INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE

TWENTY-SIXTH SESSION
PHILADELPHIA, 1944

RECORD OF PROCEEDINGS

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE
MONTREAL, 1944
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INTRODUCTION

The Twenty-sixth Session of the General Conference of the International Labour Organisation was held at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, from 20 April to 12 May 1944.

The following telegram and letter concerning the session and communicating the agenda were addressed to the Governments of the Members of the International Labour Organisation:

London, 20 December 1943.

Have honour inform you Governing Body International Labour Office has convened Twenty-sixth Session International Labour Conference to meet in United States probably at Philadelphia on twenty April 1944 with following agenda: one, Future policy, programme and status of the International Labour Organisation; two, Recommendations to United Nations for present and post-war social policy; three, The organisation of employment in the transition from war to peace; four, Social security: principles, and problems arising out of the war; five, Minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories; six, Reports on the application of Conventions; seven, Director's Report. Items three, four and five have been placed on agenda under Articles three, fourteen and nineteen of Constitution of Organisation. Letter follows.

Edward PHELAN, Acting Director International Labour Office.

Convocation of the Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labour Conference

Montreal, 19 January 1944.

Sir,

1. I have the honour to confirm my telegram, despatched from London on 20 December 1943, by which I communicated to you the decision of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, at its 91st Session (London, December 1943) to convene the Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labour Conference on 20 April 1944.

2. Agenda of the Conference.

I have also to confirm that the agenda of the Conference adopted by the Governing Body, as communicated to you by my aforesaid telegram, is as follows:

I. Future policy, programme and status of the International Labour Organisation.

II. Recommendations to the United Nations for present and post-war social policy.

III. The organisation of employment in the transition from war to peace.

IV. Social security: principles, and problems arising out of the war.

V. Minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories.

VI. Reports on the application of Conventions (Article 22 of the Constitution).

VII. Director's Report.
I have the honour to enclose a number of copies of an explanatory memorandum which the International Labour Office has prepared, in the light of the discussions in the Governing Body, in order to provide some preliminary information on the scope and purport of the several items on the agenda of the Conference, in regard to which reports will be forwarded to you as soon as possible.

It should be noted that the Governing Body decided that the questions numbered III, IV, and V, should be placed on the agenda under the provisions of Articles 3, 14 and 19 of the Constitution of the Organisation. In virtue of these provisions, each delegate to the Conference may be accompanied by two advisers for each of these three questions. Moreover, should the Conference decide on the adoption of proposals with regard to any one of these three items, it will rest with the Conference to decide whether these proposals should take the form of Recommendations or draft Conventions; it is, however, the intention of the Office, as explained in the enclosed memorandum, to include in the reports on the various items on the agenda proposals for several Recommendations but only one draft for a Convention, dealing with a special aspect of the problem of social insurance, which from its nature can only be appropriately dealt with in a Convention.

3. Place of the session of the Conference.

The Governing Body decided, on the invitation of the Government of the United States of America, that the session of the Conference should be held in the United States, probably in Philadelphia; a further communication will be made to you on this subject. In coming to this decision the Governing Body was guided by the resolution unanimously adopted by the Conference of the International Labour Organisation in New York (October-November 1941), which runs as follows:

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.


In addition to explanations about the agenda of the Conference, the enclosed memorandum also contains information on certain decisions of the Governing Body and of the Conference respecting the composition of delegations, and on various provisions of the Standing Orders.

5. Credentials and draft resolutions.

I venture to draw your attention to the importance for the efficient working of the Conference of the observation of the statutory time limits for the communication of credentials of members of delegations (not later than 6 April 1944) and of draft resolutions other than those relating to a question on the agenda (not later than 13 April 1944).

6. Documents of the Conference.

The International Labour Office is preparing reports on the several points enumerated in the second paragraph above. Every effort will be made to ensure that these reports are communicated to you as soon as possible.


Finally, I have to remind you that the Governing Body, which was last appointed for a period of three years in 1937, decided at its 90th Session (New York, October-November 1941) that it should continue in office, as last constituted, until a regular session of the International Labour Conference could be held at which a new election of members of the Governing Body could take place. It will therefore be for the Government delegates to the Twenty-sixth Session of the Conference, other than those representing the eight States of chief industrial importance, and for the delegates representing the employers and workers respectively to take the necessary decisions concerning their representatives on the Governing Body at the forthcoming session of the Conference.

I have the honour to be, etc.

(Signed) E. J. PHELAN, Acting Director.
MEMORANDUM ON THE TWENTY-SIXTH SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE
(20 APRIL 1944)

A. AGENDA OF THE CONFERENCE

The agenda of the Conference is as follows:

I. Future policy, programme and status of the International Labour Organisation.

II. Recommendations to the United Nations for present and post-war social policy.

III. The organisation of employment in the transition from war to peace.

IV. Social security: principles, and problems arising out of the war.

V. Minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories.

VI. Reports on the application of Conventions (Article 22 of the Constitution).

VII. Director's Report.

B. INFORMATION ON THE ITEMS ON THE AGENDA OF THE CONFERENCE

The Governing Body of the International Labour Office, at its 91st Session (London, December 1943), gave very careful consideration to the choice of the items to be placed on the agenda of the Twenty-sixth Session of the Conference.

The Governing Body came to the conclusion that the profound change in the whole war situation—though a hard and costly struggle may still lie ahead—and the beginning of concerted international action to deal with post-war problems, as in the Food Conference at Hot Springs and the First Meeting of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration at Atlantic City, made it imperative, on the one hand, that international consideration should be given to the social problems that will arise during the last period of the war and after the close of hostilities, and, on the other hand, that the International Labour Organisation should define its own future policy, its programme and its place and status.

The Governing Body considered that it was of the greatest importance, in present circumstances, that the International Labour Conference should be able to discuss these problems and to take decisions concerning them at the earliest possible moment. It was for this reason that it decided to convene the Twenty-sixth Session of the Conference at the earliest date permissible under the Constitution, namely 20 April 1944. The Governing Body did not lose sight of the fact that this period of four months was exceptionally short and that, accordingly, the reports on the items on the agenda to be prepared by the International Labour Office could only reach Governments a short time before the opening of the session. With this situation in mind, the Governing Body instructed the Office to furnish Governments with preliminary information on the nature of the questions which will be dealt with in the reports to be submitted to the Conference as the basis for its discussions. This information is contained in the present memorandum. It is not intended to be exhaustive but merely to furnish Governments with a general indication of the kind of questions which will come up for discussion under each item on the agenda by giving as illustrations some of the more important points with which the reports will deal.

Item I—Future Policy, Programme and Status of the International Labour Organisation.

As mentioned above, the Governing Body considered that it was necessary for the Conference to examine the future policy of the Organisation, its programme and its status in the post-war world, more particularly in relation to other international institutions, and to take decisions on these questions.

The Office report on the first item on the agenda will deal inter alia with the following points:

(a) Policy and programme of the International Labour Organisation (proposals will be placed before the Conference for the purpose of restating the essential aims of the Organisation by the adoption of a new Declaration of General Principles—on the lines of those contained in Article 41 of the Constitution of the Organisation—or a "social mandate", to use the term employed by the Conference of the Organisation held in New York in 1941);
(b) Place of the International Labour Organisation in economic and social reconstruction and its relations with other international institutions;
(c) Measures to render the functioning of the International Labour Organisation more effective (regional activities, mutual supervision of the application of international standards, competence of the Organisation to deal with economic questions, acceleration of the procedure of adoption of draft Conventions and Recommendations, rendering of reports by the Governments on Conventions the ratification of which has not been approved by their competent authorities, etc.);
(d) Status of the International Labour Organisation (financial autonomy, right to take cognisance officially of all decisions of an international character relating to economic and financial matters and to formulate observations and suggestions regarding their social effects, etc.).

Item II—Recommendations to the United Nations for Present and Post-War Social Policy.

Experience after the war of 1914-1918 shows that Governments will feel the need for defining their social policies, and, unless preliminary international discussion takes place, unco-ordinated and possibly conflicting policies may lead to a dangerous state of confusion. The Governing Body therefore considered that the Conference should be asked to proceed immediately to a general examination of social policy, and that the discussions should not be confined to generalities but should deal courageously with the practical problems which are certain to arise and on which Governments are entitled to look to the International Labour Organisation for advice and guidance.

The form of words adopted by the Governing Body for item II differs in an important respect from that originally contemplated—namely, "recommendations for post-war social policy". This change was made on the proposal of the representative of the Government of the United States and obtained the unanimous approval of the members of the Governing Body, including the representatives of the other United Nations who were present. It manifests the willingness of those members of the United Nations who participated in the decision to submit their future international policies in the social field to free discussion and decision by all Members of the International Labour Organisation including those countries which are not members of the United Nations. Naturally the United Nations represented on the Governing Body do not bind themselves, at this stage, any more than the other Members of the International Labour Organisation to accept in advance any conclusions at which the Conference may arrive. The change made in the wording of the agenda is, however, a manifestation of their clear desire to apply the principles of democracy to the future ordering of the world. While some of the recommendations which the Conference may make will have a particular application to special situations with which the United Nations may have to deal, the general recommendations for post-war social policy will of course apply equally to all Members of the International Labour Organisation.

The report which will be prepared by the Office on the second item on the agenda will deal more particularly with the following points:

(a) Social objectives of economic policy (more especially the measures required to be taken internationally and nationally to ensure full employment, social security and rising standards of living);
(b) The general principles of social policy in its various fields, e.g., conditions of work, social security, child labour, paid holidays, prevention of accidents, industrial relations, industrial hygiene, labour welfare, etc., which should be applied by the Members of the International Labour Organisation;
(c) The social provisions to be inscribed in any peace settlement or the clauses of a long-term armistice, including measures to be taken for re-establishing free trade union movements and to ensure to trade union organisations the restitution of confiscated property and funds, and the participation of employers' and workers' organisations in the work of reconstruction in their own countries;
(d) Social policy in the territories of Axis countries occupied by the forces of the United Nations.

It is not proposed that the Conference should aim at the adoption of Conventions or Recommendations in regard to items I and II, but that it should
formulate its conclusions in a series of resolutions. However, as regards the social mandate, whereby the International Labour Organisation will define its future programme, it would seem appropriate that it should take the special form of a solemn Declaration.

The Governing Body considered that there were some questions on which the Conference might take more detailed and technical decisions in the form of draft Conventions or Recommendations, as provided for in Article 19 of the Constitution.

Item III—The Organisation of Employment in the Transition from War to Peace.

The first of these technical questions is that of the organisation of employment, by which is to be understood not so much the question of the motive and general inspiration of economic activity (with which the Conference will deal under item II), but rather the whole technique of the transfer of manpower from war activity to peace activity, the short-term measures required, the problems of training, of public works, etc.

The Office in its report will therefore submit proposals concerning such matters as the re-employment of members of the armed forces and war workers, measures to deal with such special employment problems as will arise after the war in regard to special categories of workers (young persons, disabled workers, women workers), measures to deal with short-term unemployment, the machinery of employment organisation, etc.

On several of these points the proposals will take the form of drafts for Recommendations, the purpose of which will be to guide the various countries in the elaboration of the necessary measures.


Under this item a report will be submitted dealing with the question of providing for income maintenance and medical care and containing drafts for Recommendations based on the new tendencies to regard social security as a single problem, requiring comprehensive and rational treatment by preventive and remedial measures, and according equality of treatment as far as possible to urban and rural workers.

In addition to this general question, the Conference will also be asked to consider three questions of more immediate importance for post-war reconstruction, i.e., the maintenance of the social insurance rights of members of the armed forces, the re-establishment of the financial position of insurance institutions in occupied countries, and mutual aid in social security administration.

Further, it will be remembered that, in the Peace Treaties which ended the last war, special provisions asked the International Labour Organisation to deal with the question of the insurance rights of certain populations which had been affected by the drawing of new frontiers. Whether or not a similar problem will have to be faced at the end of the present war, it is already certain that emergency measures concerning the pension rights of displaced persons in Europe are required, and that from the nature of the problem an international decision is necessary. The Office proposes, therefore, to submit to the Conference a draft for an international Convention on this subject.

Item V—Minimum Standards of Social Policy in Dependent Territories.

The Governing Body considered that it would be appropriate and indeed necessary that the International Labour Organisation, in restating its general policy and objectives, should undertake a parallel operation as regards dependent territories. In its report on this subject the Office will suggest that the Conference should lay down the social purposes of economic development in dependent territories, that the Conference should affirm the desirability of the general ratification of the existing indigenous labour Conventions, and that it should adopt a Recommendation formulating certain standards governing general conditions of labour, as, for example, the minimum age for admission to employment, protection of women, general principles of remuneration and wage fixing, protection of wages, general principles of social insurance, freedom of association and encouragement of labour organisations, etc.

Item VI—Reports on the Application of Conventions (Article 22 of the Constitution).

Article 22 of the Constitution provides that the Director shall lay before the Conference a summary of the annual reports made by the Governments on
the measures taken to give effect to the provisions of Conventions to which they are parties. Under the regular procedure followed, these reports were first examined by a committee of experts, whose observations were submitted to the Conference at the same time as the summary of annual reports.

The circumstances of the war have made it impossible since 1939 to apply this procedure. Nevertheless the Office has continued to request Governments to furnish annual reports on the application of Conventions which they have ratified and a number of these reports have been received. The Conference will therefore receive a summary of the reports rendered between 1940 and 1943.

Item VII—The Director's Report.

In accordance with the Standing Orders, a Report by the Director of the International Labour Office will be submitted to the Conference.

Election of Members of the Governing Body.

This question will be dealt with in a subsequent communication.

C. COMPOSITION OF DELEGATIONS

Full Delegations.

In accordance with Article 3, paragraph 1, of the Constitution of the Organisation, delegations to a session of the International Labour Conference shall be composed of four delegates, i.e., two Government delegates, and one delegate representing employers and one delegate representing workers.

Further, in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 2 of Article 3 of the Constitution, each delegate may be accompanied by two advisers for each separate item on the agenda. As the Governing Body decided that each of items III, IV and V should be considered a separate “item on the agenda of the meeting”, each Government, employers' and workers' delegate may be accompanied by not more than six advisers.

In view of the importance of the agenda with which the Conference is to deal and the influence which its decisions may be expected to have on the whole future of post-war social policy, Governments will no doubt take the necessary steps to ensure that the delegations attending the Conference are complete and that they shall include the technical advisers necessary for dealing adequately with the technical questions on the agenda.

Women Delegates and Advisers.

It will be noted that the items on the agenda of the Twenty-sixth Session affect women as much as men and that item III (employment) has special aspects affecting women. Therefore, the attention of Governments is drawn to the importance of including women, either as delegates or as advisers, in their delegations to the Conference, in accordance with Article 3, paragraph 2, of the Constitution of the Organisation.

Representation of Dependent Territories.

When, in the past, questions of primary interest to the peoples of dependent territories were on the agenda of the Conference, the Director, in accordance with the instructions of the Governing Body, brought to the notice of the Governments various Conference resolutions calling the attention of the Members concerned to the desirability of including in their delegations representatives of the workers in such territories. The Office fully realises the difficulties, material and other, of providing for the direct representation of dependent territories at the present Conference. Nevertheless, the importance of item V on the agenda is such that it would be most desirable that States with colonial responsibilities should, wherever possible, make provision for the inclusion among their Government, employers' and workers' delegates or advisers of representatives of dependent territories. To meet the difficulty arising from the restriction of the numbers of delegates and advisers, attention may be drawn to the possibilities afforded by Article 18 of the Constitution, which empowers the Conference to “add to any committees which it appoints technical experts, who shall be assessors without power to vote”.

D. TIME LIMITS

Time Limit for the Submission of Credentials of Delegates and Advisers.

The date of the opening of the Twenty-sixth Session having been fixed for 20 April 1944, the credentials of delegates to the Conference and their advisers should, in conformity with the provisions of Article 3, paragraph 1, of the Standing Orders, be deposited with the International Labour Office at Mon-
treal not later than 6 April 1944. This may be done by letter or telegram provided that the delegates transmit their credentials in due form to the Secretariat of the Conference not later than the day before the opening of the session.

Time Limit for Deposit of Draft Resolutions.

The texts of draft resolutions submitted to the Conference, other than those dealing with the items on the agenda, should, in accordance with Article 14, paragraph 7, of the Standing Orders, be deposited with the International Labour Office in Montreal, or with the Secretariat of the Conference at the place where it will meet, not later than 13 April 1944.

E. Place of the Conference

The Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labour Conference will take place in the United States of America, probably at Philadelphia. The exact place will be confirmed by a later communication.

This Record of the proceedings of the Twenty-sixth Session of the Conference has been prepared in the same manner as Records of previous sessions. A departure has, however, been made from the usual practice of publishing the proceedings in the two official languages in the same volume; the present volume contains the English text only.

The Record 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, consisting of stenographic reports of the original speeches in the case of speeches delivered in English, and of the interpretations into English given by the official interpreters to the Conference in the case of speeches delivered in languages other than English. With a few exceptions, all the interpretations were given simultaneously with the original speeches and relayed to the delegates by telephone.

THIRD PART

Appendices, including the documents and reports of the Committees of the Conference and the texts of the Declaration, the Recommendations and the resolutions adopted by the Conference.
FIRST PART

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

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES:
Hon. Frances PERKINS, Secretary of Labor, United States Department of Labor.
Hon. Elbert D. THOMAS, Senator from Utah, Chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Advisers and Substitute Delegates:
Hon. Adolf A. BERLE, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State.
Mr. Carter GOODRICH, United States Labor Commissioner; Professor of Economics, Columbia University, New York; Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Advisers:
Mr. Arthur ALTMeyer, Chairman, Social Security Board.
Mr. Thomas C. BLAISDELL, Jr., Director, Orders and Regulations Bureau, War Production Board.
Maj.-Gen. John H. HILLDRING, Director, Civil Affairs Division, War Department.
Mr. Albert Ford HINRICHS, Acting Commissioner of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor.
Mr. Isador LUBIN, Commissioner of Labor Statistics (on leave), United States Department of Labor.
Miss Frieda S. MILLER, Special Assistant to the United States Ambassador, London.
Mr. Otis E. MULLIKEN, Acting Chief, Division of Labor Relations, United States Department of State.
Mr. Thomas C. O'BRIEN, Regional Counsel, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, Boston.
Hon. Margaret Chase SMITH, Member of Congress.
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EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE:
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BOLIVIA

GOVERNMENT DELEGATE:
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EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE:
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WORKERS' DELEGATE:
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Workers' Delegate:
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Mr. Robert KEAN, Director of the Federation of Civil Engineering Contractors; Member of the Council of the British Employers' Confederation.

Mr. Harold Stewart KIRKALDY, General Secretary of the Iron and Steel Trades Employers' Association; Member of the Council of the British Employers' Confederation.
Mr. Alexander Collie LOW, Secretary of the Engineering and Allied Employers' National Federation; Member of the Council of the British Employers' Confederation.
Mr. Cecil Walter MURRAY, D.F.C., Member of the Institute of Mechanical Engineers; Managing Director of Messrs. George Fletcher and Co. Ltd., Masson Works, Derby; Employers' Member of the Colonial Labour Advisory Committee.

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Mr. E. E. ESUA, General Secretary of the Nigerian Union of Teachers.
Miss Florence HANCOCK, O.B.E., National Woman Officer of the Transport and General Workers' Union; Member of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress.
Dame Anne LOUGHLIN, D.B.E., Chief Woman Officer of the National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers; Vice-President of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress.
Mr. George Walker THOMSON, Officer of the Association of Engineering and Shipbuilding Draughtsmen; Member of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress.

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Canada

Minister Attending the Conference
The Hon. Humphrey MITCHELL, Minister of Labour.

Government Delegates:
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List of members of Delegations

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The Hon. Charles DALEY, Minister of Labour for Ontario.

Mr. James O'CONNELL-MAHER, Associate Deputy Minister of Labour for Quebec.
Mrs. Cora CASSELMAN, M.P., Ottawa.

Mr. Alfred CHARPENTIER, President, Confederation of Catholic Workers of Canada, Inc.
Mr. Walter Sainsbury WOODS, Deputy Minister, Department of Pensions and National Health, Ottawa.

Mr. H. Carl GOLDENBERG, Director-General of Economics, Department of Monitions and Supply; Chairman, Industrial Production Co-operation Board, Ottawa.

Mr. Allan Monroe MITCHELL, Director of Employment Service and Unemployment Branch, Department of Labour, Ottawa.

Mr. Eric STANGROOM, Unemployment Insurance Commission, Ottawa.

Mr. Paul-Emile RENAUD, First Secretary, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.

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Mr. Louis FINE, Chief Conciliation Officer, Department of Labour of Ontario.

Mr. Allan PEBBLES, Director, Research and Statistics Branch, Department of Labour, Ottawa.

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Mr. Hugh W. MACDONELL, Legal Secretary, Canadian Manufacturers' Association, Toronto.

Mr. Ralph PRESSGRAVE, Vice-President, J. D. Woods & Gordon, Ltd., Toronto.

Mr. Allan C. ROSS, Ross-Meagher, Ltd. and Ontario Vice-President of the Canadian Construction Association.

WORKERS' DELEGATE:

Mr. Percy R. BENGOUGH, President, Trades and Labour Congress of Canada.

Advisers:

Mr. William L. BEST, C.B.E., Vice-President and Legislative Representative of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, and Secretary of the Dominion Joint Legislative Committee, Railway Transportation Brotherhoods, Ottawa.

Mr. George BURT, Regional Director, United Automobile Workers of America, Windsor, Ont.


Mr. Norman S. DOWD, Executive Secretary, Canadian Congress of Labour, Ottawa.


Mr. Edward LAROSE, General Organiser, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, Montreal.

CHILE

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES:

Mr. Mariano BUSTOS LAGOS, Minister of Labour.

His Excellency Enrique GAJARDO VILLA-RODRIGUEZ, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Stockholm.

Advisers and Substitute Delegates:

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Mr. Julio BUSTOS ACEVEDO, Chief of the Social Welfare Department, Ministry of Health, Social Welfare and Social Assistance.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE:

Mr. Oscar HEIREMANS BROCKMANN, Member of the Board of the "Sociedad de Fomento Fabril"; Director of the Chamber of Commerce, Santiago.

Deseased 3 May 1944 and replaced by—

Mr. Juan DÍAZ SALAS, Member of the Central Joint Committee on Wages; Member of the Superior Labour Council of Chile; Legal Adviser to the Confederation of Manufacturers and Traders.

WORKERS' DELEGATE:

Mr. Arturo VELÁSQUEZ QUIROGA, Member of the National Council of the Chilean Confederation of Labour.

Adviser:

Mr. Salvador OCAMPO PASTENE, Assistant General Secretary of the Chilean Confederation of Labour; South Pacific Section, Latin American Labour Federation (C.T.A.L.); Member of the Chamber of Deputies.

Secretary to the Delegation:

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CHINA

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES:

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Secretary to the Employers' Delegation:
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WORKERS' DELEGATE:
Mr. CHU Hsueh-fan, President, Chinese Association of Labour.

Advisers:
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COSTA RICA

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Fr. Benjamin NUNEZ VARGAS, Director, "Central Sindical de Trabajadores", of Costa Rica.

WORKERS' DELEGATE:
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CUBA

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES:
Mr. José Enrique de SANDOVAL, Chief Adviser and Chief of the International Labour Organisation Service of the Ministry of Labour.
Mr. Nicasio SILVERIO y SAINZ, Director General of the Department of Naturalisation and Migration; Cuban Delegate on the Inter-American Permanent Committee on Social Security.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE:
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WORKERS' DELEGATE:
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Mr. Josef MARTINEK, General Secretary of the Czechoslovak National Council in the United States.
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WORKERS' DELEGATE:
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Mr. Julius FORTH, Member of the Czechoslovak State Council; Executive Member, Czechoslovak Trade Union Centre in London.
Mr. Ludvik NOVAK, Secretary, Czechoslovak Miners' Union.
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Mr. MARJOLIN, Counsellor for Economic Affairs, French Mission to the United States.
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EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE:
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Advisers:
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Mr. Pierre PHILIPPON, Acting Manager of the undertakings of the “L’Air Liquide” Company in liberated French territories and in Allied countries.
Mr. Arnaud CASTAIN, Engineer; Secretary of the Association of Starch Manufacturers of Madagascar and Dependencies.
Mr. Joseph MAS, Delegate of the Chamber of Commerce of Douala (Cameroons) to the United States.

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Mr. Albert GUIGUI-THÉRAL, Delegate of the French Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.), London.
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SECRETARIES TO THE LEGATION:
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GOVERNMENT DELEGATES:
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**EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE:**

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**Adviser and Substitute Delegate:**

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**WORKERS' DELEGATE:**

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**Adviser:**

Mr. Eugenios EUGENIDES.

**HAITI**

**GOVERNMENT DELEGATES:**

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**Advisers:**

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**WORKERS' DELEGATE:**

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**LIBERIA**

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**LUXEMBURG**

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His Excellency Hugues LE GALLAIS, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Washington, D.C.

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**MEXICO**

**GOVERNMENT DELEGATES:**

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WORKERS' DELEGATE:

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Advisers:

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Raden Moehamed Moesa SOERIA NATA DJOE-MEN, Second Secretary, Netherlands Embassy, Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Lucie Margaretha POLAK, née van den BERGH.


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Adviser:

Mr. F. A. VROMANS, Member of the Legislative Council of Curaçao.

WORKERS' DELEGATE:

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

Advisers:

Mr. Roelof Adriaan SCHOTMAN, President of the Union of Plantation Officials and Employees of the Netherlands Indies.

Mr. Frederik H. H. LIM APO, Vice-President of the Legislative Council of Surinam.

Secretary to the Delegation:

Mr. Bram DUKKERS VAN EMDEN.

NEW ZEALAND

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES:

Hon. Walter NASH, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Edward Bellamy TAYLOR, Assistant Secretary, Department of Labour.

Adviser:

Mr. Bruce Robert TURNER, Second Secretary, New Zealand Legation, Washington, D. C.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE:

Mr. Harry Frank BUTLAND, Secretary, Canterbury Employers' Association.

WORKERS' DELEGATE:

Mr. Francis Cornelius ALLERBY, Secretary of the New Zealand Road Transport and Motor and Horse Drivers and their Assistants' Industrial Association of Workers.

NORWAY

GOVERNMENT DELEGATES:

Mr. Carl Joachim HAMBRO, President of the Storting.

Dr. Arne ORDING, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Advisers:

Mr. Johan Andreas WELHAVEN, Under-Secretary, Ministry of Social Affairs.

Mr. Annaeus SCHJODT, Advocate to the Supreme Court.

Mr. Arne SKAUG, American Representative, Royal Norwegian Ministry of Supply and Reconstruction; Commercial Counsellor, Norwegian Embassy, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Ole COLBJØRNSEN, Financial Counsellor to the Norwegian Embassy, Washington, D. C.; Member of the Storting.

Mrs. Aase Gruda SKARD.

Mr. Fredrik HASLUND, Executive Secretary, Social Welfare Committee for Norwegian Seamen in America (Norwegian Government agency).

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE:

Mr. Finn DAHL, Managing Director of the Norwegian Employers' Association.
List of members of Delegations

Advisers:
Mr. Alfred HOLTER, Managing Director, International Cement Export Conference, London; Adviser to the Norwegian Ministry of Shipping.
Mr. Georg HAGERUP-LARSSEN, Engineer.

WORKERS' DELEGATE:
Mr. Konrad NORDAHL, President of the Norwegian Association of Trade Unions.

Advisers:
Mr. Einar JOHANSEN, Norwegian Seamen's Union.
Mr. Haakon LIE, Attaché to the Norwegian Embassy in Washington, D. C.

PANAMA
GOVERNMENT DELEGATE:
Mr. Manuel Maria VALDÉS, Director, Social Insurance Fund.
Mr. Diógenes de la ROSA, Secretary of the Provincial Council of Panama; Secretary of the Board for the Study of National Problems.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE:
Mr. Raimundo ORTEGA VIETO.

WORKERS' DELEGATE:
Mr. Alejandro GARRIDO, Workers' Federation of Panama.

PERU
GOVERNMENT DELEGATES:
Dr. Jorge FERNANDEZ STOLL, Director-General of Labour, Ministry of Justice and Labour.
Dr. Juan Ignacio ELGUEBA, Counsellor of Embassy, Washington, D. C.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate:
Prof. Carlos RODRIGUEZ PASTOR, Principal Professor of Labour Law at the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos; Director of Teachers' Post-Graduate Education.

Adviser:
Mr. Emilio GODoy, Executive, W. R. Grace & Co.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE:
Mr. Carlos A. VIDAL, Director, International Business Machines Co.; Director of the Peruvian Traders' Association; Member of the Chamber of Commerce; Member of the National Society of Industries.

WORKERS' DELEGATE:
Mr. Juan P. LUNA, Member of Parliament; Secretary-General of the Peruvian Workers' National Committee.

Adviser and Substitute Delegate:
Mr. Arturo SABROSO, Secretary-General of the Peruvian Textile Workers' Federation; Technical Secretary of the Peruvian Workers' National Committee.

POLAND
GOVERNMENT DELEGATES:
Mr. Jan STANCZYK, Minister of Labour and Social Welfare; Representative of the Government of Poland on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.
Mr. Sylwín STRAKACZ, Minister Plenipotentiary, Consul-General, New York.

Advisers:
Mr. Wieslaw DOMANIEWSKI, Commercial Counsellor, Polish Embassy, Washington, D. C.
Dr. Stanislaw FISCHLOWITZ, Chief of Section, Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, in London.
Dr. Emmanuel FREYD, Counsellor, Polish Embassy, Washington, D. C.
Dr. Stefan ROGOZINSKI, Vice-Counsellor, Polish Consulate-General, New York.
Dr. Jakob SAPER, Principal Private Secretary, Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, in London.
Mrs. Zofia WOJCIECHOWSKA, Assistant Director of Relief Department, Polish Embassy, Washington, D. C.

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

Adviser:
Mr. Stanislaw SLAWIK.

WORKERS' DELEGATE:
Mr. Alojzy ADAMCZYK, Vice-President of the Polish Trade Union Delegation and Member of the Polish National Council in London.

Advisers:
Dr. Feliks GROSS, Member of the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Educational Association; Secretary-General, Central and Eastern European Planning Board.
Dr. Władysław MALINOWSKI, Representative of Polish Trade Unions in the United States; Assistant Financial Counsellor of the Polish Embassy, Washington, D. C.
Dr. Romuald ZUMSK, Secretary of the Polish Trade Union Delegation in London.
Mr. Chil WASSER, Union of Jewish Trade Unions of Poland.

Adviser:
Mr. Szmul MILMAN, Member of the Council of the Textile Workers' Union.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
GOVERNMENT DELEGATES:
Mr. Harry Thompson ANDREWS, Head of the Government Supply Mission of the Union of South Africa to the United States, Washington, D. C.
Mr. Andrew Thomas BRENNAN, Senior Trade Commissioner, Government Supply Mission of the Union of South Africa to the United States, Washington, D. C.

Adviser:
Mr. Robert WEBSTER, Consul for the Union of South Africa, New York.

EMPLOYERS' DELEGATE:
Mr. Walter Richard SKEELES, Vice-Chairman of the Association of Chambers of Commerce.

Adviser:
Mr. Frederick Charles WILLIAMS, Secretary of the South African Federation of Engineering and Metallurgical Associations.

WORKERS' DELEGATE:
Mr. Willem Johannes de VRIES, Secretary of the South African Trades and Labour Council.
SWEDEN

Government Delegates:
Prof. Bertil OHLIN, Member of the First Chamber of the Riksdag.
Mr. Sture TEORSSON, Ministerial Counsellor, Ministry of Social Affairs.

Employers’ Delegate:
Mr. Rolf von HEIDENSTAM, Managing Director, Gas Accumulator Co. Ltd.

Advisor and Substitute Delegate:
Mr. Sven WAHLSTRÖM, Mining Engineer.

Workers’ Delegate:
Mr. Gunnar ANDERSSON, Joint President of the Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions; Member of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Advisers:
Mr. Knut LARSSON, Secretary of the Wood Workers’ Union.
Mr. Gunnar ÖSVALL, President of the Federation of Salaried Employees.
Mr. Nils THEDIN, Co-operative Union.

YUGOSLAVIA

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

Advisers:
Mr. Oton GAVRILOVITCH, Deputy Minister, Ministry of Finance.
Mr. Francis GABROVIŠEK, former M.P., Manager of the Co-operative Union, Ljubljana.
Mr. Milorad MILOVANOVITCH, LL.D., Member of the Yugoslav Post-War Reconstruction Committee, Washington, D. C.

Secretary:
Mr. Rastislav DJURIČIĆ.

Employers’ Delegate:
Mr. Boža BANAC, Shipowner.

Advisers:
Capt. Vlaho BRUER, President of the Yugoslav Shipowners’ Committee, New York.
Mr. Alfred BONDY, former Member of the Board of the Chamber of Industry, Zagreb.

Secretary:
Mr. Ivo BRONZAN, Secretary of the Yugoslav Shipowners’ Committee.

Workers’ Delegate:
Mr. Cezar MILOS, Representative of the Seamen’s Union.

Adviser:
Mr. Marijan JELIČIĆ, Seaman.

Representatives Accredited by Non-Member States Invited to Attend the Conference

ICELAND

Mr. Thorhallur ASGEIRSSON, Attaché, Icelandic Legation, Washington, D. C.

NICARAGUA

Dr. Desiderio ROMÁN y REYES.

PARAGUAY

Dr. César R. ACOSTA, President of the Department of Labour.

Officers of the Conference

President:
Mr. NASH.

Vice-Presidents:
Mr. BUSTOS LAGOS, Government delegate (Chile).
List of members of Delegations

Sir John FORBES WATSON, Employers' delegate (British Empire).
Mr. WATT, Workers' delegate (United States of America).

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.

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Mr. REYMOND.

Assistant Secretaries-General:
Mr. Lindsay ROGERS.
Mr. P. WAELEBROECK.

Legal Adviser:
Mr. C. W. JENKS.

Chief of the Secretariat Services:
Mr. LAFRANCE.

Assistant Chief of the Secretariat Services:
Mr. MORTISHED.

Clerk of the Conference:
Mr. LEBEAU.

Attached to the President of the Conference:
Mr. LITTLE.

Attached to the Secretary-General:
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Mr. FINER.
Miss HINDER.
Mr. PILLAI.
Mr. PRICE.
Mrs. ROWE.
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Mr. RAO.
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Mr. STAAL.
Mr. WILSON.

