shall be the duty of the President to declare the opening and closing of the sittings, to bring before the Conference any communication which may concern it, to direct the debates, maintain order, ensure the observance of these Standing Orders by such means as circumstances may demand, accord or withdraw the right to address the Conference, put questions to the vote, and announce the result of the vote.

(2) The President shall not take part in the debates and shall not vote, but if himself a delegate may appoint a substitute in accordance with the provisions of Article 1, paragraph 2 of these Standing Orders.

(3) If the President is absent during any sitting or part of a sitting he shall be replaced by one of the Vice-Presidents, who shall act in rotation.

(4) A Vice-President acting as President shall have the same rights and duties as the President.

Article 4 — Secretariat

The Director of the International Labour Office, as Secretary General of the Conference, is responsible for the Secretariat of the Conference.

Article 5 — Selection Committee

(1) The Conference shall, as soon as constituted, appoint a Selection Committee nominated by the Groups and consisting of sixteen members of the Government Group, eight members of the Employers’ Group, and eight members of the Workers’ Group. In none of these categories shall a country have more than one member.

(2) It shall be the duty of the Selection Committee to arrange the programme of the Conference, to fix the date and agenda for the Plenary Sittings, and to make proposals relating to the setting up and composition of other Committees.

Article 6 — Committees

(1) Each Committee shall select a Chairman and two Vice-Chairmen, chosen one from each of the three groups, and one or more Reporters to present the result of its deliberations to the Conference on its behalf.

(2) Each Committee shall set up in due course a Drafting Sub-Committee consisting of one representative from each of the three groups, together with the Reporter or Reporters of the Committee, the Secretary-General of the Conference or his representative, and the Legal Adviser of the Conference. Any resolutions adopted by the Committee shall, before they are submitted to the Conference, be considered by the Drafting Sub-Committee whose duty it shall be to propose any modification of form which may be desirable and to ensure agreement between the versions of the resolutions in the different languages of the Conference.

Article 7 — Right to Address the Conference

(1) No Delegate shall address the Conference without having asked and obtained permission of the President.

(2) Speakers shall be called upon in the order in which they have signified their desire to speak.
(3) No Delegate shall speak more than once upon the same motion, resolution or amendment, without the special permission of the Conference, provided that the mover of a motion, resolution or amendment shall have the right to speak twice unless the closure has been adopted in accordance with Article 10.

(4) The President may require a speaker to resume his seat if his remarks are not relevant to the subject under discussion.

(5) Ministers whose Departments deal with the questions discussed by the Conference and who are not Delegates or advisers may address the Conference if invited to do so by the President.

(6) The Secretary-General of the Conference or his representative may, with the permission of the President or Chairman as the case may be, address the Conference or its Committees.

(7) Persons appointed as Observers by a State invited to participate in the Conference may, with the permission of the President or Chairman as the case may be, address the Conference or its Committees.

(8) Except with special consent of the Conference, no speech shall exceed fifteen minutes, exclusive of the time for translation.

Article 8 — Resolutions, Amendments and Motions

(1) Subject to the following rules, any delegate may move any motion, resolution or amendment.

(2) No motion, resolution or amendment shall be discussed unless and until it has been seconded.

(3) 1. Motions as to procedure may be moved without previous notice and without the handing in of a copy to the Secretariat of the Conference.

2. Motions as to procedure include the following:

(a) a motion to refer the matter back;

(b) a motion to postpone consideration of the question;

(c) a motion to adjourn the sitting;

(d) a motion to adjourn the debate on a particular question;

(e) a motion that the Conference proceed with the next item on the agenda for the sitting.

(4) 1. Subject to the provisions of the preceding paragraph, no resolution or amendment shall be moved at any sitting of the Conference unless a copy thereof has been handed in to the Secretariat of the Conference.

2. Whenever possible the text of the resolutions and amendments shall be circulated by the Secretariat before a vote is taken.

(5) No resolution which has not been reported to the Conference by a Committee shall be discussed at any sitting of the Conference unless and until it has been considered by the Selection Committee and a report thereon by the Selection Committee has been made to the Conference.

Article 9 — Voting

(1) Every delegate shall be entitled to vote individually upon every question considered by the Conference.

(2) Decisions shall be taken by a simple majority of the votes cast by the delegates to the Conference present at the sitting.

(3) The Conference shall vote by a show of hands or by a record vote.

(4) If the result of a vote by a show of hands is challenged, the President shall cause a record vote to be taken.

(5) A record vote shall also be taken when a request to that effect is made by not less than ten delegates present at the sitting.

(6) The vote shall be recorded by the Secretariat and announced by the President.

(7) No resolution, amendment or motion shall be adopted if equal numbers of votes are cast for and against.

Article 10 — Closure

(1) Any delegate may move the closure either on a particular amendment or on the general question.

(2) The President shall put a motion for the closure if it is supported by at least one-fifth of the delegates present at the sitting, but before putting it to the vote shall read out the names of those persons who have already signified their wish to speak and the said persons shall still have the right to speak after the closure has been voted.

(3) If application is made for permission to speak against the closure it shall be accorded to one speaker from each group.

(4) If the closure is voted one member from any group, no member of which is included in the list of persons who have already signified their wish to speak, may on the request of the Chairman of the group speak on the question under discussion.

Article 11 — General

In respect of any question not dealt with in these Standing Orders, the Conference shall be guided by the Standing Orders of the International Labour Conference.
APPENDIX VI

Messages addressed to the Conference

Cablegram from Mr. Harold B. Butler and Mr. John G. Winant, former Directors of the International Labour Office.

Best wishes for the success of the Conference. At this critical time, when the future of liberty and social progress are in grave jeopardy, only the united determination of all free peoples to uphold them will ensure their preservation. We are proud to think that the I.L.O. is playing its part to-day and look forward to the time when it will form a rallying point under the New Order of the Atlantic Charter.

Harold B. Butler
John G. Winant.

Message from the Iraqi Government to the Presidente of the Conference.

Gratified to learn your election presidency Labour Conference. Seize opportunity express confidence in Conference's success. Please convey Government greetings all delegations.

Minister Social Affairs.

Cablegram from the Minister of Social Affairs of China to the President of the Conference.

Congratulations for your election Presidency. Greetings to delegates and wishes for success.

C. K. Ku,
Minister Social Affairs,
China.


Every good wish to the I.L.O. for a successful and fruitful conference.

Ernest Brown.

Telegram from the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness (United States of America).

The National Society for the Prevention of Blindness extends greetings to the International Labour Organisation now in conference in New York City. The attention given by the International Labour Organisation to the saving of eyesight is very gratifying. Because of this interest it seems fitting to report a special industry survey now being made by our Society and the indication already disclosed of serious need of greater efforts to secure more general provisions and practices for the protection of sight. We ask your continued cooperation to this end. May your present Conference be one of great accomplishment in the face of the present great challenge.

Eleanor Brown Merrill,
National Society for the Prevention of Blindness.

Telegram from the National Woman's Party (United States of America).

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted at a meeting of the National Biennial Conference of the National Woman's Party, Hotel Dupont, Wilmington, Delaware:

RESOLVED that the National Woman's Party in Biennial Conference assembled demands that the International Labour Organisation accept its full responsibility as a representative of all the workers of the civilised world; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that this full responsibility can only be discharged by recognising the equality of men and women in industry by recommending to the Member countries a Convention stating that all laws and regulations governing industry shall apply to the nature of the work and not the sex of the worker; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that a copy of this resolution be sent to the Acting Director of the International Labour Office and to all newspapers.

Edwina Avery,
Chairman, Resolutions Committee.
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