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Representative of the Secretary-General:
Mr. LAFRANCE.

Secretaries:
Mr. MORTISHED.
Mr. LEBEAU.

Credentials Committee:
Representative of the Secretary-General:
Mr. JENKS.

Resolutions Committee:
Representative of the Secretary-General:
Mr. LAFRANCE.

Secretaries:
Mr. PASTUHOV.
Miss RIEGELMAN.

Drafting Committee:
Secretary:
Mr. DUPONT.

Committee on Items I and II of the Agenda:
Representatives of the Secretary-General:
Mr. Lindsay ROGERS.
Mr. WAELEBROECK.
Mr. JENKS.

Experts:
Mr. RICHES.
Mr. BLELLOCH.
Mr. HSIEH.

Secretaries:
Mr. BORDA.
Miss GINSBERG.
Mr. JACK.
Mr. PASTUHOV.
Miss RIEGELMAN.

Committee on Employment:
Representative of the Secretary-General:
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Experts:
Mr. TAIT.
Mrs. THIBERT.

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Mrs. BRUNN.
Mr. CHARNES.

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Mr. STACK.

Experts:
Mr. FLORES.
Miss BODMER.

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Mr. FOX.
Mr. de VIADO.

Committee on Dependent Territories:
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Mr. BENSON.

Secretaries:
Mr. COLOMBAIN.
Mr. MATTHEWS.

Committee on the Application of Conventions:
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Mr. KURIYAN.

Secretaries:
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Mr. DHAMI.
XXVI List of members of Delegations

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Mr. HADEN.
Miss NATZIO.
Mr. WHEELER.

French Interpreters:
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Mrs. KERR.
Mr. RODITI.

Spanish Interpreters:
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Mr. ROHEN Y GALVEZ.
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Distribution:
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Sales:
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Chief of Services:
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Finance Officer:
Mr. STACEY.

Registrar:
Miss HILL.

Information Office:
Miss CHEYNEY.
Miss MARTIN.

Stenographic and Roneo Services:
Supervisors:
Mrs. STACEY.
Miss WOOD.

Selection Committee

Government Members:

United States of America: Mr. GOODRICH; substitutes: Mr. LUBIN, Mr. HINKRICH, Mr. MULLIKEN, Mr. GAMBS.
Australia: Mr. BEASLEY; substitute: Mr. BURTON.
Belgium: Mr. van ZEELAND; substitute: Mr. GOTTSCHALK.
Brazil: Mr. FONTES.
British Empire: Sir Frederick LEGGETT; substitutes: Mr. EVANS, Mr. JOHNSTON.
Canada: Mr. MACDONALD; substitute: Mr. RIVE.
Chile: Mr. BUSTOS LAGOS; substitute: Mr. GAJARDO VILLARROEL.
China: Mr. Ll Ping-heng; substitute: Mr. YU Tsune-Chi.
France: Mr. TXIEX; substitute: Mr. AGLION.
India: Sir Samuel RUNGANADHAN; substitutes: Mr. PRIOR, Mr. ENGLAND.
Mexico: Mr. TRUJILLO GURRIA; substitutes: Mr. SANTOS GAJARDO, Mr. JIMÉNEZ DOMÍNGUEZ.
Netherlands: Mr. van den TEMPEL; substitutes: Mr. LOUDON, Mr. van RHIJN.
Norway: Mr. HAMBO; substitute: Mr. ORDING.
Peru: Mr. FERNÁNDEZ STOLL; substitutes: Mr. ELGUERA, Mr. RODRÍGUEZ PASTOR.
Poland: Mr. STANCZYK; substitute: Mr. STRAKACZ.
Yugoslavia: Mr. SOUBBOTITCH; substitute: Mr. GABROVSEK.

Employers' Members:

Mr. CHAPA (Mexico).
Sir John FORBES WATSON (British Empire).
Mr. HARRIMAN (United States of America).
Mr. JOASSART (Belgium).
Mr. LAMURAGLIA (Argentine Republic).
Mr. MACDONNELL (Canada).
Mr. MULHERKAR (India).
Mr. VIDAL LEITE RIBEIRO (Brazil).

Substitutes:

Mr. BRIT (Cuba).
Mr. DAHL (Norway).
Mr. FALTER (Poland).
Mr. SHAW Kim-wei (China).
Mr. WARNING (Netherlands).

Workers' Members:

Mr. ADAMCZYK (Poland).
Mr. ANDERSSON (Sweden).
Mr. CHU Hseuh-fan (China).
Mr. FERNÁNDEZ R. (Cuba).
Mr. HALLSWORTH (British Empire).
Mr. LAURENT (France).
Mr. MOLINA (Colombia).
Mr. OLDENBROEK (Netherlands).

Substitutes:

Mr. ALLERBY (New Zealand).
Mr. BENGOUGH (Canada).
Mr. MEHTA (India).
Mr. VELASQUEZ QUIROGA (Chile).

Chairman:
Sir Samuel RUNGANADHAN.

Vice-Chairmen:
Mr. HALLSWORTH.
Mr. HARRIMAN.
List of members of Delegations

Representative of the Secretary-General:
Mr. LAFRANCE.

Secretaries:
Mr. LEBEAU.
Mr. MORTISHED.

Credentials Committee

Government Member:
Mr. van den TEMPEL (Netherlands).

Employers' Member:
Mr. HARRIMAN (United States of America).

Workers' Member:
Mr. LOMBARDO TOLEDANO (Mexico).

Chairman:
Mr. van den TEMPEL.

Representative of the Secretary-General:
Mr. JENKS.

Substitutes:
Mr. ANTOINE (France).
Mr. VIDAL LEITE RIBEIRO (Brasil).

Workers' Members:
Mr. Benau; substitute: Mr. Kosina (Czechoslovakia).
Mr. Dowd (Canada).
Mr. Finet (Belgium).
Mr. Malinowski (Poland).
Mr. Morales (Dominican Republic).
Mr. Oldenbroek; substitute: Mr. Schotman (Netherlands).
Mr. ENS (Belgium).
Mr. SABROSO (Peru).

Chairman and Reporter:
Mr. TRUJILLO GURRIA.

Vice-Chairmen:
Mr. KIRKALDY.
Mr. Dowd.

Representative of the Secretary-General:
Mr. LAFRANCE.

Secretaries:
Mr. Pastuhov.
Miss Riegelman.

Special Drafting Committee on the Proposed Declaration concerning the Aims and Purposes of the International Labour Organisation

Mr. NASH, President of the Conference.
Mr. BUSTOS LAGOS, Government Vice-President of the Conference.
Sir John FORBES WATSON, Employers' Vice-President of the Conference.
Mr. WATT, Workers' Vice-President of the Conference.
Sir Samuel Runganadhian, Chairman of the Selection Committee.
Mr. van ZEELAND, nominated by the Government group of the Selection Committee.
Mr. CHAPA, nominated by the Employers' group of the Selection Committee.
Mr. OLDENBROEK, nominated by the Workers' group of the Selection Committee.
Mr. E. J. PHELAN, Secretary-General of the Conference.

Committee on Items I and II on the Agenda

Government Members:
United States of America: Miss Perkins; substitutes: Mr. Goodrich, Mr. Hinrichs, Mr. Gross, Mr. Mulliken, Miss Miller.
Argentina Republic: Mr. Aberastury.
Australia: Mr. Beasley; substitute: Mr. Burton.

Resolutions Committee

Government Members:
Argentine Republic: Mr. Garcia Arias; substitute: Mr. Palmieri.
Australia: Mr. Wynes.
Brazil: Mr. Fontes.
Chile: Mr. Bustos Lagos; substitute: Mr. Escobar Mandiola.
Czechoslovakia: Mr. Hyka.
Dominican Republic: Mr. Cocco.
France: Mr. Tixier; substitute: Mr. Aglion.
Iraq: Mr. HAIDARI.
Luxembourg: Mr. Le Gallais.
Mexico: Mr. Trujillo Gurria; substitute: Mr. Jimenez Domínguez.
Norway: Mr. Hambro; substitute: Mr. Schjødt.
Panama: Mr. de la Rosa.
Poland: Mr. Strakacz; substitute: Mr. Fischlowitz.
Venezuela: Mr. Tinoco Rodil; substitute: Mr. Perez Guerrero.
Yugoslavia: Mr. Soubbotitch; substitute: Mr. Gabrovsek.

Employers' Members:
Mr. Chapa; substitute: Mr. Yllanes Ramos (Mexico).
Mr. Coulter; substitute: Mr. MacDonnell (Canada).
Sir John Forbes Watson; substitute: Mr. Kirkaldy (British Empire).
Mr. Harriman; substitute: Mr. McDavitt (United States of America).
Mr. Lamuraglia; substitute: Mr. Noe (Argentina Republic).
Mr. Li Ming; substitute: Mr. Shaw Kin-Wei (China).
Mr. Mulherkar (India).
Mr. Vidal (Peru).

Substitutes:
Mr. ANTOINE (France).
Mr. VIDAL LEITE RIBEIRO (Brasil).

Workers' Members:
Mr. Benau; substitute: Mr. Kosina (Czechoslovakia).
Mr. Dowd (Canada).
Mr. Finet (Belgium).
Mr. Malinowski (Poland).
Mr. Morales (Dominican Republic).
Mr. Oldenbroek; substitute: Mr. Schotman (Netherlands).
Mr. ENS (Belgium).
Mr. SABROSO (Peru).

Chairman and Reporter:
Mr. TRUJILLO GURRIA.

Vice-Chairmen:
Mr. KIRKALDY.
Mr. Dowd.

Representative of the Secretary-General:
Mr. LAFRANCE.

Secretaries:
Mr. Pastuhov.
Miss Riegelman.
XXVIII List of members of Delegations

Belgium: Mr. van ZEELAND.
Brazil: Mr. PONTES; substitute: Mr. de REGÓ MONTEIRO.
British Empire: Sir Frederick LEGGETT; substitutes: Mr. MYRDDIN EVANS, Mr. JOHNSTON.
Canada: Mr. CLAXTON; substitutes: Mr. RIVE, Mr. RENAUD, Mr. PEEBLES.
Chile: Mr. BUSTOS LAGOS; substitute: Mr. GAJARDO VILLARROEL.
China: Mr. CHANG Hung-ehun.
Colombia: Mr. G. NANNETTI.
Cuba: Mr. de SANDOVAL.
Czechoslovakia: Mr. HYKA; substitute: Mr. STOLZ.
Dominican Republic: Mr. COCCO; substitute: Mr. RODRÍGUEZ.
Ecuador: Mr. HIDALGO GONZÁLEZ.
Egypt: Mr. TIXIER.
Greece: Mr. DIAMANTOPOULOS; substitutes: Mr. ZARRAS, Mr. LOVERDOS.
Haiti: Mr. DARTIGUE.
India: Sir Samuel RUNGANADHAN; substitute: Mr. PRIOR.
Iran: Mr. DAFT AR Y.
Iraq: Mr. H AID ARI; substitute: Mr. JAWDAT.
Ireland: Mr. HEARNE.
Luxembourg: Mr. KRIER; substitute: Mr. LE GALLais.
Mexico: Mr. TRUJILLO GURRIA; substitutes: Mr. SANTOS GUAJARDO, Mr. FERNÁNDEZ DEL CAMPO, Mr. MESA A., Mr. PEYROT GIRARD.
Netherlands: Mr. van den TEMPEL; substitute: Mrs. POLAK.
New Zealand: Mr. NASH; substitute: Mr. TAYLOR.
Norway: Mr. HAMBRO; substitute: Mr. ORDING.
Peru: Mr. ELGUERA.
Poland: Mr. STANCZYK; substitutes: Mr. STRARACZ, Mr. SAPER.
Union of South Africa: Mr. ANDREWS.
Sweden: Mr. OHLIN; substitute: Mr. THORSON.
Switzerland: Mr. FEER.
Turkey: Mr. GULEK.
Uruguay: Mr. KHN TALAY; substitute: Mr. FONTAINA.
Venezuela: Mr. PÉREZ GUERRERO; substitute: Mr. TINOCO RODIL.
Yugoslavia: Mr. SOUBBOTITCH; substitute: Mr. GABROVŠEK.

Substitutes:
Bolivia: Mr. ANDRADE.
Costa Rica: Mr. PADILLA CASTRO.
Ethiopia: Mr. TESSEMA.
Liberia: Mr. WALKER.
Panama: Mr. de la ROSA.

EMPLOYERS’ MEMBERS:
Mr. ANTOINE; substitute: Mr. GENTIL (France).
Mr. BRUER (Yugoslavia).
Mr. BUTLAND (New Zealand).
Mr. CHAPA; substitute: Mr. FERNÁNDEZ DEL CASTILLO (Mexico).
Mr. COULTER; substitute: Mr. MACDONNELL, Mr. CAMERON (Canada).
Mr. DAHL (Norway).
Sir John FORBES WATSON; substitute: Mr. KIRKALDY (British Empire).
Mr. HARRIMAN; substitutes: Mr. MCDAVITT, Mr. WEST, Mr. DENNISON, Mr. MYERS (United States of America).
Mr. van HEIDENSTAM; substitute: Mr. WAHLSTRÖM (Sweden).
Mr. HEIREMANS BROCKMANN (Chile).
Mr. JOANNART; substitutes: Mr. van ESSCHE, Mr. RAIK (Belgium).
Mr. KULUKUNDIS; substitute: Mr. GRATOS (Greece).
Mr. LI Ming; substitute: Mr. SHAW Kinn-wei (China).
Mr. MORAWEZ; substitutes: Mr. HEXNER, Mr. BASCH (Czechoslovakia).
Mr. MULHERKAR (India).
Mr. SKEELES; substitute: Mr. WILLIAMS (Union of South Africa).
Mr. VIDAL (Peru).
Mr. VIDAL LEITE RIBEIRO (Brazil).

WORKERS’ MEMBERS:
Mr. ANDERSSON; substitute: Mr. THEDIN (Sweden).
Mr. CARRILLO (Mexico).
Mr. CHU Hsiang-fan; substitute: Mr. LIU Hsuan-teu (China).
Mr. CLAREY (Australia).
Mr. DOWD; substitute: Mr. BENGOUGH (Canada).
Mr. FERNÁNDEZ R. (Cuba).
Mr. GARRIDO (Panama).
Mr. HALLSWORTH; substitute: Sir Walter CITRINE (British Empire).
Mr. LAURENT; substitute: Mr. GUIGUI-THERAL (France).
Mr. MEHTA; substitute: Mr. BOHLE (India).
Mr. MILOS (Yugoslavia).
Mr. NORDAHL; substitute: Mr. LIJ (Norway).
Mr. OLSEN (Norway).
Mr. RENS (Belgium).
Mr. SABROSO (Peru).
Mr. VELázQUEZ QUIROGA (Chile).
Mr. de VRIES (Union of South Africa).
Mr. WATT; substitute: Mr. GREEN (United States of America).

Substitutes:
Mr. ALLERBY (New Zealand).
Mr. KOSINA, Mr. NOVAK (Czechoslovakia).
Mr. MILMAN, Mr. ADAMCZYK (Poland).

CHAIRMAN:
Miss PERRINS.

VICE-CHAIRMEN:
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Mr. WAELBROECK.
Mr. JENKS.

EXPERTS:
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Mr. BLELOCH.

SECRETARIES:
Mr. BORDA.
Miss GINSBERG.
Mr. JACK.
Mr. PASTUHOV.
Miss RIEGELMAN.
List of members of Delegations

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**GOVERNMENT MEMBERS:**
- United States of America: Miss MILLER.
- Brazil: Mr. FONTES.
- British Empire: Mr. MYRRIDIN EVANS; Mr. JOHNSTON.
- Canada: Mr. RIVE.
- Chile: Mr. GAJARDO VILLARROEL.
- France: Mr. TIXIER.
- Greece: Mr. ZARRAS.
- India: Mr. PRIOR.

**EMPLOYERS' MEMBERS:**
- Mr. MULHERKAR (India).
- Mr. McDAVITT (United States of America).
- Mr. SKEELES (Union of South Africa).

**Substitutes:**
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- Mr. HALLSWORTH (British Empire).
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- Mr. RENS (Belgium).
- Mr. CARRILLO (Mexico).

**Substitutes:**
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- Mr. Hexner (Czecho-Slovakia).
- Mr. von HEIDENSTAM (Sweden).

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Miss MILLER.

**VICE-CHAIRMEN:**
Mr. KIRKALDY.
Mr. HALLSWORTH.

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- British Empire: Sir Frederick LEGGETT.
- Canada: Mr. STANGROOM; substitute: Mr. RENAUD.
- France: Mr. TIXIER.
- Netherlands: Mr. van den TEMPEL.
- Sweden: Mr. OHLIN.
- Venezuela: Mr. PÉREZ GUERRERO.

**Substitutes:**
- Belgium: Mr. van ZEELAND; substitute: Mr. NISOT.
- Brazil: Mr. FONTES.
- Czecho-Slovakia: Mr. HYKA.
- New Zealand: Mr. NASH.
- Norway: Mr. HAMBRO.

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Mr. von HEIDENSTAM; substitute: Mr. WAHL-STROM (Sweden).
Mr. HEIREMANS BROCKMANN; substitute: Mr. DIAZ SALAS (Chile).
Mr. JOASSART; substitute: Mr. van ESSCHE (Belgium).
Mr. KULUKUNDIS; substitute: Mr. GRATSOS (Greece).
Mr. LAMURAGLIA; substitute: Mr. NOE (Argentine Republic).
Mr. Li Ming (China).
Mr. MORAWETZ; substitutes: Mr. BASCH, Mr. HENNER (Czechoslovakia).
Mr. SKEELES (Union of South Africa).
Mr. VIDAL; substitute: Mr. GODAY (Peru).
Mr. VIDAL LEITE RIBEIRO (Brazil).
Mr. WARNING; substitute: Mr. VROMANS (Netherlands).
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Mr. MALINOWSKI (Poland).
Mr. MIDOL (France).
Mr. NORDAHL (Norway).
Mr. REINS; substitute: Mr. KEUWET (Belgium).
Mr. SCHOTMAN (Netherlands).
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Chile: Mr. BUSTOS ACEVEDO.
China: Mr. HSIEH Cheng-fu; substitute: Mr. HSIEH Chia.
Colombia: Mr. NANNETTI.
Costa Rica: Mr. PADILLA CASTRO; substitute: Pr. NÚÑEZ VARGAS.
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Czechoslovakia: Mr. SHOENBAUM; substitute: Mr. STOLZ.
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Egypt: Mr. RAMZY; substitute: Mr. AMIN.
France: Mr. TIXIER.
Greece: Mr. ZARRAS; substitute: Mr. LOVERDO.
Haiti: Mr. ARTAUD; substitutes: Mr. ROY, Mr. THEBAUD.
India: Sir Samuel RUNGANADHAN; substitute: Mr. PRIOR.
Iraq: Mr. UMAR.
Luxembourg: Mr. KRIER; substitute: Mr. HEUERTZ.
Mexico: Mr. SANTOS GUAJARDO; substitutes: Mr. FERNANDEZ DEL CAMPO, Mr. PEYROT GIRARD.
Netherlands: Mr. van RHijn; substitute: Mrs. POLAK.
New Zealand: Mr. TAYLOR; substitute: Mr. TURNER.
Norway: Mr. SKAUG; substitute: Mr. HASLUND.
Panama: Mr. VALDÈs; substitute: Mr. de la ROSA.
Peru: Mr. FERNANDEZ STOLL; substitute: Mr. RODRIGUEZ PASTOR.
Poland: Mr. FISCHLOWITZ; substitute: Mrs. WOJCIECHOWSKA.
Union of South Africa: Mr. WEBSTER; substitute: Mr. BRENnan.
Sweden: Mr. THORSSON.
Turkey: Mr. GULEK; substitute: Mr. ESMEr.
Uruguay: Mr. KÈHN TALAY.
Venezuela: Mr. TINOCO RODIL; substitute: Mr. LARES-GABALDQN.
Yugoslavia: Mr. MILOVANOvITCH.

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Mr. COULTE; substitutes: Mr. ROSS, Mr. MacDONELL (Canada).
Mr. COWLEY HERNÁNDEZ; substitute: Mr. BRITO (Cuba).
Mr. DAHL; substitute: Mr. HAGERUP-LARSEN (Norway).
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Mr. FALTER; substitute: Mr. SLAWIK (Poland).
Sir John FORBES WATSON; substitutes: Mr. ASHURST, Mr. KEAN, Mr. KIRKALDY (British Empire).
Mr. HARRIMAN; substitutes: Mr. DENNISON, Mr. FOLSOM, Mr. MYERS, Mr. WEST (United States of America).
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Mr. HEIREMANS BROCKMANN; substitute: Mr. DIAZ SALAS (Chile).
Mr. JOASSART; substitute: Mr. van ESCH (Belgium).
Mr. KULUKUNDIS; substitute: Mr. GRATSOS (Greece).
Mr. LAMURAGLIA; substitute: Mr. NOË (Argentina).
Mr. Li Ming; substitute: Mr. SHAW Kinn-wei (China).
Mr. de MARCHENA DUJARRIC (Dominican Republic).
Mr. MULLERKAR (India).
Mr. SKEELES; substitute: Mr. WILLIAMS (Union of South Africa).
Mr. WARNING; substitute: Mr. VROMANS (Netherlands).
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Substitutes:
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Mr. BONDY (Yugoslavia).
Mr. MORAWETZ (Czechoslovakia).
Mr. VIDAL (Peru).

Workers' Members:
Mr. BEST (Canada).
Mr. BOHLE (India).
Mr. BUISSON (France).
Mr. CARLIN (Canada).
Mr. FURTH (Czechoslovakia).
Mr. GROSS; substitute: Mr. SZUMSKI (Poland).
Miss HANCOCK (British Empire).
Mr. HEDGES (United States of America).
Mr. JOHANSEN (Norway).
Mr. KEUWET (Belgium).
Mr. LIU Hsuan-tsui (China).
Dame Anne LOUGHLIN (British Empire).
Mr. LUNA (Peru).
Mr. MEANY (United States of America).
Mr. OLDENBROEK; substitute: Mr. SCHOTMAN (Netherlands).
Mr. OSVALD (Sweden).
Mr. TORRES VERA (Ecuador).

Substitutes:
Mr. BENAVIDES CHAVERRI (Costa Rica).
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Mr. MORALES (Dominican Republic).
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Mr. XAVIER LOPES.
Mr. LÓPEZ ARTETA.
Mr. SHOENBAUM.

Representative of the Secretary-General:
Mr. STACK.

Experts:
Mr. FLORES.
Miss BODMER.

Secretaries:
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Mr. FOX.
Mr. de VIADO.

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Czechoslovakia: Mr. STOLZ.
Greece: Mr. ZARRAS.
Norway: Mr. SKAUG.
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Luxembourg: Mr. HEUERTZ.

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Mr. MORAWETZ (Czechoslovakia).
Mr. VROMANS (Netherlands).

Substitutes:
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Mr. GENTIL (France).
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Egypt: Mr. RAMZY.
Netherlands: Mrs. POLAK.
Venezuela: Mr. LARES-GABALDÓN.

Substitutes:
Australia: Mr. BARNARD.
Brazil: Mr. di PIERO.
Canada: Mr. WEIR.
Haiti: Mr. THEBAUD.

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Mr. DENNISON (United States of America).
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Substitutes:
Mr. KEAN (British Empire).
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Mr. KOSINA (Czechoslovakia).
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Substitutes:
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Mr. XAVIER LOPES.
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Australia: Mr. BEASLEY; substitute: Mr. LUBIN.

Belgium: Mr. WAUTERS.

Brazil: Miss LUTZ.

British Empire: Sir Frederick LEGGETT; substitutes: Mr. LLOYD, Mr. ORDE BROWNE, Mr. LINDON.

China: Mr. YU Tsune-chi.

Cuba: Mr. SILVERIO y SAINZ.

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France: Mr. DELELÉE-DESLOGES; substitute: Mr. PIGNON.

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New Zealand: Mr. TURNER.

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Mr. COULTER; substitute: Mr. MACDONNELL (Canada).

Sir John FORBES WATSON; substitute: Mr. MURRAY (British Empire).

Mr. HARRIMAN; substitutes: Mr. REDDING, Mr. McDAVITT (United States of America).

Mr. JOASSART; substitutes: Mr. RAICK, Mr. van ESSCHE (Belgium).

Mr. LI Ming; substitute: Mr. LIN Lin (China).

Mr. WARNING; substitute: Mr. VROMANS (Netherlands).

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Mr. SKEELES (Union of South Africa).

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Mr. FINET (Belgium).

Mr. GARRIDO (Panama).

Mgr. HAAS; substitute: Mr. HEDGES (United States of America).

Mr. LIM APO; substitute: Mr. SCHOTMAN (Netherlands).

Mr. MAGATTE (France).

Mr. MEHTA (India).

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Chile: Mr. ESCRIBAR MANDIOLA.

Cuba: Mr. de SANDOVAL.

Egypt: Mr. EL SHERIF.

Greece: Mr. ZARRAS.

India: Mr. PRIOR.

Mexico: Mr. JIMÉNEZ DOMINGUEZ.

Netherlands: Mr. van den TEMPEL; substitute: Mr. van RHIJN.

Norway: Mr. COLBJÖRNSEN.

Poland: Mr. FISCHLOWITZ; substitute: Mr. ROGOZINSKI.

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Mr. von HEIDENSTAM; substitute: Mr. WAHLSTRÖM (Sweden).

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Mr. KULUKUNDIS; substitute: Mr. GRATSOS (Greece).

Mr. LAMURAGLIA (Argentina).

Mr. Li Ming; substitute: Mr. LIN Lin (China).

Mr. VIDAL (Peru).

Mr. VIDAL LEITE RIBEIRO (Brazil).

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Mr. FRASER (United States of America).

Mr. GROSS (Poland).

Mgr. HAAS (United States of America).

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Mr. KOSINA (Czechoslovakia).

Mr. LIM APO (Netherlands).

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Mr. LAMURAGLIA (Argentine Republic).
Mr. KULUKUNDIS (Greece).
Mr. VIDAL (Peru).
Mr. LI Ming (China).
Mr. ANTOINE (France).
Secretary: Mr. CHAPA (Mexico).

Workers’ Group:
Chairman: Mr. HALLSWORTH (British Empire).
Vice-Chairman: Mr. WATT (United States of America).
Secretary: Mr. SCHEVENELS.
SECOND PART

VERBATIM REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS
Verbatim Report of the Proceedings

FIRST SITTING
Thursday, 20 April 1944, 11:25 a.m.

Presidents: Mr. Goodrich, Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and Mr. Walter Nash.
(The Mayor of Philadelphia, Mr. Bernard Samuel, the President of Temple University, Dr. Robert L. Johnson, and the Prime Minister of New Zealand, Mr. Peter Fraser, take seats on the platform.)

PRELIMINARY PROCEEDINGS

Mr. GOODRICH—I have the pleasure, first, to present the Honourable Frances Perkins to bring to the Conference the greetings of the Government of the United States. You need not be told that she is the Secretary of Labor. Many of you know her well, and know her as the President of the last Conference held by the International Labour Organisation. It is a great pleasure to present her.

Miss PERKINS—To the delegates and advisers who have come to this meeting of the International Labour Organisation, I have the honour to bring you the welcome, the official welcome, of the Government of the United States, and to say to you that the Government of the United States welcomes this meeting of the I.L.O. and its individual members with a solemn sense of the profound importance of this particular official assembly.

It is an assembly of those who are charged in the midst of war to lay one of the foundation stones of the great peace, the stone of social justice, on which human hope and human life can be rebuilt. This is the segment of the work of peace which God has given us to do within the mechanism of this particular piece of international co-operation.

But the welcome of the United States Government and of its people, though fraught with solemnity, is also warm and hearty. Many of you have come over the great deeps and through the air in hard journeys to take part in this meeting. You have faced peril and discomfort. Many of you are in personal and deep trouble, and we know it. Your coming and the action of your Governments in sending you constitute an act of faith, a reassertion of the need for this now old-established institution of international co-operation which has survived the strains of war.

We welcome many of you, most of you, in fact, as personal and old friends and close associates, who trust each other and whom we trust because we have worked together in a common work. We hope you will find days of comfort and happiness as well as productive work, even in the midst of the strains and troubles of wartime. And for those friends and associates of ours who have worked with us in other years in the International Labour Organisation and whom the fortunes of war have hidden from us, who would be here but cannot, who are in prisons, in camps, in hiding, and some, perhaps, in war-made graves—we hold them in memory as we exchange our greetings today and think of them as we say to you: “You are welcome among us”.

I have the honour to read to you a greeting from the President of the United States, dated 19 April 1944:

To the Members of the International Labour Conference:

I send you greetings and a warm welcome. We are glad to have you in the United States. It is a privilege, on our soil for the third time, to have a meeting of your great Organisation.

The Conference that opens today is most significant in the annals of international gatherings.

The mere fact that, in the tradition of the founders of the International Labour
Organisation, the Conference still maintains its distinctive democratic tripartite character, is in itself of significance.

As part of the regular constitutional machinery of the I.L.O., it also testifies to the vitality of one of the few international organisations which have continued to function throughout the war. The determination on the part of its Member States that the I.L.O. should continue its activities during the war years is evidence of the indestructible tenacity of the democratic way of life. As representatives of the practical affairs of these nations—not only of their Governments, but also of their workers and employers—you have come together to make plans and recommendations for the continuing improvement of labour standards and for raising the standard of living of the world's people. The tasks you are undertaking, even at the moment when the tide of war is mounting, bear testimony to the fact that the welfare of the world's population and their liberty are a first and an ultimate concern of those dedicated to root out from this earth every trace of Nazi ideas and Nazi methods.

We know that the conditions of a lasting peace can be secured only through soundly organised economic institutions, fortified by humane labour and social standards, regular employment and adequate income for all the people.

Within the field of your activity, the United Nations have no need to extemporise a new organisation; the ways and means for obtaining this underwriting of a permanent peace are among the items on the agenda of your Conference. In your recommendations will lie the foundation of those agreements in the field of labour and social standards which must be part of any permanent international arrangement for a decent world.

The Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, has already publicly announced that the Government of the United States is now working on plans for an international organisation to maintain peace. He has also referred to the "economic and other co-operative arrangements" which must be made in order that the peoples of the world may "have the opportunity through their own efforts to improve their material condition".

As part of these plans and international arrangements, I see in the I.L.O. a permanent instrument of representative character for the formulation of international policy concerning directly affecting the welfare of labour and for international collaboration in this field. I see it as a body with the requisite authority to formulate and secure the adoption of those basic minimum standards that shall apply throughout the world to the conditions of employment. As part of these arrangements, also, I see in the I.L.O. an organisation which shall serve the world for investigation and research, for discussion and debate. But more than that, it must be the agency for decision and for action on those economic and social matters related to the welfare of working people which are practical for industry and designed to enhance the opportunities for a good life for peoples the world over.

It is to the I.L.O. that we shall look as the official international organisation where ideas, experience and movements in the field of labour and social development may find practical and effective expression.

Sincerely yours,
Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Mr. GOODRICH—The Mayor of Philadelphia has been good enough to come to the hall to welcome the delegates. I have the pleasure of presenting the Honourable Bernard Samuel, Mayor of Philadelphia.

Mr. SAMUEL—As Mayor of the City of Philadelphia, it is an honour and a pleasure to have the opportunity to extend a hearty welcome to all who will attend this noteworthy wartime Conference.

Representing, as it does, Governments, workers' and employers' organisations, delegations from some thirty nations and distinguished statesmen and public servants, as well as leaders of industry and labour, your symposiums will present a true cross-section of the views of the United Nations.

The agenda of the meeting is most praiseworthy. You are here to discuss a wide range of all-important proposals having to do with the transition from war to peace, the social and economic aspects of peace settlement and the future of international organisation. I know of no other public business of more importance than that contained in your programme, with the important exceptions of planning to engage our enemies on the world's battlefronts and, also, to support the heroic fighting men and women through our efforts at home.

From patriotic and economic viewpoints, it is fitting and proper that you should come to the City of Philadelphia to hold a meeting of so great importance.

It was here in Philadelphia that a Federal Convention, in 1787, framed and adopted the Constitution of the United States. Pennsylvania delegates to this meeting contributed much of the far-seeing wisdom which solved the problems of the organisation of the Republic with such success as to guarantee stability and permanence. Five years later, in 1792, American trade unionism, if not that of the modern world, was born in this city with the organisation of the Philadelphia Shoemakers. In 1827, the Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations became the first central trade organisation of its kind.
One year later, a group of Philadelphians began the first labour party.

Our city is rich in historic traditions. We of the birthplace of liberty can well be proud of our heritage of free assembly and free speech, unmarked by threats of any government interference. Free speech and free assembly are the life-blood of our nation.

Philadelphians are very proud of their heritage. But we are not living in the past. We are keenly alive to the problems of the present and of the future. We are intensely interested in the solution of them to the advantage and security not only of our nation, but also to the advantage, and security of the entire world.

We are now engaged in fighting a great war, the most devastating in the history of man. Today, we are striving to attain two objectives. The first, of course, is winning the war. The second involves the task of setting up a better world in which to live when peace is established.

It is the duty of America in these critical times to strengthen the bulwarks of our democracy and by so doing encourage and assist all other nations of the world striving for freedom and permanence.

It will interest you to know, I am sure, that Philadelphia is preparing for the future. More than one year ago, I appointed a City Planning Commission. This very important body is made up of a banker, a trade unionist, a jurist, an engineer, a real estate executive, a representative of the Board of Education, the Directors of the Departments of Public Works and City Transit and a City Councilman.

This Commission has the full and active support of the Administration of which I have the honour to be head: We are planning for the present as well as for the future. With dismay we recall the aftermath of World War I with its consequent confusion, unemployment and chaos. That must not recur. We are determined to see to it that it does not recur in Philadelphia.

Of the eleven million men and women serving in the armed forces all over the world, about 200,000 are Philadelphians. We have contributed our full quota of youthful energy, talent and heroic bravery to the fight for the survival of our cherished freedom.

Our city today is a great arsenal and our industrial and manufacturing plants are operating on a round-the-clock basis to provide munitions of war for the fighting forces. Here are made battleships, tanks, planes, guns and practically everything necessary to equip a modern fighting machine on land, on sea and in the air. The war has changed the pattern of life in Philadelphia, as well as in every other community in the country. Our economy has changed also, and will continue to do so until victory has been won.

When victory has been achieved, what then? Obviously, we must use the time to convert our economic life from war to peace. We must provide a steady and adequate means of employment. There is no doubt that private business will be able to provide many jobs, but it cannot do it all. In the transition period, plants now turning out war munitions must be converted to peacetime activities. This will take time. We must plan for that period to the end that men and women leaving the armed forces will have something to do and something to occupy their time. The Philadelphia programme will be a comprehensive one, calling for construction of several important projects held up by the war. These include the rehabilitation of our water works and the extension of the sewerage system and the completion of the sewage disposal facilities. These are "must" undertakings, but there are many others. They will include completion of certain units of our high-speed transportation system, construction of sewers and bridges and the elimination of grade crossings. They will also include railway terminal facility improvements, new pier terminals and the development of the port of Philadelphia. We are planning, likewise, for additional institutional facilities for better hospitalisation, the expansion of recreational requirements and enlargement of correctional institution needs. One of our most important objectives will be extension and improvement of the city's airport facilities.

It is impossible to present a complete blueprint of Philadelphia's post-war programme, but I have touched upon what I believe to be some of the most interesting features of it.

Closing my remarks, I again express my gratitude to the Governing Body of the International Labour Office for selecting our city for the historic Conference about to begin, and welcome you to the birthplace of freedom.

That your meetings will be fruitful and that out of them will emerge even greater understanding and goodwill between our own country and other nations associated with us through membership in the International Labour Organisation is my fervent hope.

I sincerely hope that your recommendations to the United Nations for present and post-war policies will result in speeding victory and the establishment of permanent peace in the world. I believe the document to outlaw wars for all time should be considered, written and signed at the proper time by the representatives from the great powers and the representatives of the small nations.

At the proper time I will extend an invitation to the President of the United States and to the leaders of the United Nations to come here for the historic meeting which, admittedly, will decide the destiny of the world.

May God bless your deliberations in this hall and may you have the same divine guidance which inspired the men who founded this nation and who gave to America and to the world the immortal charters of liberty, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States.
Mr. GOODRICH—We are guests of Philadelphia. We are in an even stricter sense guests of Temple University. We are taking the building which is its student home, we are making many problems for the very friendly administration. We are having a warm welcome. I should like to call on the President of the University, Dr. Robert L. Johnson.

Dr. JOHNISON—I am happy to welcome this historic gathering in Temple University. Our administrative officers, faculty, students, trustees, all join with me in extending cordial greetings to you all. It is our desire to contribute to the success of this Conference in every possible way. I hope you will feel at home here and will find the atmosphere of this University as friendly and as hospitable as we wish it to be.

May I congratulate the International Labour Organisation on its constructive accomplishments over the first quarter century of its life? Through conditions of economic dislocation and the most destructive war of history, it has carried out its appointed tasks, advancing co-operation among nations and striving with success to improve the circumstances under which men live and work and plan for the future. I hope this Conference at Temple University will mark a new peak in your combined achievements. Surely the tragic disruptions of the world today provide timely and pressing incentives to your efforts.

Temple University has been happy to make available its facilities for this Conference. As a large urban university living close to realities and striving to serve the educational needs of our city, State and nation, we feel it is peculiarly fitting that this institution should have been invited to become the scene of your deliberations. It is appropriate, too, that Temple University should be the environment of your Conference because of the traditions which surround this institution.

As great universities go, we are relatively young. Yet in our comparatively short career we have been privileged to make many unique contributions to the cause of more universal education.

Just sixty years ago, our founder, Dr. Russell H. Conwell, took the first step leading to the establishment of Temple University. Dr. Conwell was a pastor, and after one of his religious services, a young working man came to him expressing the wish to study in order that he, too, might some day enter the ministry. "If you will come to me one evening a week", said Dr. Conwell, "I will begin teaching you myself, and if you have some friends who wish to study, you may bring them with you". When the appointed evening arrived, the young man appeared with six friends. Soon the group grew to forty and then to a hundred, and within four years Temple College had been established with a student body numbering 590.

Not all of these young people, however, studied for the ministry. They pursued many different subjects designed to improve their minds and their capacities. Today, the University includes twelve separate colleges and departments whose aggregate enrolments in times of peace exceed 12,000 each year.

To hundreds of thousands of people throughout the United States and to many in other nations, too, Temple is known as the "Acres of Diamonds" University. It has inherited this designation from Dr. Conwell's famous lecture entitled "Acres of Diamonds", which he delivered more than 6,000 times, the honorariums from which amounted to almost 7 million dollars, a large part of which went towards building and development work in this University.

When Dr. Conwell spoke of "Acres of Diamonds", he had in mind the opportunities that lie about us and which all of us should strive to improve. Temple University has tried to remain true to that heritage and has sought to provide the benefits of an education to boys and girls with good minds and with the will to work, regardless of the stations in life from which they might come. As you walk through these buildings, you will meet young people of widely different backgrounds. Their parents in some cases come from the countries represented in this auditorium today. All of them are here for one purpose, to prepare to play their parts as useful and responsible citizens and to fit themselves for the opportunities life may hold in store for them.

As I reflect on the purposes to which the International Labour Organisation is dedicated, I am impressed by the fact that it, too, is concerned with problems of human responsibility and human usefulness, and through them the achievement of greater satisfactions and opportunities for people in every walk of life. To me, the most heartening aspect of this Conference is that it seeks its ends by methods of co-operation. Peace and progress in the field of social, economic and industrial affairs are, as in relations between nations, not to be achieved by discord and strife. To that principle you have committed yourselves.

Here representatives of management, labour and Government will sit down together to work out their common problems in an atmosphere of mutual trust and respect. In the agony of conflict, this Conference will stand as a significant example of that unity of purpose and action which is the hope of civilisation.

This, therefore, is a historic assembly in whose deliberations the world may find hope and guidance. We are proud to have you with us and we share your aspirations for signal and constructive achievement which to all mankind may be a pattern for peace and human progress.

Mr. GOODRICH—The Conference has a signal honour this morning. We have with us the Prime Minister of a nation that knows how to practise democracy and
knows how to fight for democracy. I have the great honour to present to the Conference the Honourable Peter Fraser, Prime Minister of New Zealand.

Mr. FRASER—I am indeed proud to be here and feel privileged to be here on this occasion, to be present at the gathering of this international Conference of the International Labour Organisation, a body that has done so much in the past for humanity, for the advancement of mankind, and a body that is destined in the future to play one of the most important parts in achieving the objective of the Atlantic Charter in establishing freedom from fear and freedom from want.

I cannot join in the hospitable welcome that the Mayor of Philadelphia has extended to you, the Mayor of this great and historic city which saw the birth of this great country, because I am just a visitor, and a visitor for the first time. I cannot join in the eloquent welcome given by the Secretary of Labor, and I just pause to say that I am sure you felt inspired by her words and the sincerity of her welcome. I am well aware that the Mayor of Philadelphia has already been well known to the labour movement of the world and is at present our Minister of Finance, and our Minister, and very acceptable Minister, at Washington. He is our Government representative, and he is well supported by the Labour Department and the representative workers and representative employers. Among the Australian delegates is the Australian Minister of Supply, Mr. Beasley, who has been associated with the labour movement and trade unionism for many years. In their capacities as Ministers of our two countries, I know of no two men who have worked harder in the war effort of the United Nations during the past four years of war, during the uncertain years that we have faced, and who will contribute more to the advancement of democratic principles.

In conclusion, I bring greetings, very sincere greetings and good wishes from our country, which from the initiation of the I.L.O. has believed in it, has accepted its decisions and has implemented many of them, because we believe that where the representatives of industry, workers and employers and Governments come together in a gathering of this description, then it is the duty of our Government of the world to take cognisance of their deliberations, to consider their decisions, and, as far as the conditions of the country require, to put them into operation.

The fact that after four years of war you are able to gather here from all over the world is not only proof of the vitality and the efficiency of the International Labour Organisation but is eloquent testimony of the faith that democracy has in the International Labour Office. Indeed, your gathering today, your Conference, is proof, overwhelming proof, of the faith that the people, the free peoples of the world, have in democracy and in democratic institutions, and outstanding witness not only to the life and vitality but to the permanency of democracy.

I hope that your deliberations will be blessed and successful, and that you will succeed in this gathering in your consideration of labour problems, of problems of native labour in the colonial part of the world, and in your examination of the various social security and employment schemes; and I pause just to say that if there were a danger that the world would go back again after our men and our women, above all, our young men, have sealed the fight for freedom with their blood—that we would go back again, to social insecurity and unemployment, then the war that is to be won would be lost.

That must not happen, and your work in examining those problems will, I believe, lay soundly and well and truly the foundations of greater security, greater happiness, permanency of employment and freedom throughout the world.

OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE

Mr. GOODRICH—It is now my duty and privilege, as Chairman of the Govern-
have been received for 130 delegates and 213 technical advisers. We are a company as well as Government delegates. Credentials to work together to secure for all men an improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security”. This declaration, as Ernest Bevin said when our Conference was organised, “constitutes an opportunity but equally a responsibility for the International Labour Organisation”.

It is this responsibility which our Conference is called to meet. As part of the preparation of the peace settlement, our session takes its place alongside the United Nations Conferences on Food and Agriculture and on Relief and Rehabilitation. These meetings created new international instruments. But for our work there was at hand an existing body whose strength goes beyond the strength of Governments alone, because all its councils include the voice and vote of labour and of management. In this the I.L.O. was unique in 1919; in this it remains unique in 1944. From labour and management comes much of its vigour and its practicality; from their presence, its breadth of concern with all that affects the raising of the standard of life. The success or failure of this Conference will be a test, and we must make it a demonstration of the capacity of our three groups to work together in the making of international decisions.

The composition of the Conference is a good augury of its success. In this hall are gathered the official representatives of 41 Member nations. Yesterday I thought I should have had to say “gathering” instead of “gathered”; but now we are here, we can welcome the safe arrival of a number of the late-comers who included the two Vice-Chairmen who flank me here.

Among the nations represented are several who were not able to be with us in New York in 1941. Twenty-six delegations that can provide employers as well as Government delegates. Credentials have been received for 130 delegates and 213 technical advisers. We are a company of 346 persons. There are among us eleven Ministers of Labour and six other members of national Cabinets and Ministers. There are leaders and workers and employed, who, in addition to their ordinary duties, have heavy responsibilities in the organisation of the war effort of the United Nations. Some of them, not many months ago, were working in the resistance movement for the liberation of their countries.

It is a pleasure also to note the presence of official observers from Paraguay, from Iceland and from Nicaragua, and of the Danish Minister, accompanied by a representative of Danish workers.

The task of international co-operation engages an increasing number of public authorities. They must work in close collaboration. The Acting Director has therefore appropriately invited representatives of such organisations to be present on the platform this morning. We are glad they are here. The Acting Secretary-General of the League of Nations has designated as his representative the League Treasurer, Mr. Seymour Jacklin. We welcome in person Mr. L. B. Pearson, Chairman of the United Nations Interim Commission on Food and Agriculture. The Director-General of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is represented by Mr. Francis B. Sayre, Political Adviser, the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees by Mr. Patrick Malin, the Pan American Union by Mr. Ernesto Galarza, and the Pan American Sanitary Bureau by Mr. John S. Murdock.

We have also received an appreciative cable from the Chairman of the Allied Conference of Ministers of Education, Mr. R. A. Butler, the British Minister of Education, who expresses his hope that “it will be possible to establish close reciprocal arrangements between this Conference and the I.L.O. as a result of our meeting”.

There is one gap in our ranks. I wish to speak of it frankly. We had hoped that the Soviet Union, as a great member of the United Nations, would be represented here to discuss with us the problems of international social and economic policy. We have not ceased to hope that, as one result of the work of this meeting, the Soviet Union may see its way to return to the International Labour Organisation for the purpose of co-operating on that wide range of problems common to all nations, whatever their internal organisation, that are determined to raise the standard of life of the masses of the people.

Now to our work. We thought of the New York Conference as an act of faith. We hold that faith still more strongly today, as we come nearer to that victory of the free peoples which we recognised in 1941 as “an indispensable condition of the attainment of the ideals of the International Labour Organisation”. Now the time has come to express that faith in works. The period of general statements only is long since past. It is our obligation to devise and adopt specific and concrete
measures to carry out the purposes of our New York resolutions.

The agenda of the Conference was planned to fulfill that obligation. You have before you reports and proposals on five questions, each of major scope, in addition to the Director's Report and the report on the application of Conventions. Mr. Phelan and the staff of the International Labour Office have prepared these documents on a most exacting timetable. The members of the Conference will appreciate their service and their accomplishment. We must be willing to meet an exacting schedule if we are to complete the task before us. This must be in every sense a working Conference. It has before it, perhaps, the heaviest programme that any Labour Conference has faced, and it must deal with it under conditions particularly difficult for delegations limited in size by the exigencies of the war. Yet we could not take on a lesser responsibility. We had to put this heavy strain on the staff, we have to take this burden on ourselves, because the questions themselves will not wait. We dared not delay. We must not be too late in defining the social aims of the peace and in planning for the rebuilding of a shattered world.

The first item before us is the future of the I.L.O. itself. We are called upon to state its purposes in broader terms, to redefine its relationship with other international bodies, to improve its methods of work and to map out its future programme. We must find better ways to serve the needs of all the regions of the earth and of the great industries which cross international frontiers. In its essential terms, the challenge to this Conference is to fit the Organisation for the tasks that it must perform in a world very different from that of 1919.

The second item is "Recommendations to the United Nations". The International Labour Conference, as the competent agency of informed judgment, is called upon to advise the United Nations on the urgent labour and social problems that confront them today in the winning of the war and will confront them in the making of the peace. We have before us proposals on labour policy in the occupation of Axis territory. We must plan for the restoration of free trade unions. We are asked also for advice on the international and national economic policies that are essential to the attainment of full employment and a rising standard of living. We have before us the unprecedented opportunity, if we have the inventiveness to take it, to devise ways and means of making the manifold arrangements of the peace settlement an occasion for concerted advance in the acceptance of binding obligations for improved labour standards and in the development of a forward-looking social policy. As John Winant said in his prophetic report to our Geneva Conference in June of 1939: "The workers will measure the value of any settlement by the improvement that it brings to the conditions under which they live and work".

The third item on the agenda is the organisation of employment in the transition from war to peace. How are the millions from the armed forces and the millions from war industries to find their places in peacetime employment? How should demobilisation be organised? What payments should the demobilised receive? How can the wounded and injured be re-equipped for industrial life? What should be the method of placement and training? How may public works best be used to aid in the maintenance of full employment? These are questions which every country and every household faces with deep concern. On them the International Labour Office, from its rich experience, proposes formal Recommendations for adoption by the Conference.

The fourth item is social security. I cannot go on to speak of it without first paying tribute to Osvald Stein. His tragic death in the midst of Conference preparations deprives us of his presence and deprives the Organisation of a servant whose insight, whose devotion, and whose driving power cannot be replaced. The proposals before us owe much to him. They attempt to crystallise in international terms the advances demanded by the worldwide movement for social security which is one of the great moral phenomena of our time. They include bold and comprehensive Recommendations on the security of income and on medical care. They also provide for social security benefits to the men in the armed forces. Under this item, moreover, the Office proposes a binding international Convention to assure the pension rights of workers displaced by the war. Its main purpose is to safeguard these rights for the millions of foreign workers now condemned to labour in Hitler's slave market.

The final item is social policy for dependent territories. This is our opportunity to make a contribution towards the development of colonial peoples. We realise that unless their material and cultural standards are improved, the peace settlement may be threatened by their discontent and frustration. The proposals before us go forward from measures directed against anti-social and unnecessary, uneconomic labour exploitation to a wide range of progressive social standards. They attempt to give concrete expression on the international plane to the widely recognised principles of responsibility for the welfare and development of dependent territories. But their ultimate purpose is not to impose standards on the people of these areas. It is to encourage among them, and among their employers and workers in particular, a realistic appraisal of their own social problems. We have before us, therefore, not only a statement of international policy but the outline of a programme of future action, international, regional and national, through which our present decisions may have a
continuing effect on the lives and aspirations of dependent peoples. It is not for me to anticipate what action the Conference will take, or how it will deal with the proposals made by the Office and with those that will be put forward from the floor. No wise man would attempt to predict in advance the decisions of an International Labour Conference in which representatives of many nations and of workers and employers engage in free and full debate. But I can speak with confidence of the spirit in which the members of the Conference will approach the task. We shall do it with comradeship—a comradeship based on our long experience in working together and made deeper by the very frankness with which our differences have always been expressed. We shall do it with determination—a determination to make our essential contribution to the planning of a peace settlement which must be guided by the social objective and guarded by specific provisions for the well-being of workers. Only in this spirit can we fulfil our responsibility to those who sent us here, to the United Nations, and to the people of the world. The tradition of this Organisation is one of courage. We shall need that courage as we face our greatest opportunity and our severest test.

I declare open the Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labour Conference.

**ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT**

Mr. GOODRICH—the first business of the Conference is the election of the President.

Mr. THOMAS (Government delegate, United States)—I rise as a delegate of the United States Government to nominate a candidate for the presidency of the Conference. May I first explain why the United States does not itself seek this honour, although custom often assigned the presidency to the country in which the meeting takes place.

This is the second successive Conference of the International Labour Organisation to be held on the soil of the United States. We are proud and glad to have it here. You will not doubt our interest in its work or the warmth of the welcome expressed in the words of the Secretary of Labor and in the message from President Roosevelt. But since the necessities of wartime have again afforded us the privilege of welcoming you here, we feel that it would be inappropriate for us to seek the additional honour of the presidency. However, to make a nomination for the presidency, to place before you the name of a man well known to all of you as a leader in social and international affairs—the Minister from New Zealand, Mr. Walter Nash.

Minister Nash represents a nation which has long been in the forefront of democratic progress and is now in the van-guard of the struggle for democratic freedom. In this progress, Mr. Nash has himself played a large role. He is the architect of the social security system of his country, which has served as a model and a goal for the less highly developed systems of other nations. We in Washington esteem him greatly, and our regret at his return to New Zealand this summer is tempered by a realisation of what he can achieve at home as Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance. He has long been an enthusiastic friend of the I.L.O. and recognises the great place it can play in world organisation.

It is a great pleasure, therefore, to nominate Mr. Nash as President of the Conference.

Mr. COULTER (Employers' delegate, Canada)—I have the great pleasure, as a representative of the Employers' group of this body, to second the nomination of the Honourable Walter Nash. The Honourable Walter Nash is a man of unusual ability, recognised in his own country, and the recitation a few minutes ago of the posts which he holds—Minister of Finance, Deputy Prime Minister, and Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington, thousands of miles away from home—must in itself demonstrate his ability, because few could carry all those posts at any one time.

It is an honour for me as a Canadian, one of the sister Dominions along with New Zealand, with whom we have the friendliest of relations, to have the privilege of seconding this motion.

Might I point out also that it will be an honour to this Conference to have the Honourable Walter Nash as its President, and it will be an honour to that little island in the South Seas that has done so much along the lines of social reform to show the way to the rest of the world.

I have great pleasure in seconding the nomination.

**Interpretation:** Mr. VELASQUEZ QUIROGA (Workers' delegate, Chile)—I have the honour to second on behalf of the Workers' group the nomination of Mr. Nash as President of the Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labour Conference. His brilliant international and national record amply justifies our choice.

First, he is active as Deputy Prime Minister of New Zealand and Minister of Finance. He is a member of the Pacific Council presided over by President Roosevelt.

He is also the architect of the social legislation of his country and of the social insurance legislation of New Zealand, which is among the most advanced in the world.

He is responsible for legislation for the stabilisation of agricultural prices and for workers' housing programmes. He can rightfully claim to be one of the champions of international collaboration between the United Nations in the economic and social field. Further, he is the author of a book...
on New Zealand dealing with the history of his country and with its war effort and containing weighty comments on economic and social affairs.

The Workers' group is happy to support the nomination of a man with these antecedents to preside over the discussions of the Conference and to guide them towards the creation of a world ruled by justice and advancing towards economic prosperity and social security.

Mr. GOODRICH—The name of Mr. Nash has been placed in nomination by a Government delegate, the proposal has been supported by the representatives of the Employers' and Workers' groups. I hear no other suggestion.

I take great pleasure in declaring Walter Nash President of the Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labour Conference. I ask Mr. Nash to come to the platform and assume his duties.

Mr. Nash, we greet you.

(Mr. Nash takes the Chair.)

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The PRESIDENT—First, I want to thank you for the honour which you have done to my country by electing one of its representatives to preside over this Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labour Conference. I want to express my personal appreciation to Mr. Thomas, the representative of the United States, Mr. Coultier of Canada, and Mr. Velasquez, the Chilean delegate, for what they said in regard to myself. I know they were honouring my country.

The little country that I represent at the present time is small in numbers, though not completely small in size, since it is slightly larger than what is called the United Kingdom. I also know that I come here as a Government delegate to take part in the work of an organisation which inside the record of its history has done more within a given period of years to lift living standards, to bring better conditions to workers, to bring better relations between employer and employee, and better relations between Government, employer and employee, than any other organisation that is recorded in our history. Because of that way I feel about the International Labour Organisation I feel doubly privileged and honoured to have you elect me to be the Chairman of the deliberations of this Conference today.

There is something more than your having elected me as your President. We are probably at one of the most interesting periods of our history. For four years we have seen a reconstruction of one of the only civilisations which followed the League pattern. We have seen Governments rise and men rise and try to destroy all of the I.L.O., the League of Nations, and all that forward-looking nations have been building up for centuries.

We have seen people come prepared to say that this body, this type of government, this type of organisation shall not prevail. I can take some of your minds back to 1939. I can take some of those European comrades, your European friends who have come here today representing Governments, workers and employers, who have seen their countries overrun. I know it is in their minds to get back again to their own country. I know their minds are eager to get back and continue the work that they did in the past, alongside the I.L.O., for their own people. That time, I believe, is fast approaching.

I question whether there is anything in the mind of our people, anything in the world today, of more potency and importance than the fact that we are now on the verge—we do not know when, no-one knows—but we are now on the verge of an action that will free France, free Belgium, free Holland, Norway and Denmark, and let them once again, with Italy and Greece and the Balkan countries, go forward to help build a better world.

I have been privileged during the last month or two to be in the United Kingdom. I met a lot of airmen of all nations—Polish and Canadians, Australians, and French, and even an Argentine airman. I met and talked with them, and their reaction has been the same as yours and mine. I had particularly been talking with our own people, and on every occasion that I met with them their question has been: What is going to happen when this is over, Mr. Nash?

That is what they are turning to the I.L.O. for. What is going to happen when it is over? The average working man and the average employee thinks not exclusively in terms of material things, but he does think of food for himself and his family, he does think of clothing, he does think of housing, he does think of freedom from want. But what does he think of? Freedom and national security. It is the freedom outlined in Article 5 of the Atlantic Charter, freedom from want, freedom from fear of want, and, on top of that, national security as well as international security. In the deliberations that we shall take part in today and during the next three weeks, we shall be considering what the I.L.O. can do and how it can do it; what can the delegates to this Conference do to help to build something better when this conflict is over. There will be any amount of work to do, but it has got to be work in the right direction.

Mr. Chairman, when you introduced me I felt a particular pride in coming to this platform. I believe we can see the possibility of something better when this Conference is over. It will not be a world
worth while fighting for if the hatreds that sometimes come are given full play. We have to find a way to work together, one for the other, for the benefit of all. I believe we can do it. I believe we can organise a system if we think it out, so that the I.L.O. can make a better contribution than any other organisation to maximise production. That is what is wanted in the world today. I am thinking of what is needed for the purpose of freeing people from want and giving them a full life. Full maximum production is an objective. We want to determine how we are going to maximise production, and with what we are going to maximise production, and where we are going to maximise production.

That is some of the work that can be done at this Conference. We can accept that as a goal to place before the major organisations of the United Nations when they are thinking out the terms of peace. Then we shall have done something worthy of the International Labour Organisation. In the past the International Labour Organisation has done magnificent work. It has gone to work out the terms of peace. Its responsibilities today are linked with its opportunities today, and it is because of these opportunities and responsibilities that all the power that it had in the past to work out problems—employee, employer and Government together—ought to be extended right to the full and right to the limit, to find out how we can get full employment only employment in the transition stage, important as that is—but how we can use all that God has given to those ways men and women to bring, out of the resources which God has also given, those things which are necessary for human welfare and human abundance.

I was privileged to study fairly closely the agenda of the Hot Springs Conference. I wonder if you can think out, for a moment, the fact that one half of the world, half of the people of the world, have never had enough to eat—not just now, but never—have never had sufficient food made available to enable them to live the full life, as they could live it if food were available.

That Conference brought out the fact that not only are half of the people of the world living on short rations all the time, but also that there are, inside the resources of the known world, sufficient of all the things necessary to ensure that everyone has everything that he requires.

We are going to think on those things this afternoon and during the next two or three weeks. We are going to try to work out a hope, as employers' and employees' representatives, not only employment in the transition stage, important as that is—but how we can use all that God has given to those ways men and women to bring, out of the resources which God has also given, those things which are necessary for human welfare and human abundance.

I started out, too, with some of the people living on these standards. I thought of some of our European people that think they are superior people. There are no inherently superior people in this world, and there have been. There are superior people, of course, people who have had better chances, better culture, better education, better food, better health prevention. But if all those things are given to other people, they in their turn can be just as good. The Polynesians in the Pacific islands, the Negros of Africa, the Chinese in their own country, who have made such a marvellous contribution in the past and the present—and they have a great one to make in the future—all of them, if given the things that are necessary, can give us leadership, can give us vision to make a world that is better.

That is the job we are engaged in during the next week or so. The I.L.O. has a unique opportunity. You are the body of men and women to determine whether that opportunity will be seized.

It is good to have the Conference in Philadelphia. It is good to have it in the United States. But it is also good to remember that the Conference is not for Philadelphia, it is not for the United States, it is not for the white people. It is for all; it is for all the people who are fighting today.

The I.L.O. in the past has made a major contribution to making that better world possible, with social security for all. Its responsibility is extended from today on, and I thank you again for electing me to the privileged position of presiding over your deliberations to determine how the immediate future shall be used to make the load easier for those on the bottom line and also the foundation for something better for all in the future. I thank you again for giving me this great honour today.

ORDER OF WORK OF THE CONFERENCE

The PRESIDENT — The Secretary-General now has some announcements to make before we adjourn.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL — In accordance with the ordinary proceeding of setting up the machinery of the Conference, this will be the programme for this afternoon: three groups, the Government group, the Employers' group, and the Workers' group, will meet separately at half-past three. The business of those groups will be, first, to appoint group officers; secondly, to nominate their candidates for the vice-presidency of the Conference; and, thirdly, to choose their members for the Selection Committee.

Under the Standing Orders, the Selection Committee consists of sixteen Governments, eight workers and eight employers. It has been for a long time the tradition of the Conference to appoint to the Selection Committee the Government and other members of the Governing Body, filling in any vacancies that may exist.

(The Conference adjourned at 12.45 p.m.)
Delegates present at the Sitting

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

Argentina:
Mr. García Arias
Mr. Palmieri
Mr. Lamuraglia
Mr. Girola

Australia:
Mr. Beasley
Mr. Barnard
Mr. Condie
Mr. Clarey

Belgium:
Mr. van Zeeland
Mr. Wauters
Mr. Rens

Bolivia:
Mr. Fajardo

Brazil:
Mr. de Almeida
Mr. de Rego Monteiro
Mr. de Leite
Mr. de Mattos Lima

British Empire:
Mr. Tomlinson
Sir Frederick Leggett
Sir John Forbes
Watson
Mr. Hallsworth

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

Chile:
Mr. Bustos Lagos
Mr. Gajardo
Villarroel
Mr. Heiremans
Breckmann
Mr. Velásquez Quiroga

China:
Mr. Li Ping-heng
Mr. Hsieh Cheng-fu
Mr. Li Ming
Mr. Chu Hau-han

Colombia:
Mr. Nannetti
Mr. Molina

Costa Rica:
Fr. Nuñez Vargas

Cuba:
Mr. de Sandoval
Mr. Silverio y Sainz
Mr. Brito (replace Mr. Cowley
Hernández)
Mr. Férrandez R.

Dominican Republic:
Mr. Cocco
Mr. de Marchena
Dujarrie
Mr. Morales

Ecuador:
Mr. López Arteta
Mr. Hidalgo González
Mr. González Artigas
Mr. Torres Vera

Egypt:
Mr. Radi
Mr. Ramzy
Mr. Hamada
Mr. Soliman

France:
Mr. Tixier
Mr. Antoine
Mr. Laurent

Greece:
Mr. Diamantopoulos
Mr. Zaras
Mr. Kukukundis

Haiti:
Mr. Artaud (substitute
for Mr. Dartigue)
Mr. Thébaud

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

Iran:
Mr. Dattary

Iraq:
Mr. Jawdat
Mr. Haidari

Ireland:
Mr. Brennan
Mr. Hearne

Liberia:
Mr. Walker

Luxembourg:
Mr. Krier
Mr. Le Gallais

Mexico:
Mr. Trujillo Gurria
Mr. Santos Guajardo
Mr. Chapa
Mr. Lombardo
Toledano

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

New Zealand:
Mr. Nash
Mr. Taylor
Mr. Butland
Mr. Allerby

Norway:
Mr. Hambro
Mr. Dahl

Panama:
Mr. Valdés
Mr. de la Rosa
Mr. Garrido

Peru:
Mr. Fernández Stoll
Mr. Elgueda
Mr. Vidial
Mr. Luna

Poland:
Mr. Stanezky
Mr. Strakacz
Mr. Falter
Mr. Adamczyk

Union of South Africa:
Mr. Andrews
Mr. Webster (substitute
for Mr. Brennan)
Mr. Skeles
Mr. de Vries

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

Switzerland:
Mr. Feer (substitute
for Mr. Bruggmann)

Turkey:
Mr. Esmer

Uruguay:
Mr. Kühn Talay
Mr. Fontaine

Venezuela:
Mr. Tinoco Rodil
Mr. Pérez Guerrero

Yugoslavia:
Mr. Soubbotitch
Mr. Banac
Mr. Milos
SECOND SITTING

Thursday, 20 April 1944, 5.35 p.m.

President: Mr. Nash

ELECTION OF VICE-PRESIDENTS

The PRESIDENT—I propose to ask the Clerk of the Conference to read out the names proposed by the Government group, the Employers' group and the Workers' group as Vice-Presidents for this Conference.

The CLERK of the CONFERENCE—The following proposals are made by the groups for the Vice-Presidents:

Government group: Mr. Bustos Lagos (Chile).
Employers' group: Sir John Forbes Watson (British Empire).
Workers' group: Mr. Watt (United States of America).

The PRESIDENT—You have heard the proposals of the groups. If there is no opposition, I shall declare the three Vice-Presidents whose names have been read out unanimously elected.

(The proposals are adopted.)

APPOINTMENT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE

The PRESIDENT—The Clerk of the Conference will now read out the nominations for the Selection Committee.

The CLERK of the CONFERENCE—The following proposals are made by the groups for the members of the Selection Committee:

Government group:
United States of America.
Australia.
Belgium.
Brazil.
British Empire.
Canada.
Chile.
China.
France.
India.
Mexico.
Netherlands.
Norway.
Peru.
Poland.
Yugoslavia.

Employers' group:
Mr. Harriman (United States of America).
Sir John Forbes Watson (British Empire).
Mr. MacDonnell (Canada).
Mr. Chapa (Mexico).
Mr. Mulherkar (India).
Mr. Lamuraglia (Argentina Republic).
Mr. Vidal Leite Ribeiro (Brazil).
Mr. Joassart (Belgium).

Substitutes:
Mr. Dahl (Norway).
Mr. Brito (Cuba).
Mr. Shaw Kimm-wei (China).
Mr. Warning (Netherlands).
Mr. Falter (Poland).

Workers' group:
Mr. Hallsworth (British Empire).
Mr. Andersson (Sweden).
Mr. Oldenbroek (Netherlands).
Mr. Laurent (France).
Mr. Molina (Colombia).
Mr. Adamczyk (Poland).
Mr. Fernández R. (Cuba).
Mr. Chu (China).

The PRESIDENT—You have heard the names recommended for the Selection Committee. If there are no objections, I shall consider that these delegates have been unanimously elected.

Substitutes:
Mr. Bengough (Canada).
Mr. Allerby (New Zealand).
Mr. Mehta (India).
Mr. Velásquez Quiroga (Chile).

(The proposals are adopted.)

(The Conference adjourned at 5.50 p.m.)
Delegates present at the Sitting

Argentina Republic:
Mr. García Arias
Mr. Palmieri
Mr. Lamuraglia
Mr. Girola

Australia:
Mr. Beasley
Mr. Barnard
Mr. Condie
Mr. Clarey

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

Bolivia:
Mr. Andrade
Mr. Fajardo

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

British Empire:
Mr. Tomlinson
Sir Frederick Leggett
Sir John Forbes
Watson
Mr. Hellsworth

Canada:
Mr. Claxton

China:
Mr. Li Ping-heng
Mr. Tsieh Cheng-fu
Mr. Li Ming
Mr. Chu Hung-fan

Costa Rica:
Mr. Padilla Castro
Fr. Nuñez Vargas

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

Dominican Republic:
Mr. Coco
Mr. de Marchena
Du Jarric

Ecuador:
Mr. López Arteta
Mr. Hidalgo González
Mr. González Artigas
Mr. Torres Vera

Egypt:
Mr. Radi
Mr. Ramsy
Mr. Hamada
Mr. Soliman

Ethiopia:
Mr. Tessema

France:
Mr. Tixier
Mr. Antoine
Mr. Laurent

Guatemala:
Mr. Artaud (substitute for Mr. Dartigue)

Haiti:
Mr. Artaud (substitute for Mr. Dartigue)

Indonesia:
Mr. Samuel Runganada
Mr. Prier
Mr. Munjer (substitute for Mr. Mahinda)
Mr. Mehta

Iraq:
Mr. Jawdat
Mr. Haidari

Libya:
Mr. Krier
Mr. Le Gallais

Luxembourg:
Mr. Walker

Mexico:
Mr. Trujillo Gurria
Mr. Santos Guajardo
Mr. Chapa

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

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

Norway:
Mr. Hambro
Mr. Dahl
Mr. Nordahl

Panama:
Mr. de la Rosa
Mr. Garrido

Peru:
Mr. Fernández Stoll
Mr. Elguera
Mr. Luna

Poland:
Mr. Stanczyk
Mr. Walter
Mr. Adamczyk

Union of South Africa:
Mr. Andrews
Mr. Webster (substitute for Mr. Brennan)
Mr. Skeels
Mr. de Vries

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

Turkey:
Mr. Esmer

Uruguay:
Mr. Kühn Talay
Mr. Fontaina

Venezuela:
Mr. Tinoco Rodil
Mr. Pérez Guerrero

Yugoslavia:
Mr. Soubetitch
Mr. Bruer (substitute for Mr. Banac)
Mr. Miles

Also present at the Sitting:
Mr. Asgeirsson (Iceland)
Mr. Acosta (Paraguay)
THIRD SITTING

Friday, 21 April 1944, 10.45 a.m.

President: Mr. Nash

(The Minister of Labour of the Dominion of Canada, Mr. Humphrey Mitchell, takes a seat on the platform.)

FIRST REPORT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE

The PRESIDENT—The first report that will come before the plenary sitting this morning is the report of the Selection Committee on the readmission of Costa Rica. I call on the Chairman of the Selection Committee, Sir Samuel Runganadhan, to present the report of the Committee.

Sir Samuel Runganadhan (Government delegate, India), Chairman of the Selection Committee—I have the honour to present the first report of the Selection Committee.

The Committee, on consideration of the documents submitted to the Conference concerning the readmission of Costa Rica to membership of the Organisation, unanimously agreed to recommend to the Conference that the provisional decision taken by the Governing Body should be confirmed. The Committee accordingly suggests to the Conference that the decision of the Governing Body might be confirmed in the following terms:

Proposed resolution to confirm the readmission of Costa Rica to the International Labour Organisation.

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Taking note of the decision of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office that the Republic of Costa Rica should be entitled to the full rights of membership of the Organisation from 12 November 1942, pending formal confirmation of her readmission to the Organisation by the Conference,

Hereby confirms the readmission of Costa Rica to the International Labour Organisation with the same rights and obligations as the other Members of the Organisation.

Interpretation: Mr. Trujillo Guerra (Government delegate, Mexico)—I wish to speak on this resolution in order to give the warmest support of the Mexican Government and the Mexican delegation.

There are three fundamental reasons why the resolution should be adopted. The first is the universality of the principles of the Organisation itself. It is fitting that the Organisation should embrace all the countries of the world, and that all the peoples of the world should feel themselves part of it. The readmission of Costa Rica will be a step in this direction. The second is the democratic character of Costa Rica, a model democracy with a clear record of democratic principle. The third reason is in the social field. It is not long since Costa Rica reformed its Constitution, adding to it the provisions concerning social guarantees which are the basis of the labour and social insurance laws.

All these reasons converge towards the common aims which we are pursuing and which the world must pursue and attain after this war is over. Mexico therefore asks the Conference to give a warm welcome to the Costa Rican delegation.

Interpretation: Dr. Fontes (Government delegate, Brazil)—The act we are called upon to perform is not a mere formality.

In the war which has been imposed
upon us by the aggression of peoples whose policy is based on force we have all reacted with an admirable spirit of unity, of action and of resolution, and Costa Rica at the crucial hour made a concrete contribution of moral and material support to the common war effort.

Moreover, Costa Rica has always pursued in the national sphere the humanitarian aims which constitute our social mandate. An instance of this is the progressive labour code which has recently been adopted.

The success or failure of our efforts to build a better post-war world will depend on the co-operation of all nations, great and small, on a footing of complete equality. We therefore warmly welcome the Republic of Costa Rica because we are sure that it will do its full share in collaborating in the solution of the complex problems with which we are faced.

Mr. THOMAS (Government delegate, United States of America)—On behalf of the delegation from the United States of America, I take the floor for the purpose of supporting the resolution which will bring Costa Rica into the I.L.O.

Costa Rica and the United States cooperate in many activities; our partnership in aims and the accomplishment of health measures, in roadbuilding, and in general friendly endeavour makes us good neighbours indeed. Our interests in the Middle Americas make us mutually active in each other’s welfare. Therefore, we are especially happy to join with our colleagues in support of this resolution.

The PRESIDENT—If there are no further speakers, I propose to put the resolution. The motion is that the report of the Selection Committee as presented by Sir Samuel Runganadhan be adopted, together with the resolution contained therein.

(The report is adopted.)

The PRESIDENT—May I say, in congratulating Costa Rica on their re-admission and the Organisation on their coming in, that I observe the fact that in 1941 Costa Rica came to New York as an observer. This Organisation will never be complete until all nations, large and small, are amongst its members. I therefore observe also today that there are three nations who have sent observers—Paraguay, Nicaragua and Iceland. I am hoping that they soon will follow the example of Costa Rica.

Interpretation: Dr. PADILLA CASTRO (Government delegate, Costa Rica)—I have been deeply touched by these proceedings, and I wish to express the profound gratitude of the Government of Costa Rica for the tribute paid to my small country, one of the smallest in the world.

I wish especially to thank the Selection Committee and the delegates from Mexico and Brazil, and also the delegate of the United States who spoke of the close collaboration which has always existed between my country and his.

Social progress in Costa Rica has advanced since seventy years ago, when it began with the introduction of free compulsory public education, until today we have one of the most advanced social legislations on the American continent. This legislation is the result of collaboration between the whole Costa Rican people, without any distinction of belief or opinion, for the Catholic Church and the most progressive elements in my country have all worked together to establish social justice.

I do not wish to close my remarks without paying a tribute on behalf of my people to the memory of my friend Osvald Stein, who did so much at the Santiago Conference to promote the entry of Costa Rica into the Organisation.

In the name of Costa Rica I wish to thank all members of this Conference who have extended so warm a welcome to my country, and to promise its most faithful collaboration in the work of the Organisation.

ADDRESS BY MR. HUMPHREY MITCHELL

The PRESIDENT—We now have the privilege this morning, in accordance with the general procedure and the rules of the International Labour Organisation, of welcoming Mr. Humphrey Mitchell, the Minister of Labour from Canada. Mr. Mitchell has been an ardent supporter of the International Labour Organisation since its inception and no individual Minister of Labour has done more to make the Organisation effective than he. I propose to call on him to address the Conference.

Mr. MITCHELL—I bring to this Conference the good wishes of the Government of Canada and its people, and in so doing express the earnest hope that these deliberations will maintain the high standards of social endeavour that have been recently set in motion by our Government to eradicate from the lives of the men and women those three great basic fears: the fear of destitution through unemployment; the fear of destitution through old age; and the fear of destitution through sickness.

The Government of Canada has been active in the International Labour Organisation since its inception. The size of the Canadian delegation here this morning is an indication of the importance that our Government attaches to this Organisation as an agency for the crystallisation of progressive measures throughout the civilised world.

We maintained a permanent representative in Geneva prior to the outbreak of war, so that we could be in the closest co-
tact with the International Labour Organisation. After the outbreak of war, we took you into our home. I hope it is only temporarily, that you will go back some day to that magnificent structure that was used prior to the outbreak of war. While it is sometimes very cold in our country in the winter, you can rest assured that the warmth of our reception to the Office is on a par with the vigour and the generosity of the Canadian people.

I think this is a fair thing to say: that this Organisation has made the greatest contribution to world good compared with any other international organisation that has ever been set up. What pleases me a great deal, too, is that we are meeting on American soil; and the genesis of this Organisation was conceived in the mind of that great labour leader, the late Samuel Gompers. I have always felt that it is the simplest things that govern the destinies of a nation or a civilisation. Whenever I am a little low on my fundamentals, I still go back to Sam Gompers.

It is also fitting that this meeting should be held in the United States. It is here in the North American continent that free men have fashioned the most powerful instrument of production since men invented the wheel and learned the art of controlling fire in the service of mankind.

Notwithstanding what we might do here, let this be clearly understood: that our primary duty is the destruction of the greatest menace that ever confronted mankind since the dawn of history, and no other consideration must stand in the way. All the plans that we may make at this magnificent gathering will be of no avail unless Hitler and his friends in the Pacific are completely wiped off the face of the earth.

Always remember this, that freedom is like the air you breathe—you do not miss it until it gets scarce. The progress of our civilisation is in proportion to the freedom of our institutions. The history of the arts and sciences in all the democratic countries has clearly indicated this.

May I say a few words about my own country? We in Canada have built the greatest industrial machine in our history. We have the largest production of food-stuffs on the farms of our country in our history. When I tell you that six out of eight people of fourteen years of age and over—that includes men and women—are either in the armed services or engaged in avocations necessary for the successful prosecution of the war, that will give you some indication of the degree of organisation that has taken place in the Dominion of Canada. Speaking of our farmers, last year the production on their farms was 43 per cent, greater than it was in 1939. When I tell you that since the war broke out we have taken half a million people out of agriculture and put them into industry and the armed forces, it will give you an idea of the huge force of our people in assisting in defeating our enemies across the seas.

Then we have endeavoured with the cooperation of labour and management to stabilise our currency and our price structure. I think we have been reasonably successful in so doing. We have clearly in the back of our minds that you cannot plan for the future on a dancing price structure. You have got to have a stable currency and a stable price level.

There are a good many books written about money. If some people can make a thing so complicated that they cannot understand it themselves, they think it should work. But I have got a simple definition of money: if it isn't hard, it isn't money. So when we go into the post-war period with these plans of reconstruction, of social advancement, we feel, in the Dominion of Canada, that it is absolutely necessary that we should keep our price structure stable.

In the mobilisation of our country, let me say this—that we have had the greatest co-operation in Selective Service, in labour relations, on the economic side and also on the labour relations side, from both employers and employees. We feel that we still have some trials and tribulations on our industrial front, but that is the price you pay for freedom. Don't forget that—it is the price you pay for freedom.

I think that I should say this: that the world admires the great contribution being made by the American people. I feel that your genius for mass production will tip the scales of victory.

May we all leave this Conference inspired with the spirit of freedom that has contributed so much to the advancement of mankind. After all is said and done, your life and my life are only a heartbeat in the life of the nation or a civilisation. May it be said of us here that we set in motion policies that have for their purpose the protection of the men, women and children of our time and those who are to follow.

History has never been written around people who sit on the fence. This City of Philadelphia is a monument to that fact. History is written around the people who are prepared to live dangerously.

I should like to close with these words: That I hope the post-war period will be planned and fashioned by the courageous men and women with the organising genius that will make victory possible. The United Nations have been magnificent in destruction. If we use the same energy and talents in the problems of reconstruction, the future of our respective nations is assured.

The PRESIDENT—I want on your behalf to thank Mr. Mitchell for his inspiring, helpful and thoughtful address. I am not saying any more with regard to it because I know that the Secretary-General and I can say with regard to Canada, Mr. Mitchell, and the International Labour Organisation.
The SECRETARY-GENERAL — Mr. President, I would not have asked your permission to address the Conference at this stage had it not been for a reference which Mr. Mitchell made to the hospitality which the great Dominion of Canada has extended to the International Labour Office during this world crisis.

When Mr. Winant, who was then Director, decided that the International Labour Office could not hope to function freely in Switzerland, in Europe, under the conditions which were prevailing in 1940, he came to Canada and asked the Canadian Government if it would be willing to allow the International Labour Office to function on the soil of Canada. He received the most sympathetic hearing from the Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie-King, and from the members of the Canadian Cabinet. He then telephoned to me, his deputy, in Geneva, and asked me to bring a skeleton staff from the International Labour Office in Geneva to Canada, as soon as possible.

Since we arrived in Canada in 1940, we have had the warmest hospitality and welcome from the Canadian Government, from Mr. Mitchell, as Minister of Labour, and from the officials who serve under him. We have had the warmest welcome from the authorities at Montreal and the authorities at Quebec, and from the people of Canada.

But I want to draw the attention of the Conference to the fact that we have had something much more than that. It is not a simple operation to invite an international organisation to function in any country, and the Canadian Government has gone to infinite trouble and pains to give the International Labour Office those facilities which any international organisation must have if it is to perform its task efficiently.

The officials of the Department of Labour and the officials of the Department of External Affairs, in spite of the very heavy burdens thrown on them because of the war, have given time and attention to solving the problems to which I have just referred, which go beyond any gratitude which I or this Conference could possibly express.

I have only one last thing to say, and that is, that in doing that, the Government of Canada has rendered a service not only to the International Labour Organisation but also to the whole future of international institutions, and therefore it has performed an act which is not only deserving of our gratitude, but which is historic in its importance and its implication.

The PRESIDENT — I know that Mr. Mitchell will take back to his Government the feeling of this Conference with regard to the magnificent service that Canada has rendered to this Organisation and to the world by their hospitality and courtesy since 1940.

MESSAGES TO THE CONFERENCE

The PRESIDENT — Now, I propose to ask Mr. Mulliken of the United States of America to deliver a message that he has received for the Conference from the Honourable Cordell Hull.

Mr. MULLIKEN (Government adviser, United States of America) — I wish to read to the Conference a message from the Secretary of State of the United States, the Honourable Cordell Hull:

I am happy to extend my cordial greetings to the Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labour Conference.

You are not strangers to this country. Your First Session, held in Washington in 1919, laid historic foundations for your work, and your most recent session, in New York in 1941, expressed the determination of free peoples the world over to carry this war on to victory and to restore and strengthen the liberty, the dignity and the inalienable rights of man.

You are meeting in a city in which, many years ago, our forefathers met in conference to pioneer these fields. From their debates emerged the Declaration of Independence, which proclaimed the self-evident truths that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with the inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. A few years later, in another conference in Philadelphia, the Constitution of the United States was framed, to establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty for themselves and their posterity.

Twenty-five years ago, the same sentiments of justice and humanity led to the creation of the International Labour Organisation, designed to deal with those labour conditions which involve such injustice, hardship and privation that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled.

The International Labour Organisation also was designed as a great pillar in the arch of peace and security. It, too, proclaimed the need of tranquillity and the promotion of the common welfare.

Just twenty-five years ago this month, a little band of courageous and determined men were busy organising the First Session of this Conference, which was held in Washington in October 1919. No groups have larger stakes in both the economic and social aspects of international co-operation than those represented at the International Labour Conference.

We are fortunate indeed to have the machinery of a well-established and experienced organisation to facilitate international collaboration in matters directly affecting the interests and
problems of employers and workers. The agenda of your present session shows both how far you have progressed and how far we still have to go.

The interdependence of nations to which this Conference draws dramatic attention has been driven home to us with increasing force. We have learned that deep-seated economic and social evils cannot be cured by the act of any one country alone. Accordingly, it is essential that this Conference should lay down a programme which will increase still further the effectiveness of the International Labour Organisation in the difficult days to come, and should assist us in directing national and international policies to the advancement of the basic and permanent interests of all Americans.

The PRESIDENT—I would like, if it is the will of the Conference, to send back to the Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, the thanks of this Conference, not only for his message, but also for what the Government of America, the people of the United States, their President, their Secretary of Labor, Miss Frances Perkins, and also in particular the Secretary of State, have done over the years for the purpose of building better understanding between the nations. I will see that your message goes in accordance with your instructions. The Secretary-General has a message to read.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL—While I was sitting here on the platform this morning, I received the following message from Harrisburg, addressed to the Secretary-General, International Labour Conference, Mitten Hall, Temple University:

Pennsylvania welcomes the delegates to the International Labour Organisation, convening in Philadelphia today for their Twenty-sixth Conference. I hope your visit to our Commonwealth will be most pleasant and that your Conference will result in concrete plans for the participation of labour in the difficult post-war days of adjustment which we hope and pray are not too distant.

(Signed) Edward Martin,
Governor of Pennsylvania.

The PRESIDENT—I take it that you will authorise me to approve of the sending of a suitable reply to the message from the Governor of the State of Pennsylvania through the Secretary-General.

(The Conference adjourned at 12.05 p.m.)
# Delegates present at the Sitting

## United States of America:
- Miss Perkins
- Mr. Harriman
- Mr. Watt

## Argentine Republic:
- Mr. García Arias
- Mr. Palmieri
- Mr. lamuraglia
- Mr. Girola

## Australia:
- Mr. Beasley
- Mr. Barnard
- Mr. Condie
- Mr. Clarey

## Belgium:
- Mr. van Zeeland
- Mr. Wauters
- Mr. Joassart
- Mr. Rens

## Bolivia:
- Mr. Fajardo
- Mr. Saavedra

## Brazil:
- Mr. Fontes
- Mr. de Rego Monteiro
- Mr. de Mattos Lima

## British Empire:
- Mr. Tomlinson
- Sir Frederick Leggett
- Sir John Forbes
- Mr. Hallworth

## Canada:
- Mr. MacDonald (substitute for Mr. Martin)
- Mr. Claxton
- Mr. Coulter
- Mr. Bengough

## Chile:
- Mr. Bustos Lagos
- Mr. Gajardo
- Mr. Villarreal
- Mr. Heiremans
- Mr. Brockmann
- Mr. Velásquez
- Mr. Quiroga

## China:
- Mr. Li Ping-heng
- Mr. Hsieh Cheng-fu
- Mr. Li Ming
- Mr. Chu Hsieh-fan

## Colombia:
- Mr. Nannetti
- Mr. Molina

## Costa Rica:
- Mr. Padilla Castro
- Fr. Nuñez Vargas

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

## Czechoslovakia:
- Mr. Ilyka (substitute for Mr. Masaryk)
- Mr. Shoembaum
- Mr. Morawetz
- Mr. Kosina

## Dominican Republic:
- Mr. Cocco
- Mr. de Marchena
- Dujarric
- Mr. Morales

## Ecuador:
- Mr. López Arteta
- Mr. Hidalgo González
- Mr. González Artigas
- Mr. Torres Vera

## Egypt:
- Mr. Radi
- Mr. Ramzy
- Mr. Hamada
- Mr. Soliman

## Ethiopia:
- Mr. Tessema

## Greece:
- Mr. Diamantopoulos
- Mr. Zarras
- Mr. Kulkundis

## Haiti:
- Mr. Thébaud

## India:
- Sir Samuel Rungamadhan
- Mr. Prior
- Mr. Mulherkar (substitute for Mr. Mahendra)
- Mr. Mehta

## Iran:
- Mr. Daftary

## Iraq:
- Mr. Jawdat
- Mr. Haidari

## Ireland:
- Mr. Brennan
- Mr. Hearne

## Luxembourg:
- Mr. Krier
- Mr. Le Gaulais

## Mexico:
- Mr. Trujillo Guiria
- Mr. Santos Guajardo
- Mr. Chapa
- Mr. Lombardo Toledano

## Netherlands:
- Mr. van den Tempel
- Mr. Loudon
- Mr. Warning
- Mr. Oldenbroek

## New Zealand:
- Mr. Turner (substitute for Mr. Nash)

## Norway:
- Mr. Hambro
- Mr. Welhaven (substitute for Mr. Ording)
- Mr. Dahl
- Mr. Nordahl

## Peru:
- Mr. Fernández Stoll
- Mr. Elguera
- Mr. Vidal
- Mr. Luna

## Poland:
- Mr. Stanczyk
- Mr. Falter
- Mr. Adamczyk

## Union of South Africa:
- Mr. Andrews
- Mr. Skeales
- Mr. de Vries

## Sweden:
- Mr. Ohlin
- Mr. Thorsson
- Mr. von Heldenstam
- Mr. Andersson

## Switzerland:
- Mr. Bruggmann

## Turkey:
- Mr. Esmer

## Uruguay:
- Mr. Kühn Talay
- Mr. Fontaine

## Venezuela:
- Mr. Tinoco Rodil
- Mr. Pérez Guerrero

## Yugoslavia:
- Mr. Soubbotitch
- Mr. Banac
- Mr. Miloš

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*Also present at the Sitting:*

- Mr. Asgeirsson (Iceland)
- Mr. Acosta (Paraguay)
SECOND REPORT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE

The PRESIDENT—Sir Samuel Runganadhan will present the second report of the Selection Committee.

Sir Samuel RUNGANADHAN (Government delegate, India), Chairman of the Selection Committee—I have the honour to present to the Conference the second report of the Selection Committee.

The Selection Committee proposes that the Credentials Committee should be constituted as follows, in accordance with the nominations submitted by the groups:

Government group: Mr. van den Tempel (Netherlands).
Employers' group: Mr. Harriman (United States of America).
Workers' group: Mr. Lombardo Tole­dano (Mexico).

The PRESIDENT—The question is that the report of the Selection Committee on the nomination of the Credentials Committee be adopted and the members so recommended be approved by this Conference.

(The proposal is adopted.)

Sir Samuel RUNGANADHAN (Government delegate, India), Chairman of the Selection Committee—The Selection Committee recommends that the Conference should devote its plenary sittings on Monday and Tuesday, 24 and 25 April, to a general discussion of items I and II on its agenda:

I. Future policy, programme and status of the International Labour Organisation.

II. Recommendations to the United Nations for present and post-war social policy.

The PRESIDENT—The proposal is that the report of the Selection Committee with regard to the agenda providing that two days be devoted in plenary sitting to the discussion of items I and II be approved.

(The proposal is adopted.)

Sir Samuel RUNGANADHAN (Government delegate, India), Chairman of the Selection Committee—The Selection Committee recommends that the Conference should decide to set up at once the following three Committees:

Committee on Employment, to which would be referred Report III—The Organisation of Employment in the Transition from War to Peace.
Committee on Social Security, to which would be referred Report IV (1) and (2)—Social Security: Principles, and Problems Arising Out of the War.
Committee on Dependent Territories, to which would be referred Report V—Minimum Standards of Social Policy in Dependent Territories.

The duty of each of these committees would be to place before the Conference general guiding principles on the subject with which it deals.

Proposals for the composition of these three Committees will be submitted by the Selection Committee on the basis of the desires expressed by the groups.

The PRESIDENT—The proposal is that the report of the Selection Committee with regard to the treatment of items III,
IV and V by the setting up of Committees to consider them and report back to the Conference, be approved.

(The proposal is adopted.)

**DISCUSSION OF ITEMS I AND II ON THE AGENDA**

The PRESIDENT—The Conference will now proceed to the discussion of items I and II, in accordance with the reports that have been distributed, the first referring to the future policy, programme and status of the International Labour Organisation, and the other containing recommendations to the United Nations for present and post-war social policy.

Miss PERKINS (Government delegate, United States of America)—As the first of the speakers to debate and discuss the items on the agenda before us, I speak with a very grave sense of responsibility to my country. I do want to make it clear to you that my country in participating in this great meeting has regarded the agenda and what can be done under this agenda very seriously and with great hope. And because we do so regard it seriously, the delegation from the United States Government includes not only the member of the Cabinet who is ordinarily charged with interest in labour and social affairs, but also an Assistant Secretary of State, a Senator of the United States and a Member of our House of Representatives, who is, in himself or herself, a member of the opposition party.

I say this so that you may know with what seriousness we regard the programme which we hope, and which I know you hope, may be accomplished here.

May I say, also, that in the few remarks which I have to make this morning, we have had an example for ourselves of the meaning of that word which I understand has been so much debated by the English-speaking members of this Conference and by the press which reports their debate and discussion—the word “scrutinise”. My proposed remarks have been scrutinised, may I say, by a large number of officers of the Government of the United States, including the State Department; and when I say “scrutinise”, I mean just that. They have looked at them; they have hemmed and hawed and made suggestions. I still remain a free agent, speaking freely in a free country, and I am grateful for the suggestions and comments which they have made. I have adopted most of them, and, as a result, what I have to say has a larger area of agreement in it than is ordinarily possible with free speech in a free country.

So that I presume, is the intention of the word “scrutinise” introduced by the Governing Body at the meeting in London, a word so much debated and so much questioned. So that in the future we intend, where we adopt such a resolution, to “scrutinise” the remarks of other people and the comments of other associations or organisations for world peace, in the hope that we may be able to make practical suggestions for promoting not only their specific objective, but also the objectives which are the particular concern of the I.L.O.

From our point of view, every nation in the world today has come to accept as axiomatic the idea that a man should be able to live as the result of the work that he does and the contribution he makes to society.

We know that long-term mass unemployment can be prevented in any modern society. It must be accepted as a fundamental labour standard that steady and regular jobs will be available for all who are able to accept work discipline and to achieve some minimum of skill and efficiency. Whatever devices may be necessary, we must see to it that our economic organisation is such as to provide the necessary millions of jobs throughout the world and increasing opportunity for the investment of the savings of the people in the further expansion of the world economy. These jobs must be distributed, of course, among manufacturing, construction, trade, transportation, agriculture and private and public services in reasonable and practical proportions. Above all, there should be jobs for the production of needed and useful goods and services which can be consumed locally or traded profitably in the world markets.

While the availability of jobs depends primarily upon the maintenance of dynamic equilibrium between production, on the one hand, and consumer purchasing power and investment demands on the other, we have all learned during this war the importance of flexible and efficient organisation of the labour market as a means of reducing lost opportunities for employment. A free public employment system, serving the whole population, will be even more indispensable in the transition from war to peace than it has been during the war. There should be no weakening of these services after the war. We welcome the opportunity at this Conference to discuss means for improving national employment services through international collaboration, and to discuss ways and means of placing disabled persons in self-sustaining employment. That will be one of the world problems when this war is over.

In the transition from war to peace, we shall have to guard against the erection of artificial barriers to employment. We cannot protect employment and labour standards by a hierarchy of preferences. The needs of individuals who seek work must be recognised. All nations should undertake that, in plans for the demobilisation of war industries, special attention be given to the large group of women who have been brought into the war industries, to their needs for re-employment in mod-
ern industrial society. The failure to do so will result not only in the exclusion from employment of women who need jobs, but in the letting down of living standards, for the work which they do creates the goods and services which so enhance and raise the standard of living.

In the transition from war to peace, we must be clear headed with regard to the means for preventing unemployment. Whenever unemployment has appeared as a phenomenon in the past, there has been a tendency to excuse or write down a part of it on the assumption that there is no need for the product of as many people as are willing and able to work. Over-production is the popular word for that, but it is an untrue word and represents an untrue concept. Actually, periods of depression have nearly always been periods of real poverty, real lack of things, when there was a desperate need for the goods which might have been produced if everyone who wanted to work could have found a job. Today, having partially appraised the needs of our own and other countries, we know that there will not be too many workers to serve those needs. We should never again allow trained workers and developed facilities available for the production of needed goods and services to remain idle, while the needs of large parts of the world's population remain unsatisfied.

But employment, of course, is not an end in itself. Free and informed societies recognise that the primary purpose of the employment relationship is to produce goods and services for consumption and to provide incomes for both employer and workers, sufficient to make an adequate purchasing market for the things that have been produced, or for their equivalent in trade. Improper or harmful employment should and can be avoided. Excellent in trade. Improper or harmful employment should and can be avoided. Efficient in trade. Improper or harmful employment should and can be avoided.

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

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

We shall not satisfy the legitimate expectations of the people of the world, however, if we do not strengt

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

The present moment seems to us a pro- pititious one in which to implement the last twenty-five years of work of the I.L.O. Between the 91st and 1939 the Conference adopted, as you all know, 67 labour Conven- tions. At the time that each of these was adopted, it would have been impossible for all the nations of the world im- mediately to have ratified any one of them. Standards must be built up gradually in practice. But I think we should ask our- selves whether the time has not come when some of these standards could be made more nearly universal.

We believe that within the framework of the peace settlement it should be possible to secure world-wide adoption of certain minimum child labour standards. Those nations, for example, which have already established a 14-year minimum age for industrial employment ought to be able to lower the 15-year minimum pro- vided for in Convention 59. Others should be able to accept in advance the 14-year minimum provided for in Convention 5. We believe that all nations should be prepared to prohibit so universally disliked a practice as the underground work of women in mines, in accordance with the Convention adopted in 1935 in the I.L.O. We believe that in every country there should be minimum wage-fixing machin- ery and current knowledge as to what wages are paid and what hours worked. I cannot refrain from interrupting myself to say that in spite of the "scrutiny" of this document, I have it before me in this form: "minimum age-fixing machinery"—which I think would be nice—wage-fixing machinery! That is a pun that I cannot refrain from interrupting myself to say that in spite of the "scrutiny" of this document, I have it before me in this form: "minimum age-fixing machinery"—which I think would be nice—wage-fixing machinery! That is a pun that I am afraid is lost to the interpreters into French and Spanish, but the rest of you will forgive me, I am sure.

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

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

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

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

Freedom from want requires produc- tive capacity sufficient to satisfy the needs of all people. It requires an organisation of the economy such that this capacity will be used and that the resulting product is so distributed as to ensure at least mini- mum standards to all workers. Systems of social insurance and public assistance have the effect of putting purchasing power in the hands of those who do not for a variety of reasons achieve an ade- quate income through their own current efforts at a particular time. Such systems make consumers out of persons otherwise indigent. To these things we are pledged.

At this stage in the world's history, man has a conscious choice—a conscious choice, perhaps, as never before. Good standards do not necessarily flow from productivity; but without high produc- tivity standards are bound to be low and even to deteriorate. The opportunity be- fore the civilised world at the present time is to choose to establish high stand- ards of living out of increased produc- tivity, and to develop that productivity with a view to enhancing human living generally. Our work in this Conference should be directed to crystallising that choice in the certainty that high levels of productivity will be enhanced by the effi- ciency arising out of good standards, and that the building up of purchasing power on a broad scale through better incomes and better standards of living throughout the world will create markets to support the expanding production.

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

To ensure a high level of steady em- ployment;
To encourage development of natural resources, technical progress, improved management and training of workers.
so that labour may be employed under conditions of maximum efficiency and to discourage the restriction of useful production;

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

Also, we should strive:

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

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

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

Agreement with respect to such objectives should underlie and motivate all of the special international economic agencies that have been and may be created as a part of the peace settlement. We welcome the recognition of these goals by the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture and by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, and we believe that such standards will be recognised by any other economic agencies which may be established in the future.

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

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

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

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

Such reports will be more fruitful if there is general agreement with respect to objective standards that should constitute the goals of economic and social policies, and if there is some uniformity in the compilation of information with respect to the extent to which these standards have been approximated. We shall therefore wish to recommend a formal undertaking to be adhered to in connection with the peace settlement, to develop, through appropriate international agencies, statistical measures, and to maintain statistical and other information bearing on the enumerated goals of social policy, as well as on employment, national income and the distribution of income. There should be close collaboration and exchange of information between the I.L.O. and other international bodies established to promote economic advancement and social well-being.
There should be no conflict between technical progress and steady employment. Technical progress has made possible mankind's rise from poverty. Under the best of conditions, it will still require decades of capital accumulation to produce the tools that are needed to free more than half of the people of the world from the necessity of using back-breaking and pathetically inefficient methods of production.

Without a broad and developing basis of efficient productive capacity, the ideal of achieving freedom from want involves perpetual makeshifts. When one must choose between enough food and good medical care, between drugs and sanitation, no choice is satisfactory, because nutrition is, perhaps, the most important principle of preventive medicine, while poverty makes a man an inefficient worker and producer.

It follows that the fundamental lines of economic policy must concern themselves with raising the productive capacity of populations and with ensuring a full and efficient use of productive resources. The population of the world can be better nourished while young children are freed from labour; for example, if all rural machinery, fertiliser, breeding stock and technical help are imported by poor regions so that more food can be produced with fewer hours of labour, and therefore with less disturbing child labour.

Their need for tools promises a market for the products of industrialised countries. This market will be profitable, however, only if the rest of the world is willing to buy part of the increased supply of goods that may be produced in hitherto undeveloped areas, so that payment can be made for the equipment needed in an orderly exchange. Thus, an orderly and continuous expansion of world trade is an indispensable part of an international programme aimed at the elimination of want.

Even were the objective of achieving freedom from want conceived by any Government exclusively in the interest of the workers of that particular country, the programme for economic development must be world-wide in scope. Geographical specialisation of production, in so far as it is consistent with military security, has the same advantages in the international sphere as in the national sphere. We should limit the possible increase in the standard of living in the United States, for example, if we insisted upon using part of the increased supply of goods that may be produced in hitherto undeveloped areas, so that payment can be made for the equipment needed in an orderly exchange. Thus, an orderly and continuous expansion of world trade is an indispensable part of an international programme aimed at the elimination of want.

The United Nations should agree in principle that the maintenance within each nation of high levels of employment and national income is a matter of international concern.

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

The PRESIDENT—In order to accelerate the proceedings, I am going to suggest to the delegates that all the speeches from now on shall be interpreted by telephone.

Next, I am proposing, if it meets with your approval and if it fits in with the way that you see it, that instead of calling on a long list of names sent up to me, which may all be Government delegates, to call, as far as possible, on countries and groups in turn. That does not mean that I shall never call on two or three Government delegates in turn, but it does mean that I shall be guided for the viewpoint of the Government delegates, the Employers' delegates and the Workers' delegates, so that they may have a chance to put their case, each in turn.

The time provided for speakers under the Standing Orders is fifteen minutes. It is not possible nor is it always necessary
that certain speeches be made within that time. I did not interrupt the first speaker and I do not propose, under your will, to interrupt the next few speakers. However, if we are to get through the list, then it is imperative that we should keep to the Standing Orders rule of fifteen minutes. That will not prevent any delegate, if there is a speaker saying something that the Conference desires to hear, from moving that the time be extended.

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

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

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

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

In its twenty-five sessions, the I.L.O. has adopted 67 Conventions and 66 Recommendations. The total number of ratifications of Conventions is now about nine hundred, some fifty countries having ratified one or more. These are impressive figures, and they become more impressive when we try to picture all that they represent in the lives of the workers of the world. A Convention is not, and must not to be, a document which is forgotten as soon as it is adopted. When it is ratified and applied, it translates itself into a real improvement in the conditions of the life and work of men and women. My own country has ratified over thirty Conventions, and those Conventions are fully applied in accordance with the provisions of other Conventions, either by legislation or by collective agreement.

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

In Article V of the Atlantic Charter, the social objective of the United Nations has been epitomised in eight words: “Improved labour standards, economic advancement, and social security”. Speaking in London, at the beginning of last year, our Foreign Secretary said, “We wish to see the I.L.O. become the main international instrument for giving effect to this social objective”, and, when addressing the Governing Body later in the year, he further said, “Your Organisation will no doubt scrutinise plans for economic and financial reconstruction from the point of view of the social objectives at which you aim, and in doing this, you will help to make sure that we steadily pursue the road which the United Nations have chosen to travel”. In order to do this, it is not necessary for the I.L.O. to break with its past. Throughout its existence it has shown itself capable of adaptation to meet changing circumstances and to satisfy changing needs. It is a living organism, and like every living organism, it develops and evolves. It is in fact because of its resilience and vitality that it is desirable to examine its aims and purposes and to restate them in terms appropriate to the needs of the present day. I cannot refrain from recalling, when this is being considered, that the first draft of the Constitution of the I.L.O. was prepared in the British Ministry of Labour under the impulse of George Barnes, and that a former Director of the I.L.O., Mr. Harold Butler, and our present Acting Director, Mr. Phelan, were on the headquarters staff at the time. That draft was submitted to the International Labour Commission of the Peace Conference in response
to the demands of the delegates of the nations gathered at that Conference. The Commission met under the chairmanship of Samuel Gompers, and thus the I.L.O. was brought into being as a tripartite organisation, representative of Governments, employers and workers.

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

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

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

No-one, I think, will quarrel with the preamble to the Constitution of the I.L.O., that lasting peace can be established only if it is based on social justice; but even if it were not conceded, social justice in itself is surely a worthy objective, and therefore the Conference will do well to affirm that all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity, and that the attainment of conditions in which this shall be possible must constitute the central aim of national and international policy.

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

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

No-one belonging to our generation, with the experience of long-term unemployment which was the lot of millions of people in every industrial country still fresh in his mind, will quarrel with the placing of this objective first in the list of priorities. The solution of the problem of unemployment or the maintenance of full employment must surely be the first step either to economic security or social justice. I know that provision for maintenance must be made if inability to work or failure to obtain work supervenes, but I think our experience of the effects of unemployment has taught us that these measures can never be an adequate substitute or constitute in any sense remuneration for failure to provide the opportunity to earn one's living. The statement in this Declaration, that we have the right to pursue both material well-being and spiritual development, is just playing with words so long as the problem of unemployment remains unsolved, and therefore the maintenance of full employment must occupy first place. Coupled with this is the raising of standards of living, and I have a feeling that this is, perhaps the only way in which, when peace comes, full employment can possibly be maintained.

In meeting our wartime requirements, we have seen the wisdom of organising, planning and directing our productive capacity to meet the ever-growing demands of an insatiable war machine. As a consequence, I think we are all agreed that industrial miracles have been performed. May it not be that in the words of the prophet Micah the "turning of swords into ploughshares and spears into pruning hooks" may show us the way to the solution of the problem of full employment? Tractors instead of tanks and pianos for planes may be the modern version of that great ideal, for in the produce of the workshop and in the sounds of music you have two of the many essential features for the raising of standards of living, and when the bomber, freed from its destructive purpose by the completion of its job, can accompany the stork on its maternal mission, carrying blessings and bounty instead of bombs to the babies of every land, the line of shrill lamentation of once having turned our saucepans into Spitfires to preserve our freedom, but will hasten to reverse the procedure with the same determination.

Nor is the provision of employment enough in itself; not until that employment is found in the occupations in which the
workers can have the satisfaction of giving the fullest measure of their skill, and make their greatest contribution to the common well-being, shall we arrive at the desired haven; and for this reason, the provision for training and the transfer of labour under adequate safeguards and guarantees seems a wise proposal.

It follows also that policies in regard to wages, earnings and working conditions which will ensure a just share of the fruits of progress to all, should be the earnest concern of all who are interested in solving these international problems. We cannot, even if we would, wipe out the experiences of these years of war, and therefore it behoves us to profit from the lessons we have learned at such a price, and nowhere, perhaps, have those lessons been so conclusive as in the realm of industrial relations. Insistence upon the right of collective bargaining has paid handsome dividends in production figures. The co-operation of management and labour in the continuous improvement of productive efficiency has undoubtedly during the war, in my country at any rate, been of instemable value to the common cause. It would be an insult to the dead who have given their lives that we might live if these things which were proved of value in the hour of peril are cast aside and forgotten when the crisis is past. The implements of co-operation and collaboration forged in the fires of war may be the instruments in our hands for the building of a better world in the difficult days of peace which lie ahead.

To proclaim the necessity for the extension of social security measures, which, under all circumstances, will seek to maintain a minimum standard of life, is to state what is coming to be universally regarded as an essential part of our modern civilisation.

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. BEASLEY (Government delegate, Australia)—This discussion has been arranged primarily to deal with items I and II on the agenda, but the Australian Government delegation hopes later to have the opportunity of submitting their views on each item of the agenda. The interest of the Government in matters of social policy and the organisation of employment is great. It has already progressed some way in the planning of the transition period, and the Australian delegation will have, I believe, a contribution to make to the deliberations of this Conference. My present purpose is to state our general international economic policy and, as it were, to give notice of a number of resolutions which we will wish to suggest. I do this at the commencement of the Conference because the policy and resolutions we wish to propose are far-reaching, and it is therefore only fair that the Conference should have an early indication of them, and time to consider them.

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

The Australian Government's policy in relation to international economic collaboration is based upon Article V of the Atlantic Charter, which provides as follows:

They (namely, the President of the United States, and the Prime Minister of 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 Australian Government regards Article VII of the United Kingdom and the United States Mutual Aid Agreement, the terms of which are familiar to all, as a further expression of the objectives of Article V of the Atlantic Charter.

The Australian Government and its officials have devoted considerable attention, in spite of their preoccupation with waging war, to ways in which these objectives can best be attained. A special subcommittee of the Australian Cabinet, presided over by the Foreign Minister, Dr.
Evatt, has been set up for the purpose.

What I have now to say outlines the conclusions which have been reached and the further steps which the Australian Government considers should first be taken to implement Article V of the Atlantic Charter and Article VI of the master Mutual Aid Agreement.

You will no doubt be aware of the work which has been done in the past by Australians in endeavouring to have accepted by all nations the raising of living standards as the primary means of securing increased trade and establishing harmonious international economic relations. Many of you will recall the name of Mr. F. L. McDougall, C.M.G., who has for some years been active in this field. It is therefore with satisfaction that the Australian Government notes that, by signing the Atlantic Charter and the Mutual Aid Agreement, the United Nations have pledged themselves to pursue policies designed to raise living standards everywhere in the world.

It needs to be emphasised that the raising of living standards is not wholly a domestic matter, particularly for those countries which are underdeveloped or are highly dependent on foreign trade or the financial policies of other countries. For them, domestic policies to maintain high levels of employment and to increase investment, consumption and employment and to distributing purchasing power among the community lie in the hands of the institutions and Governments of each nation. But it must be emphasised also that the raising of living standards is not wholly a domestic matter, particularly for those countries which are underdeveloped or are highly dependent on foreign trade or the financial policies of other countries. For them, domestic policies to maintain high levels of employment and to increase standards of living are restricted by the necessity of balancing external payments. In other words, the success of the domestic policies of many small countries depends not only upon their own domestic planning, but also upon a world demand for their exports.

It may not be realised by all how dependent on foreign trade many countries are. Between 1937 and 1938, there was in the year 1938, which may be taken as the last normal year prior to the war, New Zealand's export trade was approximately 35 per cent. of her total national income; Canada's was 21 per cent.; Australia's was 17 per cent., and there were others like South Africa much higher. The United Kingdom's proportion was 10 per cent., while the 'United States' was less than 5 per cent. Moreover, many of these exports depended and will depend in the future, upon a very narrow range of exports. Taking Australia as an example, wool, dairy products, grain and meat accounted for well over 80 per cent. of the total exports by value in 1938. Added to this, these countries are usually dependent on one or two main markets. In the case of Australia, over 50 per cent. of exports go to the United Kingdom market. I venture to suggest that the majority of countries represented here today are in this category of "dependent" economies.

The most important single factor determining the demand for goods entering world trade is the world level of income and consumption and particularly the level of income and consumption in the larger and industrially developed countries. High levels of income and consumption throughout the world are dependent in their turn on high and stable levels of employment.

The peacetime level of unemployment in the industrially developed countries, while, perhaps, relatively small when expressed as a percentage of total employment, is very great when expressed in absolute figures of numbers unemployed. It is this total, or this absolute figure, which is relevant, as it better indicates the effects on world consumption and trade. Without referring to the unusual period of the great depression, it is appropriate to point out that over the four-year period, 1935 to 1938, inclusive, there was an average of seven million registered unemployed in the United States, and, of course, probably many in addition not registered. Incidentally, that is more than the whole consuming population of Australia. In the United Kingdom, over the same period, there were nearly 1.5 million workers wholly unemployed. This figure does not give a true picture of the total unemployment, as the statistics do not include very many who were only part-time employed and many not registered as unemployed. The level of consumption of these countries is brought about by this unemployment had very adverse effects on the exports from other countries, and, ultimately, upon the whole world.

Even more severe, however, are the effects of the fluctuations in employment. Suppliers to the world markets might be able to adjust their production to a permanent state of underconsumption; but in the past they have been required also to adjust themselves to very significant fluctuations in employment and consumption. Between 1937 and 1938, there was in America an increase from 5.1 million to 7.4 millions. Trade figures reflect the effects on other countries of this fluctuation. Imports into the United States fell from 3,009.9 million dollars in 1937, to 1,949.6 million dollars in 1938.

It can clearly be seen that even a slight increase in the average consumption of the 178 million consumers in the United States and the United Kingdom, and the avoidance of fluctuations in their consumption, would have a tremendous effect on the exports of the many small countries greatly dependent upon exports of consumers' goods.

Thus, we are led to the conclusion that the critical factor controlling the raising of the standards of living and the level of trade throughout the world will be the kind of domestic policies which are followed by the larger economies, such as those of the United States of America and the United Kingdom. This being the case, higher levels of employment throughout
the world and, in particular, higher levels of employment in the more developed countries should be the first goal to be sought in international economic collaboration.

There are, of course, other goals. There is the goal of increased consumption. Consumption of many important commodities is still low in the most advanced countries. For instance, the consumption of butter in the United States was, immediately prior to this war, about 15 pounds per head per year, and in the United Kingdom 25 pounds, as compared with 33 pounds in Australia and 41 pounds in New Zealand. Consumption of wool is not measurable, but it is well known that consumption in many importing countries is very low. Australia attaches great importance to increased consumption as a post-war objective. But the immediate means of achieving this objective is to start at the base by increasing employment.

Monetary planning to maintain stable exchange rates and increase the availability of foreign credits, as is contemplated in the United Kingdom—United States plans now under discussion, is another goal. This will provide conditions in which expanding demand will be easier to bring about, but stability of exchange rates and availability of international credits cannot, in the absence of high levels of employment, bring about a demand for goods, or in any way guarantee stability of demand at a high level. Under any scheme, a country maintaining high levels of employment requiring, as a result, increased imports will find its credits restricted if other countries do not also maintain high levels of employment and increase their imports.

Another goal of international economic collaboration is the removal of trade restrictions. In the absence of full employment, the removal of restrictions cannot guarantee increased world trade. In fact, removal of restrictions might easily set in motion a trend towards decreased world demand, by causing increased local unemployment. In any case, in practice, all countries have found that barriers to trade cannot be removed while unemployment exists. The dominating problem of every nation before the war was the continuous underemployment of its population. The main factor preventing international economic collaboration was the fear that international collaboration involving agreements to reduce trade barriers would cause, and not cure, the urgent local problem of unemployment. This defensive attitude towards international obligations was, and still is, justified by uncertainty about domestic policies in the major areas of world consumption.

Similar uncertainty regarding their operations surrounds buffer stock plans, international commodity agreements, and other devices which are goals of international economic collaboration. Uncertainty and doubt about the effectiveness of such proposals will only be removed by a con-
duction that Governments will pursue domestic policies of expansion, and recognise this as the first and most important contribution to international economic collaboration.

It can be seen that employment and consumption policies, which have traditionally been regarded as of domestic concern only, exercise far more influence on the affairs of other nations than do exchange rates, tariffs, and export subsidy policies, which have conventionally been classified as international concern. The Australian Government considers, therefore, that national policies of employment should come within the scope of matters subject to international discussion and agreement.

An agreement between Governments to maintain high levels of employment would not imply any interference with sovereign rights by an international institution, except the sovereign "right" to raise unemployment in other countries, by allowing unemployment and low living standards to persist within their national boundaries. Every country would be free to use the means which seem most appropriate in the circumstances to maintain its own employment level and prevent unemployment. It hardly seems conceivable that democratic Governments would hesitate to undertake to maintain high levels of employment. They cannot afford to hesitate, having regard to the experiences of the great depression and the undoubted claims every demobilised serviceman and producer of war goods will have upon his Government, to see that a proper place will be found for him in the economic life of his country when this war is over.

It may be advanced that there are political and traditional difficulties which might arise in some countries in carrying out an agreement to pursue policies of full employment. But I submit that no system of government, no set of institutions, is adequate for the purposes for which it was developed, if it cannot guarantee work for all who wish it. In every country in the world today, including the most advanced, there is room for very extensive employment of men and materials, as well as extension of social services, health, education, housing, and so on.

This view, I am glad to say, has found general acceptance, at least amongst the United Nations. All the United Nations have already undertaken, by implication, the obligation to maintain employment. They have endorsed the Four Freedoms, and, in particular, the Freedom from Want. They have endorsed the Atlantic Charter, and, particularly, the objective of "security for all, improved labour standards, economic advancement, and social security". They have endorsed Article VII of the Mutual Aid Agreement, and, in particular, the undertaking "to promote mutually advantageous economic relations" by "appropriate international and domestic measures of production, employment, and the exchange and consumption of goods".
The only objection that could be raised to a formal agreement is that some countries might take advantage of it as an excuse to restrict trade. The following considerations suggest that this would not happen:

(i) Nations having a tendency to pursue policies of economic nationalism will do so in any case in the absence of an agreement. An employment agreement would provide the best means of diverting them from this course. Creation of world markets for their exports would lead to high levels of employment, thus avoiding the need for policies of economic nationalism.

(ii) Successful employment policies will lead to some internal expansion of consumption and investment. For some countries, such expansion may require import control to protect the balance of payments. But the level of imports is unlikely to be less than it would be without internal expansion and no net additional burden will be thrown on other countries.

(iii) Full employment policies in, say, Europe, might involve barriers being erected against imports of primary products. But in a situation in which full employment policies extend to major centres of consumption, such as the United States and the United Kingdom, exporters of primary products could in general anticipate, at least, the maintenance of the level of total world trade. Moreover, if full employment policies were accompanied by international investments in underdeveloped countries, markets for primary products would be increased.

In the nature of things we cannot expect a cast-iron guarantee that countries will maintain full employment policies, but we can plan to help each other to solve domestic problems, and we can attempt to formulate ways and means of mobilising national and international opinion in favour of measures necessary to achieve high levels of employment. The success of the agreement, as in the case of all international agreements, would depend very largely on the importance which Governments place upon it. I cannot think that any responsible Government wishing to preserve the institution of democracy would not attach supreme importance to the objective of providing work for all.

The Australian Government delegation, therefore, will wish later to put forward the recommendation to the Governments of the United Nations that a United Nations agreement on employment be sought. Full employment policies may be the prime objective of the organisation eventually set up to co-ordinate monetary, commercial and commodity agreements. But we have no guarantee that such an organisation will see that full employment policies are kept in the forefront and pursued. That assurance must be given in a separate formal agreement.

I have attached to this statement a draft agreement1 which will be distributed to delegates in order that this recommendation may be put forward in a practical way. The main features of the draft agreement are that each Government agrees:

(i) To declare its responsibility to its own people and to the peoples of other countries to maintain high levels of employment;
(ii) To improve its statistics of employment and unemployment;
(iii) To furnish other countries regularly with these statistics and an account of the domestic employment position;
(iv) To consult with others through an appropriate international agency when employment levels are low and threaten the security of employment of others.

I wish to say at this stage that the Australian Government is already taking steps to ease the transition period problems, and to ensure economic security. A constitutional amendment designed to give the Commonwealth Government the powers it needs for reconstruction purposes will be the subject of a referendum shortly. A Ministry of Post-war Reconstruction is now in operation. Housing, Rural Reconstruction and Secondary Industries Commissions are already at work. Retraining, repatriation, and placement services are already in existence. Full employment is the central pivot of the Australian Government's domestic policy.

The recently concluded Australian-New Zealand agreement is evidence of this. By this agreement, the two Governments agree that "there should be co-operation in achieving full employment in Australia and New Zealand and the highest standards of social security, both within their borders and throughout the islands of the Pacific and other territories for which they may jointly or severally be wholly or partly responsible", and they agree to promote "the establishment, at the earliest possible date, of a South Seas Regional Commission, including representatives of other countries, designed "to secure a common policy on social, economic and political development directed towards the advancement and well-being of the native peoples themselves" and having a special responsibility to "recommend arrangements for maintenance and improvement of standards of native welfare, in regard to labour conditions and participation of natives in administration and social services" and to "make and publish periodical reviews of progress ... in the improvement of standards of living, conditions of work, education, health, and general welfare." It can be seen that an employment

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1 See Third Part, Appendix V.
agreement has an important bearing upon other aspects of international economic collaboration. We consider, and I believe I have shown, that without an employment agreement, other international economic proposals will be no more than a dangerously deceptive veneer, simply covering the fundamental problems of international society. For many countries an employment agreement would, perhaps be an essential precondition of other economic and political agreements. Countries cannot accept the implications of monetary, commercial or commodity schemes, without knowing far more about the domestic policies of others. International discussion should therefore proceed quickly on agreement on the basic aims of reconstruction, of which full employment is clearly the main one. Monetary and similar proposals could then be examined from the point of view of their capacity to serve the important objectives of increasing living standards, as set down in the Atlantic Charter. An assurance regarding the kind of domestic policy which countries will follow, embodied in a formal employment agreement, will facilitate very greatly the successful negotiation of international agreement on other aspects of international economic collaboration.

I do not wish to imply that the Australian Government is not in favour of these other international agreements. In fact, it is anxiety to see that they are successful in carrying out their primary aims of increasing living standards and providing peace, which prompts us to emphasise full employment as the fundamental basis. We are, however, forced, in the absence of some assurance on domestic policies, to approach every proposal with considerable trepidation, having no assurance as to the ultimate effects of each scheme.

In order to come to an agreement such as I have outlined, a conference of the Governments of the United Nations would obviously be necessary. As I very much desire to put forward these proposals in as practical a way as possible, I have attached to this statement a draft agenda for such a conference.1

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

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

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

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

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

The policy followed by the Australian delegates at the United Nations’ Food Conference was stated as follows: “If it

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1 See Third Part, Appendix V.
is ultimately decided that some additional international machinery is required, it is probably better to provide this by adding to existing bodies, such as the International Labour Organisation.

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

Our policy is, therefore, clear and of long standing. We wish to see the I.L.O. play a much greater role in the future in international economic collaboration, and, in particular, in maintaining high levels of employment and consumption. We realise that the I.L.O. will have to be changed and extended, and we are prepared to assist to that end. Perhaps it should become directly associated or amalgamated with the Financial and Economic Section of the League, which has in the past done such valuable service in this wider field.

The I.L.O. has had considerable relevant experience. I have attached to this statement a summary of I.L.O. agreements on employment policy and employment statistics.1 This summary may not be complete, as it has not been checked by the I.L.O. officials, but, even as it stands, it presents an impressive history and one of which the I.L.O. can justly be proud.

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

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

At the same time, the tripartite basis of the I.L.O., which once was, and still is, appropriate and most beneficial in some fields, might be regarded by some as preventing the I.L.O. from performing just those tasks in the broader field which both employer and employee groups will find most beneficial. If the I.L.O. is to play its part along with other intergovernmental organisations now being set up, and to be an effective body in seeing that full employment policies are being followed, its status must be at the intergovernmental level. Mr. Valstar, the employers' delegate of the Netherlands to the last Conference, observed: "It appears to me that the Governments, politically representing their people, cannot leave questions determining the future of their countries, their political relation with the other nations of the world, in the hands of tripartite sections of the International Labour Organisation."

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

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

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

I wish to say this, however. The important thing is to agree to hold a United Nations Conference to seek an international employment agreement. The machinery necessary to carry this agreement into effect can be determined later. Do not let us be sidetracked in the discussions of machinery. Let us first agree for what purposes we want the machinery.

Finally, I wish to sound one note of warning. These are important matters that we are discussing. They should be discussed fully and well, objectively and without prejudice. But some will caution

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1 See Third Part, Appendix V.
against hasty action and wish to defer judgment. I regard that attitude as fatal. I hope that this Conference, at this session, will be bold in coming to decisions and courageous in seeing them carried into effect. For my part, I can say I have stated a policy with the full approval of the Australian Government. If this Conference does no more than pave the way for an international agreement on employment, I believe it will be an historic Conference. The world is looking for the lead which this Conference can give. The fighting men, the civilians producing the goods of war, the parents of the generation not yet working, want to be assured of one thing—that after this war there will be a job. Governments owe it to their citizens to provide that job, and Governments owe it to democracy. Democracy can never again afford a depression. The last depression bred the scourge of Nazism and dictatorship and destroyed democracy utterly in some parts of the world, and many aspects of it everywhere in the world. The approach to international economic collaboration which we have put forward is not merely a matter of market for our goods. This is an immediate end, but it is also a means to the further end of guaranteeing individual economic security, international peace, and the preservation of our liberal institutions.

It is submitted that this is the background in which all items on the agenda should be considered. The problem of the transition period, the problem of social security, the problem of dependent territories—what are they but side issues of the one important problem of maintaining high levels of employment everywhere in the world? We can go further. The problems of delinquency, health, declining birth rates—what are these but resultant of failure to pursue policies of full employment? Domestically, our slogan must be: Jobs for all. But we wish to see employment emphasised, not merely as a social policy, but as a basis of international economic collaboration. As a social policy alone, it can have no permanent success. Its importance is in relation to international economic collaboration to ensure progress and peace.

I should point out that while we endorse almost completely the reports which have been prepared and the attention they devote to employment, we feel they miss the mark in so far as the broader question of international relations are concerned. For this reason we shall wish to suggest amendments to the draft Declarations in order to emphasise the importance of the employment approach—not only from the point of view of the individual in society, but as the only secure basis for international political and economic collaboration. It must be made clear that security depends not primarily on where borders are and international armed forces, but upon economic security for all people. The fact that we do not know precisely what will be the conditions of the world after the war is no reason for avoiding decisions now.

The democratic nations drifted into war without any constructive plans, either to preserve peace or wage war. We must not drift into peace by pursuing a similar policy of "no policy". We do know the type of problems which will present themselves. We have had the experience of the transition after the last war, and the twenty years between the two wars. It is true we do not know yet what boundaries there shall be and what Governments will be set up. But whatever boundaries there are and whatever Governments there are, the basic problems associated with employment and trade remain, and there are, therefore, many matters upon which Governments can agree now.

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

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

(The Conference adjourned at 1.15 p.m.)
Delegates present at the Sitting

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Also present at the Sitting:

Mr. Acosta (Paraguay)

Mr. Asgeirsson (Iceland)
FIFTH SITTING

Monday, 24 April 1944, 3.10 p.m.

President: Mr. Nash

TRIBUTE TO THE LATE DR. SCHULTHESS

The PRESIDENT—Before opening the sitting proper, I much regret to announce the death, which occurred a day or two ago in Switzerland, at the age of 76, of Dr. Edmond Schulthess, former President of the Swiss Confederation. Dr. Schulthess was the President of the last session of the International Labour Conference, which was held in June 1939 at Geneva. He was a member of the Swiss Government for over twenty years, and played an outstanding part in the development of social legislation in his country.

I am sure you will wish to associate yourselves with the message of sympathy which I propose to send to the Swiss Government on behalf of this Conference. I ask the members of the Conference to stand as a mark of sympathy and of respect for Dr. Schulthess.

(The members of the Conference stand for a minute.)

The PRESIDENT—The Counsellor of the Swiss Legation would like to say a word to the Conference.

Mr. FEER (Government adviser and substitute delegate, Switzerland)—In the name of the Swiss delegation, I would like to express to you my deepest gratitude for the demonstration of sympathy which you have just shown by sending a cable of condolence to my Government on the occasion of Mr. Schulthess's death. Mr. Schulthess was truly a great leader in the field of social legislation, and his name will not soon be forgotten in the International Labour Organisation. I thank you again.

The PRESIDENT—I will send that message in your name.

DISCUSSION OF ITEMS I AND II ON THE AGENDA (contd.)

Interpretation: Colonel CHAPA (Employers' delegate, Mexico)—Speaking for the first time in this Conference, it is an honour for me to bring to the great American nation the greetings of Mexican employers, and to thank the City of Philadelphia for its generous hospitality.

I now wish to give expression to certain reflections and comments on Item I on the agenda: Future policy, programme, and status of the International Labour Organisation.

The importance of the political, economic and social questions brought up by the International Labour Office in its first report necessitates conscientious and thorough study, based on the highest democratic principles, on true social justice, and on the traditional responsibility which is the Conference's at this crucial moment of the life of the world.

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

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

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

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

Without contradicting this concrete proposal, I wish to refer to the proposed resolutions which appear at the end of the first report, since Article 12 of the Standing Orders implicitly requires that each delegate speak only once on any one subject and I do not wish to take up the time of this assembly again unless it becomes necessary for me to defend or amplify my views. I shall therefore refer now to the proposed texts which appear on pages 185 to 194 of the English text of Report I.

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

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

Having made this general observation, I shall take up briefly each one of the points mentioned in the proposed Declaration and shall follow, for obvious reasons of clearness, the order in which they are listed.

(1) The first of these principles is maintenance of full employment and improvement of the standard of living. Aside from the vagueness of the terms used in the Spanish text and does not correspond to the English, this text suffers from the serious fault of raising, as a problem of capital-labour relations, a question with obvious political, economic and social implications. The possibility of obtaining work and raising the standard of living are both a necessary consequence of a prosperous economy based on just and reasonable principles, which depend on the intelligent action of the State, characterised by its capacity to create and develop sources of labour, protecting private enterprise as a means of creating the largest possible opportunities for employment and for raising the standard of living.

(2) Here again the English and the Spanish texts differ, and this defect is all the more serious because of the complexity of the questions covered, ranging from vocational guidance, which is a part of labour legislation, to questions of migration, which are an exclusive responsibility of each State.

(3) The principle of the third point of the proposed Declaration is to allow the workers access to the benefits of civilisation within the particular conditions of each State. As for wages, it would be better to maintain the use of the term “minimum wage”, which has already been established in positive law and jurisprudence.

(4) The application of this principle is acceptable only in so far as it may be focussed on co-operation with reference to industrial hygiene and protective measures against occupational risks, which are legitimately established by the employer.

(5) The fourth item on the agenda of the Conference concerns social security. It would therefore seem better to reserve complete study of the fifth principle, which deals with this subject, for the right mo-
ment, since otherwise certain limits might be laid down which would compromise prematurely the study of this fourth point on the agenda, particularly since this principle goes into details as basic as those of the field of application of insurance, amount of benefits, etc.

The above objection would apply also to the second point of the proposed Declaration, which is unacceptable for the same reasons, and as for the third point, I consider that it tends to limit the sovereignty of States Members of the Organisation.

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

Mr. WATT (Workers’ delegate, United States of America)—In December 1943, I had the privilege of asking the members of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to call this annual Conference here in the birthplace of American independence, in the cradle of the United States of America. It was my belief that we could best do our planning for the post-war world by meeting in a place removed from the immediate ravages of war, and in a nation and a hemisphere which is being called upon to take a more active part in helping to establish and operate the machinery for enduring peace and social justice.

The challenge we face today is not impossible. The obstacles on the way to an enduring peace would, of course, discourage the indifferent, the lazy and the fearful, but they will not for long hold back the determined, energetic, and courageous men and women of every land who know the urgency of the need to win our way through.

We of this Conference are charged with the responsibility of removing the economic obstacles on the way to peace. It is not our responsibility to charge against political obstacles. Our assignment is economic. Our equipment must be economic. Our efforts must be economic. But it is only by accomplishing our economic objectives that the goal of political peace can be gained and then maintained. Whatever form of international collaboration may be effected by the Governments of the world, it can endure only if the economic well-being of the people of every nation is sustained by an economic institution. Such an institution must maintain the orderly circulation of the goods and services by which are served the physical needs of the people everywhere.

The foremost questions which must concern every delegate to this Conference are matters on which positive answers cannot readily be given. What will be the form of international co-operation after the war? How strong will be the nationalistic or the imperialistic tendencies within each nation? What are the trends which even now are being created by what is being done here or in Washington, London, Moscow, or Chungking, or on the many battlefronts of the world? How exhausted will our nations be, how empty our warehouses, how depleted our supplies of manpower, raw materials or productive machinery?

All of these are questions which we cannot answer with finality, but which we dare not ignore.

Our plans here, as I see it, must be conditional. Our programme cannot be put on the production line as yet. All that we can do is to survey the prospects, determine the probabilities, evaluate the needs and assess the ingredients on hand and in prospect, mobilise and prepare our strategy for the call to action. That, I believe, is what we must do fully and to the utmost of our abilities.

The world looks to us here to provide leadership of ideas. The world looks to us to prove ourselves worthy of the tremendous task before us. We shall be given only such responsibility as we show ourselves capable of fulfilling. We cannot expect any more.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

If we seek to comment on and participate in the operations of other international institutions, we are quite likely to encounter reciprocal requests for participation in the International Labour Organisation. I believe the I.L.O. has grown in the respect of nations because it has concentrated on its own job and has not overreached itself.

I believe that if each international institution has its own functions defined, its own responsibilities clearly marked out, its own staff occupied on its own work, that is the only feasible programme for the long-range development of the International Labour Organisation and other international institutions.

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

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

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

The recommendations for a resolution for social provisions in the peace settlement, I am sure, will be welcomed by all. The renewal of these ideals to those who some day soon will meet to frame the structure of peace will be a source of encouragement to the many millions who are eagerly waiting to overthrow their oppressors.

And one of the most encouraging aspects of this Declaration is the absence of dogmatism in its phrases. The frank recognition that due regard must be given to the stage of social and economic development reached by each people is evidence that it is a practical proposal for practical use.

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

As I understand the International Labour Organisation, we seek to attain social justice through economic democracy. If so, then we should concentrate on the attainment of economic democracy, confident that in its attainment we shall attain social justice.

If we seek to reach our goal by any other route except economic democracy, I think we are out of character and acting without direction, road maps or equipment.

I commend the proposed resolution concerning the application of the principles of economic democracy within the territory of Axis countries. Our unhappy experiences in Italy indicate the urgent need of planning the restoration of a free trade union movement in Axis countries. We must be prepared to assist these trade unions to recruit the necessary leadership for collective bargaining. We must avoid and oppose a labour front of any kind whatsoever. We must remember that the job is going to take patience and tolerance, because neither trade unionism nor democracy can begin again in Germany by placing labels upon organisations composed of the Nazis even if they are willing to stop saying "Heil Hitler".

History is a record of man's failures to be worthy of his opportunities, but it also is a record of man's fulfilment of other opportunities. Civilisation marches ahead at those times when man has profited by past mistakes and lifted himself above and over obstacles.

I suggest to those, and particularly to
my friends from the Governments of the South Pacific, who recommend political machinery for economic problems, that they remember that out of the faded trap-pings of Versailles only the I.L.O. has en-dured. I believe it has endured only be-cause it was conceived by the labour state-men of that day and nurtured by the ex-perience, the practical experience, of lead-ers of labour, industry and the State, and was not allowed to founder entirely and be bungled in the hands of politicians only.

In 1919, we had a moment of wisdom from the bitterness of the past failures and a fleeting vision of the way to avoid a recurrence, but we lifted ourselves too little. We stumbled and we fell back into the past mistakes, aggravated intensely by the rapid progress of physical science, while social and political sciences reverted to the barbarism of the past.

In 1944 we meet here to shape the mechanism of economic internationalism for the advancement of men and women in your home town and mine. Can we learn from the errors of the past so that we can accomplish our objective?

I believe we can. I know we must. The cost of failure will be great. We cannot afford to fail this time. Mankind must master the tools of modern industrialism and commercial life. Unless we do, political patterns for peace are useless and futile.

I wish we could use fewer words to state our purposes. We can hardly expect to arouse the people of the world to an under-standing of our tasks and our purposes if we confuse even ourselves with excessive verbiage.

I wish we could get further away from the rarefied atmosphere of the academic seminar and into the streets and into the highways and byways, where the masses of people live, but we cannot.

Ours is the duty to help ordinary people to build a better world by helping nations to civilise their standards of business.

Ours is the duty to make competition an incentive towards better living and not a barrier in the faces of the masses of work-ers. Ours is the duty to prove that co-op-eration among nations and employers and workers is healthier than the law of the jungle. Ours is the duty to safeguard the rights of the many and the few to develop capacity and resources so that all may benefit from more of the better things of life.

Ours is the duty of finding the way to keep industry and labour and agriculture in balance while we seek bigger and better achievements for each for the greater wel-fare of all. Ours is the duty of enabling people everywhere to work in peace to pro-vide plenty for all.

Ours is the duty of teaching nations and individuals that poverty is a plague against which none can be quarantined by isolation, but against which all can be pro-tected by common effort.

Once this war is over, the nations of the world must rebuild their economic sys-tems. The old workshops have largely gone, under the burst of explosives and through the demand for explosives. Eu- rope is littered with the rubble of factories and farms, while the United States is glutted with arsenals which must some day be dismantled or converted.

Millions of men have been killed or maimed in battle, while scores of millions have been trained to destroy and to kill. The prospects for peace would be gloomy indeed except that the very achievements of destruction testify to the sacredness with which the free nations hold to the right of peace and individual liberty. They could have purchased peace with slavery, but they knew that they could not afford that price nor endure the consequences. They chose instead to mortgage life and possessions to hold peace with freedom.

If we could and did stake so much to hold peace and freedom from international gangsters, can we not be equally ready to invest as much to protect and expand the fruits of the peace and freedom we are preserving in the ordeal of battle?

I say we can. I say we must. I say it is our job here to demonstrate to the world that what is worth risking life and possessions to defend from an armed foe is worth all possible effort to protect from ignor­ance and indifference. No initiation fee, no monthly dues, can be too costly for such a treasure.

We must work so that we can live bet­ter, and live so that we can work better. An economic order can never, for anyone, be a platter of privileges. It must be reg­ulated through the recognised responsibil­ity of each to make the greatest contribu­tion of which he is capable—all of which simply comes down to the teaching of Christian civilisation that man must live by the sweat of his brow. It is our job to help frame ways so that his sweat will mean satisfaction of the soul rather than suffer­ing of muscles.

I mean, too, that we should tackle the job with no grunting or groaning. The tougher the task, the greater the oppor­tunity for the craftsmen to know the sat-isfaction of accomplishment. This is no time for us here to work ourselves into an emotional frenzy or the gloom of des­peration.

Since the freemen of Britain, in June 1940, dared to stand up alone against the Axis hordes and prove that they could defy the beast, no one should ever despair of our ability to master the mechanics of civilisation. The dawn of better days awaits all those of us who will stand and labour through the watches of the night.

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

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

Workers of the United States seek to foist no ideology on other lands. We only seek to help to attain a just and enduring peace through the removal of inequalities and injustices, through the removal of the hunger and desperation which breed wars. We propose economic democracy to this great International Labour Conference as the road to social justice because we believe that only through enlightened self-government can man attain justice, political, economic or social.

Mr. OHLIN (Government delegate, Sweden)—Before making some observations upon the problems now confronting the International Labour Organisation, I should like to emphasise the great importance of workers' and employers' organisations for the solution of difficult social problems.

The social development of Sweden during the war may be mentioned as an example. Our situation has been dominated by the fact that the destruction of our foreign trade and the necessity of large armaments and a high state of military preparedness has reduced Sweden's real national income by something like 10 to 15 per cent. To avoid serious labour conflicts and to maintain the social standards of the relatively poor groups of people under such conditions is no easy task. Yet I am happy to say it has proved possible to do so in Sweden. Our strong trade unions, with a membership of one sixth of the entire population, our unions of salaried employees and our employers' organisations have, without labour conflicts worth mentioning, agreed on wages compatible with the supply of consumption goods. It may be doubted whether this would have been possible if the labour market had not been so skilfully and relatively completely organised. This demonstrates once again that strong organisations can be instruments of social peace. The collective agreements have, furthermore, been so balanced as to make possible the maintenance of the real standard of living of those groups of society which, like farm and forest workers, had a lower standard before the war than the others. In some cases, an improvement in their conditions has taken place.

I turn now to some remarks on international collaboration in the social field.

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

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

Allow me to make a few brief observations about these lessons from experience. It must be obvious to any impartial observer that the International Labour Organisation has been highly successful in presenting the social point of view on problems of the day, and in making clear to a growing body of opinion in almost all countries the necessity for a progressive social policy. As an economist, I have long held the view that no policy which is socially unsound can be economically sound in the long run, if judged from the standpoint of society as a whole. If this is now widely recognised, it is largely owing to the work of the International Labour Organisation. This institution has also through its staff been able to make the technical aspects of social policy the subject of expert examination. It has thus stimulated the work of this character in many countries and has lent valuable technical assistance to national organisations. In my opinion, it is highly important that this work of the International Labour Organisation should continue and be further developed.

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

In the competent analysis of conditions of economic progress in Report I, one thing could, however, usefully be added. Advancement in productivity and living standards will, in the future as hitherto, be dependent upon a progressive formation of savings and capital. Therefore, economic policy should aim at creating conditions that enable the economic system to provide sufficient savings. It has been fashionable in some circles to assume that savings tend to be too large, and that therefore lies in getting their whole amount used for investment, but this, I venture to suggest, is true only during periods of depression.

I mentioned the importance of paying sufficient attention to the economic basis and implications of social policy. The difference in economic conditions and living standards in different countries has to be considered when the lines of social reforms are drawn up: for instance, when schemes are made for the reduction of the working week. The primary condition of higher standards of living is a rise in economic productivity, an increase in the output of goods and services per worker. For nations that are still on a relatively low standard of life, increased consumption may obviously be more important than the exact amount used for investment. Thus, it is doubtful if absolute uniformity in the recommendations for social legislation is the best means of furthering social progress.

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

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

Another question of organisation that deserves attention is due to the tripartite principle on which the International Labour Organisation is based. This makes it impossible to provide formal representation for certain categories of employees other than those represented by the international trade unions an opportunity of having their problems analysed by special permanent commissions, and also, perhaps, by special conferences.

It is the opinion of the Government I represent that these and other related problems, relating to the structure and organisation of the I.L.O., should be the subject of careful study. In the preliminary discussions at this Conference, and after the introduction of a forty-hour week, it is not possible to determine the advisability of giving to categories of employees other than those represented by the international trade unions an opportunity of having their problems analysed by special permanent commissions, and also, perhaps, by special conferences.

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

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

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

Before concluding, let me say a few words about a most important question that has been the subject this morning of a highly interesting statement by Mr. Beasley, the Government delegate from Australia, namely, the problem of the co-ordination of general economic policy in various countries. I have the honour of being a member of an official Swedish commission for the planning of post-war economic and social policy. It has made extensive and intensive studies concerning all the relevant aspects of our post-war policy. What is commonly regarded as employment policy in the sense in which this term is used in Report III forms only a part of the work of this committee, and is prepared in detail by other Government agencies. Agricultural policy, monetary policy, tariff policy, and the means of stimulating private investment in industry are some other aspects that have to be considered in any rational policy of maintaining, as far as possible, full employment and raising the standard of living.

Now, if such co-ordination of the various branches of economic policy is required in the domestic sphere, is this not also the case in the international sphere? How do we prevent the policies of different countries from running counter to each other, and thus failing to bring about the beneficial effects that are expected? It does not seem to me to be probable that this problem can be solved through the activity of the different existing international organisations. A policy of restriction schemes. A policy of restriction is, as a rule, best guaranteed to every nation simply through the absence of restriction schemes. A policy of restriction with regard to raw materials is incompatible with a policy of expanding employment. The International Labour Organisation should, as I have said already, have the opportunity of expressing its opinions on such questions effectively and at a sufficiently early stage. It is not through artificial chalk lines, limiting in detail the activity of each international institution, but through the co-ordination of the work of all these institutions, that the task of social and economic reconstruction can be fulfilled.

Interpretation: Mr. TIXIER (Government delegate, France)—The International Labour Conference seems to me to be called upon to define its position on two questions of the highest importance, namely, the international post-war social programme, and the action of the International Labour Organisation in the drawing up and application of this programme.

These two questions are closely linked. It is, indeed, evident that the action of the International Labour Organisation will depend on the principles of post-war social policy which are adopted by the Conference. In the already enormous amount of literature concerning post-war problems, references are made either to "transition from a war economy to a peace economy," or to "economic and social reconstruction". In my opinion, these two terms express, consciously or unconsciously, the special post-war problems which will arise in two categories of countries: those which have not been invaded and devastated, and those which have suffered and continue to suffer invasion, occupation and devastation.

In these two categories of countries, post-war problems will not be the same, and they will call for different solutions.

I will not say very much about the post-war problems of the countries which have not been invaded or devastated because these problems have been set forth in detail in the report submitted by the International Labour Office. These countries will, indeed, have to face a very vast problem in the rehabilitation, economic and occupational, of millions of demobilised soldiers and millions of war workers.

But they will enter the post-war period
with their machinery of production intact, and even with a considerably increased capacity as a result of the exceptional efforts they have had to make to develop the industrial and agricultural production needed for their war efforts. For these countries, the essential post-war problem will be one of organising the transition from a war economy to a peace economy; in order to bring about this transition, they will have precise information available concerning the resources they have at hand, and concerning the responsibilities they will have to face. They are thus able to prepare their post-war plans while the war still continues.

Their economic and social problems will be serious indeed. The transition from a war economy to a peace economy will call for very great effort. It is possible that very widespread unemployment may be unavoidable for a short time, but it is probable that recovery will be rapid in these countries, particularly because they will have to provide food, clothing, raw materials and machinery for the occupied and devastated countries.

In the countries which have been invaded and devastated, the situation will be very different, very much more serious and, perhaps, even tragic. For them it will not be a matter merely of transition from a war economy to a peace economy. It will be a matter of real economic and social reconstruction. I might even say that for some of these countries, a resurrection—political, economic and social—will be necessary.

I would like now to try to give the Conference some idea of the conditions under which these problems will probably arise in France after the war.

When liberation comes, the political régime of Vichy will collapse. Pétain, Laval and their accomplices, driven from power, will have to render their accounts to the justice of the French people.

Another provisional political régime will succeed the dictatorial and usurping régime of Vichy. What will this new régime be?

Some of our friends have expressed doubts and anxieties on this score. They are afraid of seeing a new dictatorship arise in France, a new personal power. I should like to reassure them, because I myself have not the slightest doubt nor anxiety in this respect.

The men and women of France who, for four years, defying prison, concentration camps, deportation and execution squads, have organised resistance against the enemy and against the Vichy régime, are passionate enemies of every kind of dictatorship and personal power. They have said it and written it clearly. The immense majority of the French people, today even more if possible than in the past, has a profound desire for freedom, and would rise up and destroy any attempt at civil or military dictatorship.

I am perfectly certain that at the time of liberation, the French provisional Government, backed by the resistance organisations and in agreement with the tremendous majority of the French people, will rapidly restore democratic liberties.

The dictatorial organisation of Vichy will be destroyed. The plebiscite municipal councils and the general councils will be put back into operation, after the elimination of those who have collaborated with the enemy or contributed to the destruction of republican institutions. Free elections will be organised as soon as material conditions permit. A Constituent Assembly, elected by general suffrage, will be charged with the task of giving France its new political institutions.

I have not the slightest doubt that the first gesture of the Constituent Assembly will be to proclaim that France recognises only one sovereign—the French people—and that the French people accept only one political régime—the democratic republic.

But if the problem of the French political régime seems likely to be solved rapidly and simply, such is not the case with France’s economic and social problems. These will be very much more difficult; most of their essential elements will remain unknown until the time of liberation. The Committee of Liberation which sits at Algiers, and the National Council of Resistance, which sits somewhere in France, are in constant contact in order to draw up plans for French economic and social reconstruction. They are faced with a first difficulty—the impossibility of determining what will be the economic and social condition of France at the time of liberation.

Will France be liberated all at once, as a result of the political or military collapse of Germany?

Will France be reconquered progressively, as a result of battles which may last for weeks or months on French soil?

What will be the extent of the destruction resulting from Allied or German bombing or from the battles which will be fought in our country?

Before evacuating, will the Germans systematically destroy the vital parts of our factories and of our communications?

How many of our electric power stations, mines, factories and forges will still be in a condition to produce? What will be the state of the railways, canals, and ports?

How many of our men will have been wounded, killed or deported to Germany?

All these are questions to which no one has an answer today.

But some well-founded guesses may be made. It is quite certain that at the time of liberation the possibilities of economic activity will be very small. The devastation resulting from battle or from deliberate destruction by the German Army will not have been repaired. Communications, industrial centres, factories, workshops, and undertakings of every kind will still be destroyed or damaged.

Equipment worn out or transported to
Germany will not have been replaced. Stocks of raw materials will be exhausted, and it will not be possible to renew them through imports, because all the tonnage available in the months immediately following liberation will be needed to import the medicines, food and clothing, required for the liberated French people.

It is also certain that France will have to deal with the repatriation and the occupational and social rehabilitation of at least three or four million demobilised soldiers, war prisoners, deported workers, political prisoners, and—a group who are often forgotten in our statistics—hundreds of thousands of your Frenchmen who have left their towns, their villages, and their trades to go underground and take part in the armed resistance movement.

It is very probable that in these conditions, French workers will have to suffer unemployment for a period and to an extent which it is impossible to foresee at present.

These are conditions which I think are very different from those which will prevail in countries which have not known invasion or devastation. After a rapid survey of the economic and social condition of France, of its needs and the resources available, the French Government will have to adopt and apply very strictly a policy of economic and social reconstruction.

It is absolutely certain that liberation will not immediately bring back prosperity. Any illusion on this score would be dangerous. That is why the Committee of Liberation has already warned the resistance organisations and the French people that in the joy of their deliverance they must be careful not to destroy their ration cards.

The economic controls will have to be maintained—the organisation of food supply and rationing, control of production and prices, control of currency and exchange, control of investments, control of imports and exports. During the emergency period of economic reconstruction, which may last two, three, or even five years, according to the extent of destruction and devastation, the French economy will necessarily be a strictly controlled and planned economy.

So long as national production and imports are inadequate to satisfy the minimum needs of the population, the State will have to control the distribution of goods and production; for it would be intolerable if, after such long and bitter suffering, the rich could live in luxury, while the poor still went hungry.

Economic policy as a whole will aim at satisfying the needs which are essential for the life of a population and for urgent reconstruction work, in order of priority. This economic policy will have to be matched by a social reconstruction policy, the principles of which have been hammered out during the past few months by the Committee of Liberation, in agreement with the representatives of the French trade unions and with the Provisional Consultative Assembly.

I do not, of course, intend to describe the measures we contemplate in detail here. I will merely give you a few indications on subjects of particular importance, such as the use of manpower, hours of work, and wages.

In the social sphere, as in the economic sphere, the aim during the reconstruction period is the same: to satisfy in order of priority the needs of the industries and undertakings which are essential for the life of the country and for reconstruction.

The public employment services, reorganised, will have control over the movement of labour, hiring, lay-offs, dismissals. They will act as a clearing house for offers of, and applications for, jobs. They will satisfy, in order of priority, the demands of essential industries and undertakings for labour.

Probably some industries, and in particular the building industry and public works, will very soon find themselves short of skilled labour. We expect, temporarily, to adopt the system of individual requisition of workers, and the requisition of the staffs of undertakings, to satisfy the needs of these essential industries, because we think that urgent reconstruction work must be carried out as quickly as possible.

The regulation of hours of work will have two objects: first, to spread the existing jobs among the largest possible number of workers, so as to reduce unemployment to a minimum; and, secondly, by means of generous and flexible exceptions, to give every undertaking or industry classified as essential the possibility of making the fullest use of its plant and raw materials.

A very special form of wage regulation will enable the remuneration for work to be adjusted, not only to variations in the cost of living, but, above all, to the improvement in the food supply and in rationing. As the food supply services are able to provide larger quantities of goods and services for the people, wages will be reviewed so as to give each worker the possibility of purchasing these goods and services. These social controls will necessarily have to be maintained until the happier days when plenty will return and unemployment will disappear.

In France, the work of economic and social reconstruction will be carried on with the full co-operation of the workers' organisations.

Like all dictatorships, the dictatorship of Vichy has abolished freedom of association, disbanded the central trade union organisations, and put into force a so-called Labour Charter, which was intended to create a form of State syndicalism and to make it an instrument of Vichy's totalitarian and corporative policy.

The Labour Charter has been a com-
plete failure, thanks to the resistance of the French working class, which has heroically defended its liberties. The General Confederation of Labour and the French Confederation of Christian Workers would not accept their dissolution. They reformed their organisations secretly at the end of 1940, and have never ceased to guide the action of the masses of the workers in their struggle against the enemy and against Vichy. They resist the deportation of French workers to Germany; they arrange strikes to disorganise the enemy's war production; they provide men and leaders for the resistance movements, for their fighting detachments, and for their sabotage squads.

The Provisional French Government will give proof of its admiration for and gratitude to the French working class by restoring freedom of association as soon as the day of liberation comes.

The trade unions of the French workers have submitted to the Committee of Liberation in Algiers a demand to which they attach the very greatest importance. They ask for confirmation of the right of the workers to be represented on all bodies which may be set up by the State to direct, control or guide economic life.

Without prejudice to the final decisions which the future Constituent Assembly of France and the future French Parliament may take, the French Committee of Liberation has decided to associate the representatives of the French trade unions fully with the economic and social reconstruction of France, and to give them an equal number of seats with the employers on any tripartite economic and social bodies which may be set up, either in the various industries or on the national level for industry as a whole.

The representation of the trade unions in the economic bodies will probably be one of the most far-reaching reforms in the structure of liberated France and will diffuse democratic principles not only in the political field, but in the economic and social field as well.

These are some of the essential features of the economic and social régime which will probably be applied in reconstructing France. It may perhaps seem to you very severe. That is true. But it is true, too, that reconstruction will demand a long and hard effort from the French people, not unlike their war effort. That is why the régime which we are contemplating is very similar to the war economy which is at present in force in the United States and in Great Britain.

The economic and social régime of the reconstruction period will be provisional, however. Its choice has not been determined by preference for one social and economic doctrine rather than another, but by the pressure of immediate and practical needs, in so far as we can foresee them. Our plans will, of course, be modified if, at the time of liberation, we find ourselves faced with situations and needs different from those we anticipated.

We are aiming at the same social objectives as those which are proclaimed by the International Labour Organisation: improved standards of living and conditions of work; guarantees of social security, and full employment. But we know that we cannot fulfil these aims before the end of the reconstruction period. Then the possibilities of employment will be greater, and we hope that all workers will see the fulfilment of that fundamental right to which they attach such immense importance—the right to work. One of the essential objects of the new economic organisation will be to guarantee to workers the right to employment, which for them is synonymous with the right to live.

While, therefore, we are in complete agreement with the social principles submitted by the International Labour Office to the Conference, we are not able to undertake to apply the solutions proposed by the Office in all their details during the reconstruction period. I must even admit frankly that as far as their details are concerned, the Office proposals are based on the situation in the countries which have remained free rather than on that existing in the invaded and devastated countries.

If every country had to carry out its own reconstruction with its own strength only, it would meet with insuperable difficulties, and the privations of war would be liable to be prolonged far into the post-war period. But, happily, this is not to be so. Even before the end of the war, the Governments of the United Nations have decided to establish international co-operation for economic and social post-war reconstruction.

The peoples of Europe who are following with close attention and with tremendous hope the meetings in Washington, in London, Moscow, Teheran, and Cairo, have learned with deep satisfaction that agreements have been made and international institutions have been set up, or are about to be set up, to aid them. They have greeted with joy the creation of U.N.R.R.A., which will be responsible for organising relief and for distributing fairly among the liberated countries medicine, food, clothing, raw materials and machinery.

They know that other international institutions will be set up to co-ordinate national policy in the economic, financial, monetary, commercial and social fields. They see in these first achievements and first plans the expression of the firm intention of the Governments of the United Nations to maintain, in order to win the peace, the solidarity which has been formed to win the war. They are convinced that these attempts at international co-operation will lead to a political international institution which will be given the task of organising peace, and endowed with the means of action which will enable it to liberate every people from the immemorial
fear of aggression. This great hope of international solidarity in reconstruction and in the establishment of an enduring peace gives them the courage to carry on the terrible struggle which they are waging against the aggressor.

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

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

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

The admission of States to membership of the Organisation, through a vote of the Conference, is not a fundamental innovation. This procedure has already been applied. Several countries have become Members of the Organisation through a decision of the Conference.

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

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

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

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

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

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

I hope that the general discussion will bring out the guiding principles which are to govern the work of the committees which are to be set up to examine the reports of the Office on the first two questions on the agenda.

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

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

**Interpretation:** Mr. BUSTOS LAGOS (Government delegate, Chile)—Coming to this platform for the first time, I wish to reaffirm in the name of the Chilean Gov-
ernment our cordial attachment to the International Labour Organisation, and the great appreciation that we feel for its work in the interests of the social and economic improvement of the working classes.

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

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

I fully share the point of view expressed by other delegations, that it would be useful for the International Labour Organisation to contribute, with its technical experience, to the framing of the great principles of social order that should figure in the making of the Peace Treaties that will terminate the present conflict. In this way we shall gain in efficiency, and we shall attach the importance that they deserve to those important matters, without the effective consideration of which the future peace will lack all human significance, and will bear within it the seeds of social and political conflicts.

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

These principles appear in Report II and are crystallised in three draft resolutions which contain recommendations to the United Nations for present and post-war social policy.

I now wish to make a general observation to which I attribute special importance. Most of the Members of this Organisation have declared war on, or have broken off relations with the Axis, and, to the best of their ability, are contributing to the common effort. This aggregate of Nations forms what has been called the United and Associated Nations; and, up to the present, they have been working in collaboration in the study and solution of post-war problems, as is evidenced by the Food and Agriculture Conference of May 1943, and the Atlantic City Conference that gave birth to U.N.R.R.A.

Consequently, I consider that the recommendations of Resolution I should be addressed not only to the United Nations, but also to the Associated Nations. The same applies to Resolution II, if it is desired, as the Report states, that the term “peace settlement” should be understood in its widest interpretation, i.e., that it should not be limited to the political instrument whereby what is technically a state of war becomes technically a state of peace, but which measures which will be taken by agreement between some or all of the United Nations, and which will settle the conditions of the post-war world.

In other words, Chile, which is an Associated Nation, wishes to collaborate in the study and solution of problems that are related to the social organisation of the post-war period. It does not wish to receive a notification, it wishes to be associated in a task which should be undertaken in common by all the Governments which have taken up a cause which is also common. Our experience in social matters and our advanced legislation give us the right to hope so.

In Resolution I, referring to economic policy for the realisation of social objectives, the delegation of Chile proposes that a provision should be included similar or equivalent to the one approved by the third meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs at Rio de Janeiro, for the protection of basic industries and industries producing natural resources.

Similarly, we should like to see in this Resolution more direct allusion to the democratic régime for which we are fighting, and which is the basis of our political and social organisation. If to maintain this democratic system so much blood has been shed and so many sacrifices have been made, it is only natural that we should proclaim its benefits and make a public and solemn profession of faith in it.

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

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

Chile has created a special organisation, the Institute of Working Class Housing, which is carrying out the social policy of the Government as regards provision for healthy and cheap housing. This organisation has been given adequate resources and facilities to undertake the great task of satisfying this urgent and essential national demand.

Our Ministry of Health, Welfare and Social Assistance has a Department of National Nutrition set up to study nutrition and give suitable directions of an economic and technical character, in collaboration with allied services and institutions.

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

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

I do not wish to terminate this statement by repeating once more the very sincere intention of the people and Government of Chile to collaborate firmly in the work of social redemption in which you are engaged, and which will be the best guarantee of a just and lasting peace.

We are living in one of the most critical periods in the history of humanity, and, consequently, we bear grave responsibilities. We shall doubtless show ourselves worthy of the high mission that fate has entrusted to us, and shall hand on to future generations a better and more prosperous world in which the hearts of men will be open to sentiments of charity, tolerance, and solidarity.

Mr. HALLSWORTH (Workers' delegate, British Empire)—I shall confine myself substantially to the text that is now before us in the Declaration, and in doing so, I would like to refer to the period between the two wars, in order to illustrate why it is necessary at this Conference to restate the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation and to give point and meaning to its work.

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

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

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

Having said that, I think we must realise that the results could have been greater had it not been for the handicap to which I have referred. It is because of that fact, because it is vital that the mistakes of the past shall not be repeated in the further stages of the present war and in the post-war period that we, the workers in this Conference, welcome the Declaration in the text before the Conference.

Let us realise that this Declaration is not only the real basis upon which the work of this Conference exists, but that the whole future of the I.L.O. will be determined by its wholehearted adoption and, what is more, the unequivocal application of its principles. I think it would be difficult to overemphasise the importance of the Declaration at this crucial stage in human affairs. That these are crucial times, nobody
in this Conference would care to deny. Those who come from my own country know how crucial a stage we have reached in this war. We all know how much depends upon the events of the coming days, that we come to this rostrum to call the attention of the entire Conference to our feelings in this matter.

"We would like you to know that while we are sitting here in safety, in comparative safety, the eyes of the workers of the world are upon us, and they expect something from this Conference, something concrete, something substantial, and we dare not fail to fulfil the purposes of the Organisation in our meeting here. We cannot take our obligations lightly, and why can we not?

Well, I would like to recall to you what is our real position with which we are faced today. My own people at home have made sacrifices in this war, as have the peoples of other countries, and those sacrifices must be made perfectly plain and the lesson must be learned. In our country, look what is happening. Millions of young men are having huge pieces of their lives carved out from their civilian setting and they are being directed into the process of war. Many of our young men, many of our most promising young men, who would have been playing a vital part in our affairs today, are otherwise engaged. Some of them are being torn away from their usual avocations for four or five years, and they naturally wonder what is going to be the end of the sacrifices which they are being called on to make. The answer must come from us. They are paying in the sacrifices they are making. They are paying, many of them, in their blood. Many of them are losing their lives; others are being crippled. And it is because of that, because of our experience in four and a half years of war, that we see these things at close quarters that we want this Conference to be reminded of them. There can be no flinching from the task, and no excuses, technical or political, can manifest themselves. The common man in the community will find it difficult to believe that the nations which have so comprehensively organised international and human resources for war cannot with equal success organise those resources for prosperity and peace. As nations have found it possible to co-operate in war, they should find it equally possible to engage in the mutual effort required to establish peace and prosperity in the world.

And is the Declaration in the text not sufficiently exact and wide to cover all the different claims for something to be done? What is it but an assertion in sequential form of human dignity and of the right of human beings of all classes, of all creeds, of all colours, to make their common contribution and their highest contribution to the common welfare of mankind?

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

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

But, having said that, the Declaration also says that the war against want requires continued and concerted international effort, in which the representatives of workers and employers, enjoying equal status with those of Governments, join with them in free discussion and democratic decision, with a view to the promotion of the common welfare. I was dismayed this morning when I heard a representative of a Government, and a Labour Government, come to this rostrum and say, in effect, "Let us abandon the I.L.O. in its present form and set up some which the finest attributes of civilisation can manifest themselves.

And so this dreadful cost of life and this tremendous effort must not be forgotten for a single moment throughout our deliberations in this Conference and afterwards. The debt to the peoples must be repaid, and no excuses, technical or political, must be attempted for failure to repay that debt. The common man in the community will find it difficult to believe that the nations which have so comprehensively organised international and human resources for war cannot with equal success organise those resources for prosperity and peace. As nations have found it possible to co-operate in war, they should find it equally possible to engage in the mutual effort required to establish peace and prosperity in the world.

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other organisation in its stead, which shall be an intergovernmental organisation"; thus denying the virtue of the tripartite principle. I, for one, do not subscribe to that proposed change. In my opinion, it would lead us back to the days between the two wars when those political policies of which I spoke were pursued without reference to the organisations of employers and of working people.

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

Among the matters to which the Conference is asked to give special importance are some shown on page 186 of the report. If I do not stress some of the points mentioned there, it is because they have already been discussed by previous speakers, and I have no desire to keep the Conference for the purpose of repeating some of the observations they have made. But there is one paragraph there upon which stress is laid, and that is the effective recognition of the right of collective bargaining.

The co-operation of management and labour in the continuous improvement of productive efficiency and the collaboration of workers and employers in the initiation, as well as the application of social and economic measures, are recognised.

I just want to indicate, as I did at New York in 1941, how important this business of collective bargaining in its fullest and its widest sense really is. Almost from the beginning of this war, we have been fortunate in my own country in having the tripartite principle of consultation in the initiation and application of measures in connection with the war, and now in connection with what we think will be required in the post-war period, with the Ministry of Labour and with other Government departments.

I venture to say this: though the results are not entirely to our liking, there never has been, so far as I know, in any country in the world the degree of tripartite collaboration that we have been able to establish in Great Britain during this war period. It is out of the experience we have had in that connection that I come here this afternoon to declare that we do not intend to go back upon that principle of collaboration when this war is over, and certainly we are not going to do it as long as the war continues.

Now, if that can be done in the circumstances in which our nation is living today, it can be done in other countries, too, and the more we perfect this system of consultation in the initiation and application of measures designed for the common welfare now in our respective countries, the greater the contribution we shall be able to make in these international gatherings on the same basis.

And so I would ask the Conference to pay special regard to that provision amongst the several items to which the Organisation attaches special importance. I attach also very great importance to what Miss Perkins said this morning, the great desirability of equalising the opportunities of our children for educational and cultural development. As I have already indicated, the war has interfered very sadly with the education of our children. That has prevented us from improving minimum age standards and a number of other matters in connection with the work and development of children and young persons.

But we are here to assert that there should be no class distinctions in education; that the child of the poorest member of the community is entitled to have the benefit of the educational resources of the country in which he lives equally with the son or daughter of the member of the more well-to-do classes. We are asserting that principle in our own country in season and out of season, and if we are ever going to have a future generation that will carry on where we leave off effectively, it will be as the result of seeing that the sources of human knowledge are open to every child, irrespective of the wealth or otherwise of its parents.

The same thing must apply to vocational opportunities. We cannot sail off one set of operations on this side and say that these are for the young men and women of the richer classes, while on the other side are the vocations for the depressed class, the working class.

We do not want these divisions. So far as the trade unions are concerned, they will not have these divisions. They have a boy and girl is being condemned to do certain work only because of the poverty of his or her parents, and many of them could have made a very much wealthier contribution to the welfare of the country if they had had equal chances with the children of other classes.

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

May I conclude what I have to say on this Declaration by saying how much I appreciate personally the final paragraph of the Declaration. This paragraph says that the principles set forth in this Declaration are fully applicable to all peoples everywhere and that while the manner of their application must be determined with due regard to the stage of social and economic development reached by each people, their progressive application to peoples who are still dependent, as well as to those who have already achieved self-government, is a matter of concern to the whole civilised world.

In this connection, we have started in our own country a contribution to the welfare of colonial peoples. We want to see the colonial peoples standing on their own feet, and until they can do so, we have got to give them all the help we can, and, under the auspices of the British Colonial Office, we have already established committees designed to assist our fellow workers in the colonies in the evolution of their own life in those colonies. We have a Labour Advisory Committee, existing at the Colonial Office, and several members of the British delegation are members of that committee.

I think it is a most hopeful sign of the times that we are paying more attention to this question of the welfare of peoples in dependent territories, and it is our earnest wish, speaking for our own people in Great Britain, that the time is not far distant when means of progress will be freely given to the colonial peoples without fear in the hope that they will avail themselves of them, so that they can progress towards self-government as quickly as may be.

I hope, without going into the details of the application of the principles set forth in this Declaration, that the Conference will wholeheartedly and unanimously support this Declaration, regarding it as the key to all our future activities, and also as striking for the peoples of the world a hopeful note of encouragement.

Times are changing swiftly. Before many days are over, we shall probably be involved in great movements that will affect the whole of civilised society. Is it too much to ask, therefore, that we in this Conference shall respond in the fullest measure to the call of our peoples, to be allowed, in the most expansive way possible, the fuller development of their lives and the means of future development in this period and in the time to come?

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

Interpretation: Colonel ANTOINE (Employers' delegate, France)—I come merely to give you a picture of the present situation in a country occupied by the enemy, metropolitan France, and to describe the hard stages which she will have to go through before entering a period of full development, in order to show clearly how the problems which we shall have to solve will form part of the general programme of post-war world reconstruction.

As for the present situation, the numerous reports of Frenchmen who have escaped, or of those who on their native soil and in the resistance movement are in close contact with the French Committee of National Liberation, describe that situation from day to day with such exactitude that I have no need to dwell upon it.

The destruction resulting from military invasion has been followed by systematic and prolonged pillaging of industrial wealth and the produce of the soil. Technicians and workers have been deported en masse, though many have refused to leave and many have gone into hiding.

The liberation which is to come, and which is awaited with such impatient hope, will be a surgical operation involving further destruction of life and property; this is already happening, inevitably, as a result of the preliminary bombardments.

In many factories co-operation between employers, technicians and workers has facilitated much sabotage of production. This sabotage, which has less serious consequences for the future than bombardment, will play an essential role as soon as the Allied military operations begin especially as regards transport.

Next will come a transitional phase of convalescence, involving short-term tasks aiming at rapid restoration of the rhythm of social and economic life by ensuring abundant production and fair and adequate distribution. The problems to be solved will demand many years of intense effort.

For example, there will be the problem of the repatriation and re-employment of prisoners of war and deported workers, the serious problem of the health and hygiene of a population enfeebled by severe privations, and the technical problem of the re-establishment of the transport system and of public services.

To combat misery and disease and to rebuild the ruins all the forces of the nation must be directed towards the most urgent tasks; absolute priority must be given to the minimum essential needs of the population before any attempt is made to raise substantially the general standard of living. In the words of General Charles de Gaulle, "we must realise and admit that improvement will be slow and gradual".

At this stage, psychological, intellectual and moral problems such as those relating to general or vocational education will be of the same importance as problems of a purely material character.
The next phase will be that of development and expansion on the national plane, within a suitable continental and international framework. It is only at this stage of development that we shall find ourselves faced with problems comparable to those of nations which have not suffered invasion and occupation by the enemy.

But this stage of gradual development will be reached very shortly in the territories of overseas France, which, if they receive sufficient supplies of certain goods and machinery, particularly as regards means of transport of all kinds, will be able to contribute effectively to the recovery of France and of the world.

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

In the United States, which welcomes us today with such warm hospitality, and which after careful preparation has accomplished such prodigies in the sphere of war production, I have no need to insist on the necessity for methodical planning of reconstruction as soon as it has been possible to draw up the balance sheet of the ravages caused by war.

A suitable social and economic technique will be the very basis for the effective realisation of our future programmes. We feel certain that the special committees which are soon to meet will, through the exchange of information they will permit, succeed in laying down the essential technical rules requisite in the social sphere.

As for an ideal—the peoples who after having triumphed over the enemy in 1914-1918, at the cost of heavy losses, again suffered the assaults of the same enemy in 1939-1940 and since then have been subjected to all his most subtle and barbarous methods of destruction, those same peoples, who by their obstinate resistance and by their final action will have contributed to their own liberation, have paid and are paying daily in blood and suffering for their love of liberty and human dignity and are more than ever passionately devoted to liberty.

They desire a new and bold social programme and they feel an imperative need for security to enable them to heal their wounds and prepare for a better future.

French employers fully realise that the collective task of the rapid rebuilding and subsequent development of their country and of overseas France needs the solidarity of all, whether Government representatives, employers, technicians or workers.

They are counting upon the work of the committee or committees which after this general discussion will deal with general social problems and discuss the social aspect of economic problems, to bring forth new and constructive ideas.

This common task, these technical directives, this solemn affirmation of a high social ideal and of the will to carry it out, which constitutes the best message from Philadelphia, from the International Labour Conference of 1944, to the invaded peoples, must bring to these peoples—and I am convinced will bring to them—the justification for their sufferings and their long and desperate struggle, shoulder to shoulder with all the United Nations, for their liberation and for the triumph of liberty in the world, the confirmation of their most fervent hopes, and a fresh proof of that international solidarity to which they are so deeply attached.

MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

The PRESIDENT—I will now read the text of the reply that was sent to President Roosevelt.

The Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labour Conference has received with the keenest appreciation your inspiring message of greetings and welcome. The Conference is settling down to its task of laying the foundation for those arrangements in the field of labour and social standards which must be part of any permanent international arrangements for a decent world. Your message affords it the greatest encouragement as it inspires the delegates to face up to the task confided to them, the successful accomplishment of which can contribute so much to enhancing the opportunities of a good life for peoples the world over.

(The Conference adjourned at 5.55 p.m.)
Delegates present at the Sitting

United States of America:
Mr. Watt

Argentina Republic:
Mr. Garcia Arias
Mr. Palmieri

Australia:
Mr. Barnard
Mr. Condie
Mr. Clarey

Belgium:
Mr. van Zeeland
Mr. Wauters
Mr. Joassart

Bolivia:
Mr. Pajardo
Mr. Saavedra

Brazil:
Mr. Fonseca
Mr. de Regó Monteiro
Mr. Vidal Leite
Mr. de Mattos Lima

British Empire:
Mr. Tomlinson
Sir Frederick Leggett
Sir John Forbes Watson
Mr. Hallsworth

Canada:
Mr. Coulter
Mr. Bengough

Chile:
Mr. Bustos Lagos
Mr. Gajardo
Mr. Heiremans
Brockmann

China:
Mr. Yu Taune-chi
(substitute for Mr. Li Ping-heng)
Mr. Hsieh Cheng-fu
Mr. Li Ming
Mr. Liu Huan-teui
(substitute for Mr. Chu Haua-fan)

Colombia:
Mr. Nannetti
Mr. Molina

Costa Rica:
Mr. Padilla Castro
Fr. Nuñez Vargas
Mr. Benavides Chaverrí

Cuba:
Mr. de Sandoval
Mr. Silverio y Sainz

Czechoslovakia:
Mr. Shoenbaum
Mr. Morawetz
Mr. Kosina

Dominican Republic:
Mr. Cocco
Mr. de Marchena
Dujarric
Mr. Morales

Ecuador:
Mr. López Arteta
Mr. Hidalgo González
Mr. Torres Vera

Egypt:
Mr. Radi
Mr. Hamada

France:
Mr. Tixier
Mr. Antoine
Mr. Laurent

Greece:
Mr. Loverdos (substitute for Mr. Diamantopoulos)
Mr. Zarras
Mr. Kulukundis

Haiti:
Mr. Dartigue
Mr. Roy (substitute for Mr. Thébaud)

India:
Mr. England (substitute for Sir Samuel Runganadan).
Mr. Prior
Mr. Mulherkar (substitute for Mr. Mahendra)
Mr. Mehta

Iran:
Mr. Daftary

Iraq:
Mr. Jawdat
Mr. Haidari

Ireland:
Mr. Hearne

Luxembourg:
Mr. Krier
Mr. Le Gallais

Mexico:
Mr. Trujillo Gurria
Mr. Santos Guajardo
Mr. Chapa

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

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

Norway:
Mrs. Skard (substitute for Mr. Hambro)
Mr. Welhaven (substitute for Mr. Ordning)
Mr. Dahl
Mr. Nordahl

Panama:
Mr. de la Rosa
Mr. Ortega Viento
Mr. Garrido

Peru:
Mr. Fernández Stoll
Mr. Elguerra
Mr. Vidal
Mr. Sabreo (substitute for Mr. Luna)

Poland:
Mr. Stanczyk
Mr. Strakacz
Mr. Falter

Union of South Africa:
Mr. Andrews
Mr. Brennan
Mr. Skeels

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

Switzerland:
Mr. Feer (substitute for Mr. Bruggmann)

Turkey:
Mr. Gülkek
Mr. Esmer

Uruguay:
Mr. Kühn Talay
Mr. Fontaina

Venezuela:
Mr. Tinoco Rodil
Mr. Pérez Guerrero

Yugoslavia:
Mr. Soubbotitch
Mr. Milos

Also present at the Sitting:
Mr. Asgeirsson (Iceland)
Mr. Acosta (Paraguay)
DISCUSSION OF ITEMS I AND II ON THE AGENDA (contd.)

The PRESIDENT—I propose, with the will of the Conference, to continue today the procedure that was followed yesterday. There is no set order for the various groups in the choice of speakers, but there will be some adherence to the arrangement made.

Mr. ANDERSSON (Workers' delegate, Sweden)—In this important discussion of the future activities of the I.L.O., I should like to stress a fundamental point: it is that good results cannot be obtained unless certain conditions are satisfied in the various Member States. The main thing is not, and cannot be, to decide on Conventions and Recommendations fulfilling all reasonable demands of perfection and prescribing the social security to which the members of the community can lay claim. The main thing will always be how the adopted provisions are actually applied. To ensure proper application, there must always be somebody or other to whose own interest it is to see that the application of the provisions is in fact what was intended.

In countries where the trade union movement has achieved a position of authority, the necessary conditions for such supervision exist. But in countries where the trade union movement is weak, those conditions are absent, and the application of the measures is uncertain. It may happen, however, that even in countries with a strong trade union movement the supervision is not adequate. I can give you an example—an exceptional one, it is true—from Sweden, where the movement is a very strong one. For over twenty-five years, the workers have had the right, under Swedish law, to appoint their own representatives for purposes of factory inspection. In this way, they are able to lay any criticism they may have to make directly before the State inspectors, and to discuss with them what measures are needed for the better protection of the workers. Although this law has been in force for more than two decades, and the trade union leaders have been constantly urging the workers to make use of this right, the fact is still that there were no workers' safety delegates at more than half of the workplaces in the country, even though many of these were small. Here was an obvious defect in the enforcement of the law, and something had to be done. There could hardly be any question of altering the law, since the right it accorded was being inadequately used. Instead, the question was taken up for discussion between the leaders of the central employers' and workers' organisations. The result was an agreement to the effect that at workplaces where more than ten persons are employed, a board is to be appointed, consisting of representatives of the employer and the local unions, and this board is to deal with all matters connected with the Workers' Protection Act, so as to ensure that adequate safety measures are taken. It had been found in plants where such boards had already been set up that the accident frequency had fallen, on an average, to less than half of what it used to be. The conclusion of this agreement has given a guarantee that the law will be properly applied. I may add that under the agreement, the workers' representatives on the board are protected against intimidation by the employers.

The example I have given shows that legislation by itself is not enough. Someone must be interested in seeing that the law is observed, and this someone must be strong enough to make his interest
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effective. How much worse is the situation where not only is there no such organised interest, but efforts are even made, for example by employers, to evade the law. In Sweden, this problem does not arise, since the trade union movement is strong and well aware of its responsibilities, as is also the employers' movement. The representatives of these strong organisations on both sides are fully conscious of their respective interests (for the defence of which their organisations were created) but they are also conscious that other interests exist, that the community as a whole has to be strengthened, and the power of the Swedish employers that they have shown their readiness to take the community interest into account. On the labour market, a balanced state has been reached, and this, I think, is the first condition for obtaining good results. I do not hesitate for a moment to say that it is just because we have reached this balance that we have been able to solve the problems of these difficult war years, by voluntary agreement and without Government intervention.

The programme for the future activities of the I.L.O. should draw attention to the desirability of achieving such development of labour relations, such a balance of power on the labour market, and to the fact that it is precisely a balance of power of this kind which has the best prospect of leading to good results. Such balance, however, cannot be reached everywhere at the same time, and in some cases cannot be reached at all. The question then is: what way can be found to overcome this lack of equilibrium between the parties on the labour market, especially where the object is to secure the observance of social legislation? I think that something could be done and that it is for the community to find a solution. May I again give an example from Sweden? In my country, we have had, since 1927, an institution built on the same principles as the I.L.O. It is called, "Delegation for International Collaboration in Social Questions", and all questions relating to international collaboration in the social field are referred to this tripartite body. Is it not conceivable that similar institutions could be set up, in the different countries, and given a say in the application of social legislation? Thus, even where the workers' organisations are weak, their representatives would undoubtedly be given a certain authority. In Sweden, the delegation I have mentioned has not had to undertake any such duties, since the balance of power on the labour market has been arrived at in other ways. I do not suggest that a body of this kind is ideal, but it ought to be able to do some good.

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

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

The PRESIDENT—I would like to say a word or two with regard to the procedure we propose to follow. I hope that every delegate who desires to speak will have sent in his name before the close of this morning's session. Then we can determine fairly well how the order of speakers can wisely be directed.

In addition to that, if any delegate desires to speak at a particular time, I shall endeavour to fit in with his desire, provided it does not interfere too much with the order of debate. All names, then, should be in before luncheon so that we can wisely determine, as far as possible, the order of debate.

Dr. van den TEMPEL (Government delegate, Netherlands)—The representatives from the Netherlands, as well as those from the Netherlands East and West Indies, welcome this new Conference in the spirit of international solidarity and social justice which binds together the workers for a new and better world. This attitude of the Netherlands is in accordance with her traditions of faithful co-operation with the International Labour Organisation and of devotion to its high principles, as they have been formed since 1919.

There is no disguising the fact that we, as representatives of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, as may be the case with representatives of a number of other countries, are in a peculiar and rather delicate position on this first regular Labour Conference held since the outbreak of the second world war. This Conference will probably take important decisions with regard to the future policy, the programme and the status of the International Labour Organisation. It will probably, though in the form of Recommendations, endeavour to define and specify certain general aims of social policy, the resulting responsibilities of which, if accepted in good faith, will be of the utmost concrete importance for internal relations. Such a policy, how-
ever, cannot, in the long run, be carried out satisfactorily by any State with good results unless it has the approval of the great majority of the people who have, by way of the appropriate organs, given their consent.

Now, here we meet with two kinds of difficulties. In the first place, circumstances have made it almost impossible for all the relevant branches of government to study thoroughly the important documents presented to the Conference. The International Labour Office is not at fault in this respect. This is a case of force majeure. The work which the Office has done in the short time available between the meeting of the Governing Body in London in December of last year, and this Conference, is beyond belief. The reports submitted are of the utmost importance, but we have to admit that the members of Governments of far away countries did not have those reports, or at least not all of them, in their possession when the representatives for the Conference were already on their way to Philadelphia.

The second difficulty, however, which will be felt by the representatives of an occupied country, is more weighty and more fundamental. They will have to do without the possibility of consulting public opinion in their own country, of submitting the problems and proposals to the appropriate organisations, as, for instance, those of the employers and workers, and of testing the opinion or requesting a decision from the competent organs of State.

Generally speaking, a Government of an occupied country has to come to decisions chiefly on its own responsibility. This imposes on a Government like the one I represent, though it is acknowledged as the trusted representative of the people of the Netherlands, a substantial reserve, particularly with regard to decisions which are of importance to its future policies. The essence of democracy, that the people in the last instance have to decide themselves on vital questions, is here at stake.

We feel obliged to emphasise this view at the beginning of this momentous Conference. Even if we desist from repeating it again and again, it should be taken into consideration that there is a conditional element in our proceedings and in our decisions.

We are, of course, fully convinced that the work which this Conference has before it cannot wait until the occupied Member States of the International Labour Organisation have been liberated. It is not only of importance for that part of the world which is free, but particularly so for the occupied countries, that the lines for social renewal in the future be mapped out, that the problems of the transitional period from war to peace be contemplated at this time and that the International Labour Organisation be prepared, as much as possible, for the great task which it will have to fulfil in the democratic world.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the first place, it will have to discharge its own specific task in the field of social affairs, taken in a wide sense, thus to realise a social programme such as is outlined in Chapter III of Report No. I. This is not a literal sense, its basic field of activity and responsibility.

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

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

This apparently is a logical set of activities which is well adapted to the present circumstances. Whether it will be satisfactory in the future can only be decided later. The possibilities of a more direct representation of workers and employers in or with the functional organs in the economic and financial fields are, of course, conditioned by the further developments of international organisation, especially in the field of the trade union movement. But apart from this, there is one main point which seems to me not yet satisfactory. That is connected with the vital problem of full employment. The resolutions which are put up for consideration in Report No. II contain a number of means for the purpose of expanding employment. I admit the value of all these proposals, but personally I am afraid that it is not sufficiently understood how much the problem of full employment is basically one of the economic cycle, the problem of avoiding severe economic fluctuations and of stabilising the international economy. A note of caution may be voiced, that unless the mitigation of the sequence of periods of rapid expansion and boom and of crisis and depression is made the starting point for international economic cooperation, the power to realise full employment will be entirely out of proportion with the general desire towards this goal.

Speaking for myself, I should value the creation by the United Nations of an Economic Stabilisation Board, consisting of the leading personalities of the various international bodies, including the one proposed under the recently published world money plan, as a significant step towards the actual realisation of the dominating objective of full employment, a stabilisation board not outside business life, but in the very midst of responsible business life.

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

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

There is reason to stress this side of the question. We may be optimistic by nature, without losing sight of the immense difficulties which will be encountered everywhere in the world after this war but especially in the occupied countries after their liberation. The difficulties of all of us are many. But one is best able to speak about one's own. I am no pessimist myself, and personally I only regret that I am no longer young enough to play my most part in the great world which awaits mankind after peace has come. But when I try to think about the circumstances under which we shall see our own country again, my heart aches—the great national work in the Netherlands East Indies, which have so remarkably changed in character in the last century, trampled down and destroyed by the Japanese; the Netherlands themselves sacked, their vital parts destroyed, their most fertile lands inundated; their industries, to the extent that it still exists, transformed into war industry; otherwise, only decay, an industry which is depleted of raw materials and has lost its markets.

The population is under-nourished, ill-clad and ill-shod, with its only stimulus its fighting spirit and hope in the future. Five hundred thousand of its strongest men have been deported to many and to German subjugated countries, exposed to all the dangers inherent in a forced stay in enemy territory. How many of them will see the fatherland again, and in what condition?

Disorganisation, undermining and impoverishment reign everywhere in our formerly so peaceful and so many respects so prosperous country. As yet, in this free American soil, we take our part in raising the banner of social progress.

We do so with a deep conviction, but we do it also in great humbness. We do so in the hope that, after our return, we may say to our sorely-tried people, "Look, we bring to you in your tribulations not only noble programmes for social progress and aims and ideals which are also dear to you, though you may doubt whether you have the strength to realise them in a not too distant future, but we also bring you the certainty of profound, self-denying and permanent international collaboration, which will make the realisation of
Sir Samuel Runganadh (Government delegate, India)—I consider it a great privilege to take part in the deliberations of the International Labour Conference at this important and historic session. This session of the Conference is of peculiar importance because we are endeavours to restate the essential aims of the International Labour Organisation in order to bring them into closer accord with the needs of the present and post-war world, to define the future policy and programme of the I.L.O., and to equip the Organisation as an effective instrument of international collaboration so as to enable it to make a major contribution to the solution of the complex problems of post-war reconstruction. The Organisation, as you are aware, has a past history of solid achievement behind it, and it is our duty at this session so to prepare the ground that, in the years to come, in those years in which the I.L.O. will have duties to perform more important than ever before, it shall be suitably equipped to carry out those duties. The Conference is therefore of such importance that I would have liked the Government of India to have been given a longer time in which to consider the reports prepared by the Office, and to come to their decisions, and I hope that this may be possible in future.

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

India has, during the last twenty-five years, fully supported the ideals and principles laid down by the I.L.O., despite difficulties arising from the great size of our country, from its low standard of living, from its lack of industrial development, and from the number of Governments of which it is composed. We have ratified many Conventions, and where ratification has not been possible, we have endeavoured to legislate and direct our social policy and labour policy in accordance with the principles underlying those Conventions in so far as the conditions of our country make this possible.

We continually keep under review the possibility of further ratifications and of surmounting difficulties which may stand in the way of ratification, and we shall welcome any assistance which the I.L.O. can give us in this task. For this reason, we welcome the proposal that the fullest information shall be given to the I.L.O. as to what we are doing in regard to Conventions which we have been unable so far to ratify, and as to our difficulties in regard to them, because we believe that by so doing we shall secure valuable assistance in helping us to meet these difficulties. Further, we should welcome the strengthening, whether in India or in Montreal, of that part of the I.L.O., which deals with matters relating to India.

I must now pass on to mention briefly what is not only a measure of our present difficulties in labour matters, but also a great opportunity for the future of the world. I refer to the immensity of our population and to its low standard of living. The latest census figures give a total population in India (British India and the States) of nearly 400 million—a vast number, but with a per capita income, and consequently a standard of living, extremely low by Western standards.

The Indian delegate, Sir Shanmukham Chetty, in the 1941 Conference, emphasised how much the collective prosperity of the world depended on raising the standards of living of the vast millions of Asia. He pointed out that “in so many cases a chain is in its weakest link. The appalling poverty of the masses in India and in China and in other Asiatic countries is today the weakest link in the chain of international economy. It will be the task”, he continued, “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.” And again he said that “the economic stability of the world depends on the prosperity and the purchasing power of the vast agricultural masses.”

I wish again to emphasise these points. They are, to my mind, points that all members present here should keep in the forefront of their minds; they are of the utmost importance, not only to those Asiatic countries, but to the world as a whole. The Honourable Minister for Supply and Shipping of Australia, in the course of his speech yesterday, stated that “the critical factor controlling the raising of the standards of living and the level of trade throughout the world will be the kind of domestic policies which are followed by the larger economies, such as those of the United States of America and the United Kingdom”. In my view, it is more important that the policies followed by the Asiatic countries, with their vast agricultural population, should be such as will ensure that the standards of living of those masses are raised, and that large numbers of persons become as they should be, large consumers of the world’s productive capacity, which we know is fully adequate to meet all requirements.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Government of India also support in principle the proposals for regional conferences, and are in favour of holding an Asiatic regional conference as soon as conditions permit, though details will need
careful consideration. They believe that such a conference will be of value in co-ordinating progress, in pooling experience and in mutual discussion of difficulties. They are already themselves taking such steps as they can to achieve similar results in India itself. India is a vast country, containing a number of large provinces and States with autonomous powers in labour matters, and with problems that may vary from province to province. The Government of India have, accordingly, set up a Tripartite Labour Conference at which are expressed the views of employers and workers and of representatives of those provinces and States. There is at the meetings of that Conference, and its standing labour committee, a pooling of experience, mutual discussions of proposals, and a direct common approach to the various problems that arise. The Government of India believe that the setting up of this tripartite organisation, following on the lines of the International Labour Organisation here, will have the effect of co-ordinating labour policy in India, and that the mutual discussion which takes place among Government, workers and employers will lead to a better understanding of the problems that may arise, a better solution of those problems, and a better standard of administration. As a result of the resolution passed at the last plenary session of the Tripartite Conference, a special committee has been set up to hold a factual enquiry into labour conditions throughout India. As soon as that is completed, a planning committee will be set up to frame a social security policy. Meanwhile, progress is being made in the immediate framing of a scheme for sickness insurance, which it is hoped will shortly be ready for consideration.

Furthermore, the Government of India are also paying close attention to reconstruction. A Post-War Reconstruction Committee was set up at an early stage of the war, the machinery for reconstruction planning was reorganised in 1943, and a strong organisation, with which non-officials are associated, is giving close attention to the problem and has already made progress in some aspects of post-war planning. A Health Survey and Development Committee has also been set up, with terms of reference covering a wide field, and is in process of making its enquiry. Our present Viceroy, Field Marshal Lord Wavell, has already, in one of his recent speeches, stated that he places the task of social reconstruction as one of the immediate aims of his policy. India, therefore, recognises the problem it has to face, and is thinking for itself and making plans and preparations which will have the effect of co-ordinating progress towards the end which we all desire—the provision and maintenance of full employment and full security for the whole population of all countries of the world.

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

Interpretation: Mr. van ZEELAND (Government delegate, Belgium)—Today, in all occupied Europe, millions of human beings are anxiously waiting for the tomorrow is to bring freedom to them all, but which, at the same time, will be for many of them the climax of a long and cruel martyrdom. No-one in the ranks of the resistance movement, no-one in the United Nations, has any illusion about the cost which the success of this enormous enterprise will involve; and there is no-one who is not prepared to play his part.

But this time there must be a common measure between the greatness of the effort made and of the sacrifice accepted and the results achieved. In the world of tomorrow, there must be a recompense and justification for the struggle.

It has already been said from this platform that this Conference is the most important since 1919. That is true. We are here to reinforce the I.L.O. and also to reformulate the principles of the social policy of tomorrow.

The success of this Conference, the efficacy of its decisions and the spirit in which it carries out its work, will be a sign which will be understood by the whole world, both in the free countries and in the darkness of those suffering oppression.

We are firmly determined to do all we can to contribute towards this result, and to show to our full share of responsibility, and I want, therefore, to state the views of the Belgian delegation on the items which are the subject of this general discussion.

First of all, with regard to the future role of the International Labour Organisation, we hope that the Conference will adopt an attitude both liberal and realistic. The I.L.O. has given proof of its value. It has twenty-five years of experience behind it. It has gone through many difficulties, including a serious crisis at the beginning of this war, and it has come out part of my speech, is so very great)—these conferences of Asiatic peoples must be useful in giving guidance as to the manner in which those parts of the policy of the I.L.O., which cannot at once be carried out in their entirety in Asiatic countries, can be so adapted as to secure the maximum progress towards the end which we all desire—the provision and maintenance of full employment and full security for the whole population of all countries of the world.
of them honourably. The results of its work are to be found in the laws, in the customs and in the institutions of every corner of the world.

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

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

There is no question of making the I.L.O. leave its proper field, nor of loading it with duties which it would be unable to perform. Political problems and specifically economic questions will always remain outside the field of the Organisation. They must continue to be handled by special institutions with the appropriate means of action. The necessary distinctions, of course, are not always easy to make. That is not surprising; the phenomena which reflect the life of human communities are part of a single reality, but they have different aspects, which must be distinguished. The International Labour Organisation is competent in the social field, but it must take into account actions and reactions in other fields, particularly in the economic field.

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

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

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

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

The International Labour Organisation has always been an autonomous institution. It was attached to the League of Nations by close and organic links, but it had its own Constitution and its own methods, adapted to its particular purposes. Experience has shown that it has a vitality which has enabled it to pursue its work, to act and to assert itself while the League remained in the shadows. This autonomy has proved its worth, and it must at all costs be maintained. There might even be serious arguments for increasing it, in budget matters in particular, and it would be desirable for the I.L.O. budget to have a fixed basis, whether in the form of a definite figure or of a percentage, so as to avoid uncertainty and useless discussion. But neither isolation nor absolute independence or detachment are desirable; on the contrary.

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

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

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

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

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

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

In such a system, the place of the International Labour Organisation is obvious. It will have the social task which I have described. Special Institutions will deal with specifically economic, financial, intellectual and other aspects of community life, national and international. There will be co-ordination at various levels.

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

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

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

I come here to my second point—the social policy of the I.L.O. thus strengthened. I can shorten my own task here by referring to the excellent speeches which have already been made by my predecessors and, particularly, that of the Secretary of Labor of the United States, Miss Perkins. Unless I am mistaken, there is a very great degree of agreement among us as to the definition of the immediate objectives of that social policy and the surest methods for its gradual application. At least, we of the Belgian delegation think so.

But there is one point I would like to emphasise particularly. This concerns the conditions in which Belgium and the other countries which are temporarily occupied by the enemy will find themselves after their liberation.

It is quite impossible to foretell the gravity of the further destruction which will accompany the operations that will lead to their liberation. A foretaste is given by the damage done by the enormous aerial offensive now in progress, which is and must be destructive of life and property in order effectively to cut the enemy’s communications in our lands. But even if we take account only of the situation which will result from the invasion campaign and the years of oppression, the picture is black enough.

Stocks and reserves of all kinds have been entirely exhausted; deportation and imprisonment have been the fate of the best of the menfolk; production has been dislocated; machinery is worn out; technical progress has ceased; the people are physically exhausted; administration is in disorder; means of transport have been confiscated or are worn out; inflation has run its course. All this, added to all the destruction of yesterday and of tomorrow, gives some slight notion of the difficulties with which we shall be faced immediately after victory.

It is true that preliminary arrangements have been made, both nationally and internationally, to deal with the situation; and I am far from underestimating their value; but the extent of the problem is tremendous. In reading some of the proposals which have been put forward as the basis for our discussion—proposals which in themselves are reasonable and well founded—I could not help feeling envious sometimes of the countries to which the problem presents itself in these terms. These terms are indeed serious enough, and the solutions are not easy; but they pale before the difficulties which lie before the occupied countries.

We shall have to start from nothing, or from very little, and account that the Germans will leave behind them will be worse than a blank—it will be disorder and chaos. I have no doubt of the future of our countries. National communities which have not only endured all the trials of war—invasion, oppression, hunger, exhaustion, and enemy propaganda—without losing their cohesion, but have increased their resistance from day to day, such nations will come out of the struggle even greater than they were before.

I should like to express the hope that when the texts are examined more closely, particularly with regard to what they have to say about social policy in the immediate future, and re-employment in the transition from war to peace, some account will be taken very particularly of the needs of oppressed Europe.

I come now to my third point. It will be confined to some reflections on the spirit in which we hope that the various organs of the International Labour Organisation will approach or pursue the wider tasks for which they will be responsible. I should like to express this in two words: realism and faith. First, realism. As it has been well said from this platform, the mainte-
nance and expansion of the production of goods does not in itself mean an improvement in standards of living, as social justice requires; but it is an essential condition for it. It cannot be emphasised enough that there is a close relation between political, economic, and social matters and the reciprocal effects. In pursuing its objectives, the Organisation must take account of this fact in its decisions.

I should like to make one reflection on this point, which is of a general character, but which may directly alter the angle from which social problems are approached. Incredible progress has been made in industrial technique. Governments, under the pressure of war needs, have subsidised scientific research without stint, and the effects have been immediate. Many of the new discoveries are still kept secret for military reasons. But what has come to the ears of the public regarding the fantastic progress made recently in physics and in chemistry is enough to give us some idea of the possibilities of the future. New materials, chemical treatments which change the properties of known materials, rapid progress towards the discovery of a new source of cheaper power—all this may revolutionise the basic conditions of production, the relative importance of the usual raw materials, and even the traditional economic foundations of whole parts of the globe.

All these problems are full of unknown elements; but it seems that two points are becoming clearer and clearer. First that the world of tomorrow will be very different from the pre-war world, and we must be ready to face the changes when they come and to use them to the best effect. Secondly, very rapidly, perhaps, and in spite of all difficulties, the new techniques will make available to mankind quantities and qualities of goods which would have seemed utopian a short time ago. If this is really so, social policy, in order to be realistic and to overcome political difficulties, will be able to be, and indeed should be, more active than ever. But to act, we must have faith, and to succeed, we must communicate it to others. The task which humanity is facing is certainly a terrible one. All that we want, all that we do, all that we hope for, depends, first of all, on victory, and then on the assurance of an enduring peace.

There is no enduring peace, it is said in the proposed Declaration, without social justice. This is profoundly true. But the contrary is also true. We cannot hope to promote social justice unless we can work in the certainty that this time peace will be effectively secured.

From whatever angle we approach post-war difficulties, we always receive the same warning. It is a problem which must be dealt with as a whole, and it is a formidable one. Is this a reason to evade it? On the contrary, the greatness and nobility of our task is an appeal to be measured by the greatness, the horror and the heroism of the battlefield.

The United Nations in this war have given proof of unlimited courage—physical courage, in the army, in jail, under bombs, and before execution squads, and moral courage before temporary setbacks and the tremendous demands of their task. We can therefore look forward to the future with faith. The courage needed by rulers and people to lay down the political bases of social justice will not fail them.

A great Belgian poet, Verhaeren, once spoke of the stubbornness of human valour. It is to this stubbornness that we shall owe our victory and we may entrust it to our dearest hopes—those for a world in which our children may at last, in a secure peace, enjoy their right to the pursuit of happiness.

Mr. SKEELES (Employers' delegate, Union of South Africa)—I come to you as a newcomer from a comparatively small country. I bring to you a sense of perspective that those who have been connected with the I.L.O. for many years may not have.

I came expecting to find a Conference meeting in a spirit of deep humility and with a strong sense of failure. I find a spirit of complacency, of smug self-satisfaction, and a spirit of caution, that has only been relieved this morning by those speakers who really got down to earth, I speak of the speakers from the Netherlands, from India, from Belgium, and one other that has slipped my memory.

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

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

I go further and say that employers and labour must also meet together in the spirit of mutual helpfulness which will enable them to do anything. The issues between labour and employers are of comparatively little importance compared to the great issues that exist between employers and labour together and those forces that dictate prosperity or depression, over which democracy has no control.

The operative clauses of the Atlantic Charter—and I am now quoting the Minister of Economic Development of my
country—the operative clauses are full employment amongst nations and an increase in the standard of living. And he gave it as his opinion that any clauses that cut across those two operative clauses should be modified to any extent that is necessary.

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

To give full employment, it may be necessary to widen our ideas of what employment might be, and of the value of employment, and the reason for which we desire this to be effective. We may find it difficult to cope with seasonal unemployment. We may find it difficult to cope with casual unemployment and depressional unemployment.

But I contend that if we realise that employment is as necessary as bread for the soul of man, if we realise that the discipline of employment and the satisfaction of creative employment is essential to satisfy mankind, then we can accept education as employment. If we have no other useful work for a person to do, we may say: “We will put you to school. Here is a school. Here is an institution that is elastic; that can take 10 people or 1,000 people. You go there and you serve your normal standard working hours, learning and trying to better yourself as a citizen of your country, for which we will pay you sufficient to support your family.”

It may be that the person will not take advantage of that; that he will not apply himself in such a way as to give him the full value of the education made available to him. And then, I say, that he should be thrown out, but that his family should still be looked after by the State, in order that we may preserve those children from destitution, pauperism and ignorance.

I wish to draw attention to the value of social measures, not only for their value as services to humanity, but also as of tremendous value in maintaining the market for our own products.

A visitor to a commercial congress in South Africa, a visitor from Manchester, England, told us, in 1938, that it was very largely due to the Government money spent upon social welfare in England, that they had attained a measure of recovery after the year 1932, that the money spent upon social services was of direct value to commerce and industry—that is, to employers and to labour together.

I wish to draw your attention also to the fact that our power to give social services, our power to pay people for doing work that may not show a return in pounds, shillings and pence—I beg your pardon, in dollars, cents and dimes—perhaps, at the end of each year, our power to do that rests not upon money, but upon our tremendous power to produce goods.

That point has been dealt with very ably by the previous speaker from Belgium. I would ask you never to forget to think in terms of goods, and not in terms of money.

The late Mr. Stephen Leacock, who was himself at one time a Professor of Economics in a Canadian University, shortly before he died, said this: “The economics of the schools are useless to us. The economics of the schools is now the idiot boy sitting in the corner, twiddling his thumbs, because he has been taught to think in terms of money, and not in terms of goods.” If we think in terms of goods, we shall realise our power to lift up humanity and to increase its standard of living to levels that we cannot at present envisage.

I want to draw the attention of this Conference to the basic factor in world prosperity. It is not the forced development of international trade. It is not the provision of international finance. It is the strong development in each country of its own home markets and its own resources in material and human labour. Only upon a basis of full development in each Member State can international trade develop naturally and grow upon that strong foundation. Our foundation must be strong home markets in every Member State, home markets that will be sufficient and that will have the purchasing power to buy all that they themselves can produce. In that way, you will get surpluses that may easily and readily be exchanged with those surpluses from other Member States, and will also be willing, freely, to exchange those goods they themselves do not want.

I would emphasise the importance of this aspect, because it is so often overlooked, and I believe it is overlooked in this Report I. The development of our own full strength, the development of our own natural resources to the full, and the full employment of every unit of human labour within our borders, will give us the strength to help those countries at present occupied who will need so much help when they are freed from the invader.

I am pleased to see that the I.L.O. now wishes to be, and intends to be, the watchdog over international finance. But I ask for more. I ask for much more. I wish that it should also give advice and guidance to the Treasuries of every Member State, that it may let the Ministers of Finance in every Member State know what financial measures are necessary to achieve the full development of their re-
officials and Ministers of Finance, who have run up against the difficulty that proposals have been made to effect employment or to develop resources, and the departments concerned with that employment have been frustrated by the ignorance of Treasury officials and Ministers of Finance, who have refused the financial facilities necessary for the carrying out of those important and necessary schemes.

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

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

I formally present an amendment to come at the end of page 185, following the word "appropriate". The amendment would read: "The I.L.O. should also give advice and guidance to Member States upon financial measures necessary fully to employ their own labour resources".

I ask that this Conference approve the general principles set out in Reports I and II, but that they be referred to a tripartite committee for examination in detail.

Mr. STAN CZYK (Government delegate, Poland)—The Twenty-sixth International Labour Conference has indeed met at a critical moment in the history of the world, a moment pregnant with the anticipation of a sweeping victory of the United Nations over the forces of Hitlerite and Fascist totalitarianism. We want to believe that we are on the verge of a period of lasting peace and of international co-operation. We want to believe that we are at the threshold of a world which will safeguard the liberties of all peoples and which will ensure a system of social justice and security based on prosperity and an adequate standard of living.

Although the International Labour Organisation is not one of the many agencies established to aid in the prosecution of the war, although, unlike the war agencies, its activities do not occupy the front pages of the newspapers of today, it is nevertheless an essential and powerful force in all thoughts and plans for peace and post-war reconstruction. We are assembled here to discuss the part which the I.L.O. will play in the formation of those plans and to outline the steps which it will take towards their execution. Committees will soon convene to work on the problems on our agenda, to define in detail the job to be done, and to propose ways and means for its accomplishment.

The Conference has decided, and, I think, wisely, to open a general discussion on the following:

1. The future policy, programme and status of the I.L.O.
2. Recommendations to the United Nations on immediate and post-war social policy.

We are fortunate, indeed, to be able to discuss in plenary sitting the general principles on which the idea of the International Labour Organisation is based, for a general discussion, of necessity, encompasses more fundamental aspects of the problems that confront us than a discussion based merely on committee reports. I do not doubt that we share the same fundamental beliefs, but it will be well to note their interpretation and confirmation by representatives of the various nations who will speak from this platform. These principles must be reaffirmed before the committees endeavor to develop and implement them for the tremendous task of rebuilding a shattered world. Until now, the Atlantic Charter, promulgated by the leaders of two democratic States, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill, is the only Magna Carta of the present war. It was reaffirmed by the United Nations Declaration. In October 1941, its principles were wholeheartedly endorsed by the Conference of States Members of the International Labour Organisation.

For more than two years, the International Labour Office has been working on the development and possible means of application of the principles of the Atlantic Charter to problems within its sphere of operations. A re-endorsement of these principles is surely not amiss today, nor should we single out for our special consideration those phrases directly connected with the aims and interests of the I.L.O. Every principle embodied in the Atlantic Charter merits the consideration and thought of each one of us because these statements make up a complicated and an inter-related whole. A violation of one portion of this complex structure rocks its entire foundation.

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

Their countries seek no territorial aggrandisement, territorial or other.

They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.
They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live, and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

These are fundamentals. Unless they are accepted as such and translated into fact, the freedom of nations and peace itself cannot exist. We must be alive to the fact that democracy in the internal life of a nation is doomed in the long run when the peace and freedom of the community of nations is threatened. Each one of us realises that permanent general welfare rests on democracy, that social justice rarely survives in a vacuum. It is inextricably intertwined with the social and political development of the nation and of the world of nations. Peace is indivisible.

All nations, I think, welcome the collaboration of the Great Powers in this war. In time of peace, such collaboration within the framework of a common international organisation, based on the cooperation and mutual respect of all, could result in a stable international democratic system, a suitable environment for the reconstruction of the world. A conception of international order based on spheres of influence among the Great Powers cannot and must not supersede the democratic principles of the Atlantic Charter. Freedom has one definition, for great nations and for small, and we can accept no substitutes. For freedom, like peace, is indivisible.

The Atlantic Charter is a milestone on the road to a world based on the indivisibility of peace and freedom. Its guiding principles in the realm of economic and social order were restated by President Roosevelt in his welcome to us, which was read by Miss Perkins, the distinguished Secretary of Labor of the United States:

We know that the conditions of a lasting peace can be secured only through soundly organised economic institutions, fortified by humane labour and social standards, regular employment and adequate income for all the people.

If the International Labour Organisation is to achieve these aims, it must avoid the error made at the time of its inception, namely, the elimination of general economic problems from the scope of its research and activities. For the problems of labour are indissolubly linked with general economic policy. Social progress cannot be realised against a background of depression. Full employment, on the other hand, cannot be considered an essentially economic problem, nor can its achievement be deemed an essentially economic success. It is also a social aim towards which we must strive, if need be, at the expense of certain narrow and shortsighted group or class interests.

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

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

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

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

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

We here take it for granted that the international organisation of the world and the sum total of its economic and social problems are closely bound together. We should therefore have little difficulty in accepting the fact that economic and social security are similarly bound. The international labour charter which will be included with the peace treaty can be secured only if it is part of an international economic charter.

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

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

As for my country, I would like to add a few words to express the hopes of the fighting and suffering peoples of Europe on the problems which we are discussing here. The nations at present under the German yoke—and the Poles were the first to enjoy this privilege—believe that we are here working for the adoption of great principles—principles on which the new world will be built. Together with the persecution of the Polish population, increasing daily in a last effort to force the fighting Polish underground to its knees, Hitler is using Poland as a slaughterhouse for the mass murder of millions of Polish Jews and Jews of other European countries—a murder unprecedented in the annals of history. Hitler is determined to achieve the complete annihilation of the Jewish people. In some areas, fighters of the Jewish underground, aided by their Polish brothers-in-arms, rose against the Nazi conqueror. The heroic armed resistance of the Warsaw ghetto will live forever in the story of mankind.

The same mass murder, this time of the Polish population, marks the Nazi retreat in the East. Yet, more and more, Poland's underground resistance is reaching the proportions of a campaign fought by an army—our underground army.

The I.L.O., dedicated to the respect for human dignity and the rights of man, will, I have no doubt, raise its voice in protest against these Nazi crimes. At this very moment, a moment of quiet discussion for us, Poland's citizens are dying by the thousand at the hands of Nazi oppressor. I firmly believe that not only will the I.L.O. protest, but it will demand exemplary and fitting punishment for the German war criminals.

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

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

(The Conference adjourned at 1.00 p.m.)
Delegates present at the Sitting

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<td>Mr. Bustos Lagos</td>
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Also present at the Sitting:

Mr. Asgeirsson (Iceland)  Mr. Acosta (Paraguay)
SEVENTH SITTING

Tuesday, 25 April 1944, 3.05 p.m.

President: Mr. Nash

DISCUSSION OF ITEMS I AND II ON THE AGENDA (contd.)

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

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

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

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

We do not aspire to anything extraordinary, to anything new, or to anything approaching the establishment of Utopia. We wish nothing more than to emerge from these historically backward periods in which we live and to become a part of modern society, to enjoy the benefits of civilisation within a plan of continental and world harmony in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter, which exemplify the ideals which have inspired the struggles of our peoples for their economic and cultural well-being and for the emancipation of their countries.

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

That is why we offer for the considera-
tion of Government, employers' and workers' delegates who make up the Conference the following proposals and suggestions, so that the resolutions may take into account the special interest of the economically less developed countries. For without concrete recommendations in regard to the method of aiding these countries, suggestions of a general nature will produce no tangible benefits for the Latin American nations.

If, up to today, the populations of Latin America have not exercised their often universally proclaimed right to material and moral progress, this is not due to their racial incapacity to attain the benefits of civilisation and culture, nor to the more difficult climate of their territory. Rather, it is due to the fact that Latin America is a continent of semi-colonial countries, dependent upon the big international monopolies, which exploit it as a zone for capital investment, a source of raw materials, and a market for manufactured products. The big international monopolies have deformed the structure and the economic evolution of the Latin American countries in such a manner that their peoples do not produce in accordance with their consumption needs, but in conformity with the exigencies of foreign industry.

The big international monopolies exploit the Latin American countries by the following methods:

1. Paying very low wages to the indigenous workers;
2. Paying very low taxes and tariffs to the national Governments;
3. Paying very low freight rates to the transportation systems;
4. Buying raw materials at very low prices;
5. Selling their manufactured products at very high prices.

The big international monopolies have blocked the economic development of the countries of Latin America by the following methods:

1. Preserving the large-estate system of agricultural production;
2. Obstructing the progress of industry, especially of heavy industry;
3. Avoiding the export of machinery;
4. Obstructing inter-Latin-American trade;
5. Supporting the native reactionary forces;
6. Displacing national industrialists;
7. Fighting against the peasant and labour movement;
8. Provoking conflicts between the Latin American countries.

The economic, social and political backwardness of the countries of Latin America which is the result of their exploitation by the big international monopolies is responsible for the fact that large sections of the Latin American populations live in the most harrowing conditions of misery, ignorance and ill health, lacking political liberties and economic security.

This has been our bitter history. We face a future full of promise. We base our hopes on the splendid fruits of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's good neighbour policy, which has opened a new era in the history of inter-American relations, and on the profound significance of this war, which is being heroically waged by almost all the peoples of the world in order to guarantee to all the right to work, the right to justice, the right to culture, and the right to peace.

Facing this future, we Latin American workers believe that in order that our countries may share in the fruits of the victory over fascism, it is necessary that some changes be made in international and national economic relations, in accordance with the following principles: the investment of foreign capital in the less developed countries must be subject to the control of tripartite committees of Government, workers and employers, in order to guarantee the allocation of capital to projects fundamental to the interests of the nation, the due payment of taxes and tariffs, co-ordination with national capital, the conservation of natural resources, the reinvestment of profits, just collective bargaining agreements, and the reaping of legitimate profits on invested capital. Trade and commerce must subject themselves to the following conditions: fair prices for the producers of export goods; fair prices for the producers of import goods; obligatory quotas of machinery and other investment goods which the industrialised nations should export to less developed countries; and stabilisation of exchange rates in conformity with which all transactions must be made.

There is no doubt that it is not only for indisputable reasons of the right to liberty, justice and progress that the peoples of Latin America insist upon the principles set forth in the Atlantic Charter and in the declarations of the most far-sighted leaders of the United Nations. They also proclaim and demand these principles because only a plan for continental and world economic co-ordination which contemplates the development of the non-industrialised nations of the world can prevent a grave post-war crisis in the great Powers, with consequences easily imagined.

Industry in some countries has reached an amazing level of progress which has produced a relatively high standard of living for the great masses of the people. Nevertheless, it is in these nations that periodic crises have brought the greatest upheavals and internal maladjustment. On the other hand, the larger part of the inhabitants of the earth still live in tremendously backward conditions, enduring a permanent social and material crisis. It
is beyond doubt that if the standard of living of these peoples were to be raised, transforming their primitive agriculture into a modern industry and establishing the bases for a national industry which would satisfy the primary popular needs, the selling capacity of the great industrialised countries would increase, without harm to the progress of the less industrialised countries. To guarantee this desideratum within the post-war transition period, a plan of economic co-ordination for each region and between the various regions of the world is imperative.

We hope that these words of ours, inspired by the sincere aim of contributing towards making the coming peace stable and enduring, will be received by the Government and employers' delegates as the opinion of an important sector of the workers of the world, committed to the most constructive and important task of our time.

The workers of Latin America who have contributed, to the full measure of their capacity, to the war effort of the United Nations, will work with all their might for the progress of the world of tomorrow.

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

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

Scrutinising these principles from the point of view of the objective which the I.L.O. aims at—securing for all, improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security, it is a matter of profound concern to countries like India that the Atlantic Charter is discreetly silent with regard to the fundamental principle of "freedom from exploitation", and that a superstructure is sought to be planned and built upon a narrow basis.

I firmly believe that unless the foundation of the future society, and through it, the greater comity of nations, is conceived in a spirit of such freedom from exploitation, the foundations of the Atlantic Charter will not be well and truly laid.

Watching the progress of this great and alive organisation, it is clear that its success has been due to the fact that the fundamental basis of its scope and functions has been that labour shall not be exploited for the benefit of capital, and that labourers shall have the right to demand decent conditions of life as human beings. The equally noble principle ought to be declared either in an Atlantic or Pacific Charter—I don't mind which—that there shall not be exploitation of one nation by another.

We have been fighting, as you all know, for the last five years, the Nazi forces of destruction, so that the world may be allowed to shape its own economic policy for the fulfilment of that objective. In fact, the Sixth Principle laid down in the Atlantic Charter is very clear on this point. I need not quote it here again as so many of my predecessors have quoted it in their speeches.

However laudable the acceptance of that principle may be, the world wants something more than mere freedom from fear and want. If world peace is to be established on sounder foundations, there must be a declaration and an assurance on behalf of the Allied Nations that there shall be no exploitation of the weaker nations under whatever plea, either of "trusteeship" or "mandate".

History has unfortunately provided ample proof that unless exploitation of weaker nations is put to an end by concerted international action, wars will continue to prevail among the great Powers, with the resultant destruction of which this generation has had sufficient experience. It is in the recognition of this truth that the cessation of the exploitation of the weaker people is a prime factor in the perpetuation of peace, that our great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, the great apostle of universal brotherhood, has put forward his pacific creed for the settlement of all disputes between the "haves" and the "have-nots". Unless the I.L.O. is rooted in the principle of freedom from exploitation, all its efforts, I am afraid, are doomed to disappointment.

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

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

But when we go back to our normal life, after the termination of hostilities, there is bound to be very serious unemployment. Unless the country is allowed full scope to lay down a long-term programme of industrial expansion, which would, in turn, absorb the demobilised industrial workers, and unless it is given its freedom to develop its own economic and fiscal policies, there is no chance of labour getting full employment, even to the extent to which war has made it possible today in India. In our country, the problem of full employment is going to be very acute in view of the fact that national interests in the industrial field are likely to conflict, in the short run, with those of the British industries; and I am afraid that several industries which have been allowed to be established during the war may go to rack and ruin. Not until we have a national Government of our own can the problem of full employment be satisfactorily dealt with. Should there be no change in the present position, I very much apprehend a bleak future so far as my country is concerned.

Consideration of the future has been agitating the minds of the industrial employers in India. With a view to provoking thought and shaking our administrators from their lethargic policy of laissez faire, a group of industrialists, headed by Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas of Bombay, has recently issued a skeleton of a 15-year plan for the economic development of India. The principal objective of the plan is to raise the standard of living to a considerable extent, and create greater opportunities of employment in the post-war period. Although the plan is but a mere skeleton, and a sketch of the picture, and although a lot remains to be filled in, it must be admitted that it is a bold sketch at that. I am definite in my mind that when we come into our own and manage our affairs in the post-war period, there is every hope of everyone at present employed finding a job, and a more suitable and permanent job, in a number of industries which we plan to establish in the post-war period.

The fulfilment of even this modest scheme depends, however, on a number of factors, chief of which is the willingness of the British administrators to relax their hold on our country, and to allow us to shape our own destinies.

The idea of the plan is to fill out the more obvious gaps, gaps which in the present crisis have revealed themselves to be great weaknesses from the point of view of the defence of the United Nations. I do not want to take the time of this meeting by going into greater details; but the plan emphasises agricultural, as well as industrial, development, and is, in effect, an attempt to increase the purchasing power of the country. I have no doubt that if the plan succeeds, it will be a contribution to the solution, not only of India's domestic problem, but also, partially at least, of employment problems elsewhere.

I should not like the Conference to think for a moment that we are thinking exclusively of ourselves when the whole world is in turmoil. We are equally anxious, once our own house is set in order, that we should so integrate Indian economy with the economy of the whole world that the prosperity of one country might prove to be the prosperity of other countries as well. It is primarily because of this that I very cordially welcome the suggestion made in the report for the regional treatment of Asiatic questions, both economic and social. It has always been a matter of great disappointment to Asiatic countries that, in spite of the loyal and continuous support that Asia has always accorded to the I.L.O., the Organisation has never thought it worth while to take note of Asia's legitimate rights in the Organisation or of its special economic needs. We have all along been pointing out that the standard which is attempted to be imposed on Asiatic countries had very little relation to the realities of the situation; that laws and regulations which might have proved suitable for countries which are industrially in the saddle, might possibly have no application to the less fortunate countries which are now only beginning to industrialise. The principle of regionalism, the application of which to southeastern Asia the I.L.O. is now advocating, will correct this wrong perspective and produce, in final analysis, even more substantial results than the attempts to force the pace of industrial reform which so far have been holding the field.

In reviewing the report on item II, I am gratified to note that the Office has not failed to take into account the requirements of agriculture in the draft resolution submitted to the Conference. Agriculture still constitutes the larger part of the field of employment the world over, and the last depression seemed to drive home the lesson that it is vain to look for industrial prosperity unless it is broad—based on the well-being of those engaged in the production of raw materials and food. The prosperity of primary producers is vital for the avoidance of industrial unemployment, which has been the main topic with which more than one
speaker has dealt in the course of this discussion.

I am, however, afraid that I cannot share the view put forward in the resolution concerning the economic policy for the attainment of social objectives, with particular reference to its clauses relating to international monetary policies and the movement of capital. Though I am as anxious as anybody else with regard to the settlement of our outstanding balances, amounting to more than 10,000 million rupees, all held in Britain in sterling, I would not like the Organisation to tread on this very delicate ground and express any opinion thereon. I fully appreciate the anxiety of richer countries, such as the United Kingdom or the United States of America, to offer capital which they cannot profitably or usefully invest in their own countries to poorer countries like India, China, Burma, Malaya, and Mexico, as you have just now heard. But it must be remembered that the past history of such financial assistance has been far from happy. These offers of financial help for the rehabilitation of the economy of the poorer countries, which have suffered most from the impact of wars, were always accompanied by conditions and restrictions which have been a handicap to those poorer countries' political and economic progress and have always prevented them from rising above the water. They have been subjected to all kinds of political subjugation, which left them no scope for the proper development of their economy.

I am afraid there would be very little enthusiasm, particularly in the countries of the East—and I now find it also in the countries of Latin America—if the imperialist hold were to be further strengthened in offering financial assistance to these countries. I propose that it should be made perfectly clear that there should be no political or economic hold of the money-lending countries on the economy of the borrowing countries; and that the help should be given without insisting upon any special rights and privileges, political or economic, in the borrowing country.

I find strength in my remarks when my immediate predecessor, representing Mexican labour, has so correctly and graphically depicted the hold of international monopolies and foreign finance on the economies of the Latin American countries. I do not want that history to be repeated again in the countries which will have to reconstruct their economy in the post-war period. I therefore suggest that your Federation that the proposed resolution on item II should not express any opinion on international monetary plans, settling of balances, or movement of capital.

Mr. HAMBRO (Government delegate, Norway)—The Norwegian Government has taken a most particular interest in this Labour Conference, because, to us, the post-war social problems and problems of reconstruction are problems of life and death. They have been felt to be of such imminent national importance that the Norwegian Government sent its message into occupied Norway to get out those experts that it needed to prepare new legislation. The President of the Norwegian Employers' Organisation, and the Director of the National Federation of Trade Unions were called out; they crossed the border, and we are glad that they are both here today, as members of the Norwegian delegation.

But we miss Mr. Paal Berg, the predecessor of Mr. Carter Goodrich as Chairman of the Governing Body. He is under German supervision and could not get out of the country. But I know that all his thoughts and wishes are with this Conference and with all his friends in the Conference and on the staff of the International Labour Office.

It is with particular pleasure that delegates from Norway have come to Philadelphia, the city chosen as the place of this Conference, not only because the Fathers of the Constitution met here 157 years ago, or for the reasons set forth by the Mayor of Philadelphia in his address to this assembly, but because we have in mind certain words spoken by President Lincoln in Independence Hall in this city 82 years ago, words which gave to the constitutional horizon of this country that gleam of a world-wide conception which is so sorely needed in this world today, more than ever before.

"I have often enquired of myself", said the great President, "what great principle or idea it was that kept this Confederacy so long together. It was not the mere matter of separation of the colonies from the motherland, but it was the sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but hope to all the world for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weight would be lifted from the shoulders of all men, and that all should have an equal chance. This is the sentiment embodied in the Declaration of Independence."

In this sentiment we have met here; and it is this sentiment that has inspired the documents put before us on the agenda of this Conference.

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

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

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

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

May I add in this connection that some delegates seem to be under the misunderstanding that the League of Nations has ceased to function. There is no factual background for any such misunderstanding. As Governments of all the United Nations have appealed to the League during the last few years as eagerly as ever before; just now, all those Governments have appealed to the Health Organisation and to the Economic Organisation of the League to do the work which they alone can do and which at the present time is needed in all the occupied and liberated territories, both in the East, in Africa, and in Europe.

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

My Government regrets that it did not seem feasible to hold this Conference at an earlier date. It attaches great importance to a speedy return to the constitutional practice, that there should be a conference at least once a year and no more than once every three years. The very lifeblood of the International Labour Organisation is the constant interchange of ideas and opinions between workers, employers and Governments and the fresh impulses coming from the men and women experienced in practical life and taught in the school of hard reality. For too long a period, the staff of the I.L.O. have not had free access to their sources of incitement and information. The work they have been able to accomplish under these conditions and have put before this Conference gives evidence not only of ability and of hard work but also of an enthusiasm that has overcome great difficulties.

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

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In the building up of all the new organisations, there may be a danger of estab-
lishing an international bureaucracy, aloof from the turmoil of practical problems and safely enthroned behind walls of paper, running the risk of constantly falling, running the risk of constantly falling and safely enthroned behind walls of pa­
bureaucracies, a slowly developing, fact-
to extend his staff, will be faced with a grave difficulty. He will be in need of new functionaries, and at the same time, he, more than any other administrator, will be under an obligation to keep open the posts of the men whose contracts have been suspended because they have gone into the armed forces of their countries.

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

My Government feels that some of the documents put before us seem to indicate that they have not been prepared by peo­ple to whom the war is a daily exposure to death at every moment, that something is lacking that is vital to us. This has already been pointed out in admirable ad­dresses by the Government delegates of France and Belgium. Where do we find the occupied countries in these volumes? To what limbo have their problems been relegated? After all, the occupied coun­tries of Europe and Asia have a popula­tion a few times bigger than that of the whole Western Hemisphere.

It is admirable to see the great emphasis that is given to the future of Germany and to the building up of new industries in Germany, but what about the countries that have been devastated, destroyed and tortured by Germany? Shall we repeat the sins of moral neutrality and give more of our sympathy to the criminal than to the victim? Social justice in Europe cannot be a local phenomenon. We have today to be more concerned with the prob­lems as a whole than with the problems in Germany. It is an integral part of any conception of justice that crime should be punished.

In the second of the volumes we are dis­cussing, there is a resolution proposed con­cerning the government of Germany. In point 19 of this resolution, it is stated that "precautions should be taken to ensure that the documents and records of the organs responsible for labour and social administration in the territory concerned be preserved intact. In particular, the United Nations and the occupying authori­ties should make it clear that the local personnel concerned will be held individually responsible for the preservation of such documents and records, and that persons convicted of destroying or concealing them will be severely punished."

It is all very fine, but do you want us to go home to our countries and tell our people that the only war crimes discussed at the International Labour Conference at its Twenty-sixth Session were the de­struction and concealment of social rec­ords in Germany?

We are, we hope, on the eve of a great invasion. Some of us do not know what will be left of our countries. We know what happened to France and Belgium in the last war. We know what the Ger­mans have done in Russia in this war. We expect a devastation and destruction of our countries the like of which the world has never seen. Would it be too much to expect that this Conference should declare that such wholesale destruction of populations, industries and means of pro­duction in the countries the Germans and Japanese are forced to evacuate will be counted as individual war crimes and will be as severely punished as the destruction of records?

The Germans have threatened to ex­terminate not only the Jews but the Poles, the Czechs, to lay waste France, Belgium, Luxemburg, Holland, Denmark, Norway. The International Labour Office, happily located in Canada, does not know what this means. We know it. We are here to tell about it, because it is the greatest crime against social justice that has ever been perpetrated on this earth. The people of the occupied countries do not wish any private retaliation and revenge, but they demand that justice should be done and crime should be punished.

It is the only way to prevent the poisoning of millions of minds in all the occupied countries. It is the only way in which to prevent future wars and the hatreds that will breed future wars. And, finally, it is the only way to protect and defend the decent elements in Germany and make it possible for the nucleus of democratic men and women in that tortured country to emerge and feel that the criminals that have made their lives hell have been pun­ished under international agreement and arrangement. And only when crime is punished, when the principles of justice are put into practice, can we attain that liberty of which Lincoln spoke; only by understanding and complying with that fundamental and divine urge for justice can the people of this country give hope to all the world for all future time.

Interpretation: Mr. SOUBBOTITCH (Government delegate, Yugoslavia)—The position which Yugoslavia has taken on the two questions of the agenda which are under discussion is not an accident. This attitude is merely the continuation in the Conference of the attitude of con-
fidence which my country adopted towards the International Labour Organisation from the beginning, and which it has maintained throughout a quarter of a century of the Organisation's existence.

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

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

In general discussion, we are not discussing details and examining texts, but we are considering fundamental ideas. I declare that the Government I represent associates itself with these ideas. In particular, I am ready to accept the Declaration concerning the role of the Organisation, which is the first draft resolution in Report I.

With regard to the other two resolutions in Report I, I think that a very large part of this text is acceptable in the form in which it has been prepared, but as to the others, before giving our opinion, we should like to have certain supplementary information.

I now turn to the report on the second item on the agenda, the question of what measures of social policy should be recommended for the present and for the post-war period. I have prepared a very much longer commentary but I want to keep within the fifteen minutes allowed me and I will therefore confine myself to making just a few observations, and keep the rest of my remarks for the committee, if one is to be set up, or for any other suitable opportunity.

I have three main remarks to make. First, I have heard in the lobbies and in the conversations I have had with various delegates the criticism that the Office has prepared a much too long a list of measures to embody post-war social policy. As far as I am concerned, ten years of experience in Geneva have convinced me that it is much better to have as a basic document a more elaborate proposal which enables all the aspects of the problem to be examined, and which can be shortened afterwards, than to have documents which do not make clear every aspect of the problem. If these more elaborate documents do not lend themselves to brief discussion, they are nevertheless much better instruments to work with.

The second observation I want to make is rather in the contrary direction. I want to reproach the Office, not for giving us too much, but for giving us too little, on one point in particular. I think the report does not throw enough light on the need for special measures for recovery in the countries that have been occupied and ravaged by war, and that such measures have been dealt with rather too briefly. Greece, Yugoslavia, Poland, the Netherlands and some parts of France, Norway, and Belgium and Czechoslovakia have suffered terribly. Where invasion is now about to take place, there will be further destruction. Even today, before the invasion has taken place, war and guerrilla warfare have destroyed whole provinces. I will refer only to one country, my own. I have seen very detailed reports which show that whole provinces have been devastated. In some entire regions of central Yugoslavia (Bosnia, Serbia), along the coast, and in Slovenia, travellers report that they have for days on end not seen a single house still standing nor a single human being except the occupation troops and the guerrillas.

And to show to what extent destruction has taken place on the battlefield, I may refer to northern France. Those who faced the problem of reconstructing industries in those regions after the last war have some idea of the problem which will face us after this war.

The problem of the restoration of economic life in the devastated regions and of the reintegration of the population in the productive process is a most important factor in the general problem of post-war social policy.

I think that the formula for measures of social policy proposed in the report would not be adequate to meet that kind of a situation. To reintegrate the working population of these regions into the general machinery of production, a series of problems will have to be solved which do not arise and will not arise in other countries. I know that you will say, perhaps,
that these are particular circumstances and that we cannot stop to consider them because we are only examining general circumstances. I must disagree with this view. Millions of workers and employers in our countries are now, and after the invasion will be, in circumstances similar to those which I have just described in Yugoslavia, and those circumstances are extending further and further.

And now I come to my third remark. Post-war social policy will be greatly affected by the physical weakness of the occupied populations in Europe, due to malnutrition. I am not speaking sentimentally, but these are facts. This lack of food has affected the occupied countries especially because, as you know, the Nazis live off the countries they have invaded. There are many experts who think that in some countries whole generations will be physically and mentally affected, especially the generations who are now children.

I think that our Organisation, in considering the situation of the workers of today, cannot be indifferent to the workers of tomorrow in the invaded countries. I have no intention of providing food for the invader, and I am not making any accusations about the blockade. But ignorance and error are matters to which no human being can claim to be entirely immune. I know something of this subject, in regard to the aid of war prisoners, where great mistakes have been made; but they have all been corrected or are in the process of being corrected now. Referring to this question, may I point out that we have the advantage of having among us at this Conference, as a Government delegate of the United States, Senator Elbert Thomas, who the other day presented a resolution inviting the United States Government to intervene so that medicine and food might be sent through the blockade to the starving children of the invaded countries.

I am raising this question not on humanitarian grounds, but because it is a social and economic problem which is within our competence. I see no reason why we ourselves should not ask for information, reliable information, on the justification for this policy of privation, and, with every respect for those who are conducting economic warfare, ask them to send their experts to advise with the experts of this Organisation on this situation, which is of prime importance. Their authority could only gain by such a procedure, and criticism would be silenced.

I do not wish to dwell on the other details in the report. I am nearly at the end of what I have to say, and I claim to have respected my fifteen-minute limit. My conclusion is this: I think that Report II which has been put before us is a very interesting study which may usefully serve as a basis for work in a committee. I think that we should study at leisure the measures which it proposes, in the light of the fundamental principles contained in the Declaration in Report I.

I think also that we should pay special attention to the workers in the occupied and invaded countries, who have naturally suffered most and who need special measures to bring them back into the productive process. I close by thanking the Office for having prepared such complete and full reports, inspired by so great an ideal of progress, social justice and true democracy.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Take my own country of India. I agree with the employers' delegate from India when he says that we must suppress exploitation of one country by another. I agree with him. He would like to have, instead of an Atlantic Charter, a Pacific Charter. But what he really wants is that there should be a charter in the Indian Ocean, that he should be free to exploit the workers of India. That is really in the back of his mind.

I want this house clearly to understand that this fifteen-year plan about which the Indian employer spoke to this house is not a plan but a plot. It is merely an exploitation of the people of India and the large mass of workers in my country, against whom it is directed. Beware of this fifteen-year plan. During the operation of the plan, private initiative and the economic life of the people and the liberty of the masses will be largely eclipsed. That is what the fifteen-year plan means, on the admission of its own authors on page 28 of the plan. Therefore, I beg you not to support such a plan, in the name of non-exploitation of one country by another.

I ask the employers' delegate what they have done in my country to help to raise wages. Have the textile magnates, to whom we gave 50 per cent. protection against foreign imports, sold cloth cheap to the masses we follow the example of the people of my country during the last four and a half years? On the contrary, no greater exploitation was ever exhibited in any part of the world than the exploitation of the Indian masses by the textile capitalists when they raised prices five hundred per cent. This is the Black Report of the Indian employer, and I very much wish that Mr. Mulherkar had not used the name of Mahatma Ghandi to cover the inequities and the exploitation which his class is inflicting on the working class of my country. It gives a very false picture, and is intended to use Mahatma Ghandi as a cat's-paw by the capitalists to cover their sins of omission and commission. I ask the world, therefore, in examining any economic and financial policy of my country, as a result of this Declaration, to bring to bear the voice of the Tripartite Conference, the voice of this Organisation.

Inasmuch as you propose in the second chapter of the first report various international agencies, I wish to say that unless we turn our attention to Asia and Africa the work of this Organisation will still be very, very slow, and will not achieve the purpose we have in view. You have a whole ocean of humanity—fifteen hundred million. You have been talking of world trade. I give you world trade beyond the dreams of avarice, if only you will take a little interest in the continent of Asia. There are five hundred million Chinese, four hundred million Indians, and many hundred thousands more of Asiatics are still rotting in primitive conditions. If you only could give a morsel of bread as a result of this solemn Declaration to the fifteen hundred million people of this continent, you would have world trade which you have never experienced. All this competition between nations, tariffs, currency depreciation, quotas, subsidies, and all the paraphernalia of unneighbourliness of one country against another will be unnecessary if you will turn your attention to the continent of Asia, where fifteen hundred million customers are awaiting every one of you.

As regards my own country, I was very glad that our High Commissioner supported this Declaration. He was also good enough to say that India was a member of this Organisation and actively supported this Organisation. I am quite aware of India's support of this Organisation. But let nobody be under the impression that our twenty-five years' association with this Organisation has improved the basic conditions of the working class in my country. It is a fact that it has accepted several of the Conventions, but in form only. The reality is tragic.

In a recent publication by the Government of India, it is admitted that only five per cent. of the people of India even have good, protected water to drink. Ninety-five per cent. of the people of my country drink foul, contaminated water—water in which the cattle have passed their urine and excreta. This is the state of the country as regards the water supply, that only five per cent. out of this 400 million have pure water to drink; 95 per cent. drink poison, and are, naturally, diseased.

Two hundred of every thousand infants born die in the first years of existence, as against, I think, 40 in Australia or New
Zealand. The expectation of life in my country is 26 years, against 70 in New Zealand. The death rate is nearly 30 against 9 in Australia. These are the social conditions of my country, in spite of 25 years of the association of the Government of India with this Organisation. There must be, and there is, something fundamentally wrong. The truth is that these Conventions are not honestly applied.

The Government of India accepted at one time the Unemployment Convention. But I am asking this meeting to note that the so-called provision for unemployment amounts to nothing more than an expenditure on famine relief, at the rate of one fourth of a cent per year, per head of population. One fourth of a cent per year per head of population is the enormous expenditure of the Government of my country on the unemployed citizen.

Therefore, you can well imagine what must be the natural situation. We have no minimum wages. Of course, we have no social insurance—either unemployment, or sickness, or any other. We have not known of limitation of hours, except in some factories and in the railways, for the last few years. In fact, most of the benefits and influence of this Organisation have not accrued to us, in spite of 25 years of association of the Government of India with this Organisation.

The Government of India is now awakening. They have established a Tripartite Conference. Labour, capital and Government meet in that Tripartite Conference. We are considering some measures, but action as such has still to come. And, therefore, when my friend, Sir Samuel Runganadhan, gave Government acceptance of this solemn Declaration, I wanted him to remember and I wish to remember him of it from this platform—that practically everything that this Organisation wants the workers to get is still withheld in India from their grasp.

That is the position which my country is enjoying, or suffering—whichever you like—and, therefore, I beg of you that every financial and economic policy that is being initiated in every country should be watched by this Organisation from the point of view of the social angle and rigorously examined to see whether it is simply a paper agreement or genuine implementation of the hopes and aspirations of several hundred millions of the world.

I have only one more point. The Nazi beast is being beaten in various parts of the world. The mutilation and mangling of women and children, the desolation of homes, and the destruction of every instrument of production in occupied countries—you want to end it. You do not want that nightmare to cross your path again in the years to come. If you really wish to prevent this, your task is not merely to assent passively to this solemn Declaration, but to go home and impress on your Government, impress on your employers, impress on the workers' organisations, that they must enforce the voice of this meeting in a practical manner, that men, women and children have a right to exist in conditions of decency and economic stability. Unless that is done, and I hope it will be done not merely passively but actively, I am sorry to say that our task will be very poorly done.

For that reason, I appeal to the Governing Body not to permit Governments to rest, to go on asking them for one piece of information after another, and I can tell them that when they gather information from countries like India, they will find skeletons in the cupboard. The reality will be distinct from the professions made, and you will find that workers are still a commodity.

The proclamation of this preamble of our Constitution and of Article 41 that workers are not a commodity is a paper declaration. Workers are a commodity in my country. I am afraid they are a commodity in many other countries. There is no fair wage. There is no protection for women and children. There are no allowances for old age, no pensions, no social insurance. I am giving you this grim picture in order that you may not feel that, by the passing of this solemn Declaration, you have done your duty. Watch incessantly, enquire carefully, and see that this Organisation works so actively that in the course of the next twelve months this idealism will have reached a state of accomplishment.

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

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

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

The admiration of Brazil goes out to the glorious North American nation which welcomes us today, and as in the past, enriches our political experience with the austere grandeur of its past and the Christian and democratic spirit which presides over its social destinies; co-operating with the United Nations, it hurls its victorious legions into the defence of the three principles of our dignity: freedom, virtue and intelligence.

Attentive to the call of social justice, we all aim at raising the working classes out of the undeserved misery in which they have been plunged, owing to the disequilibrium between capital and intelligence. We agree, indeed we demand, that the International Labour Organisation should add all the other principles attached to human labour, individual liberty and equality of the sexes. We ask the I.L.O. to add all the other principles which offer to all the indispensable means of persuasion, the adoption of formulas capable of receiving unanimous approval. We are not animated by any desire to intervene in the lives of other peoples. We ask them only for what we ourselves offer: loyal collaboration, amicable relations, and increasing exchange in the material and cultural domain for the common benefit.

The aspirations of Christian conscience found among the American people a sounding echo when, in his famous address of December 1939, the Pope demanded, after the outbreak of war, a just and honourable peace, founded on respect for the independence of weak nations and on the principles of law.

The spirit of international collaboration which inspired the Munich charter, and which continues the great tradition bequeathed to us by Ruy Barbosa and Rio Branco, has been reaffirmed by the President of the Republic, Getulio Vargas, in his speech on Independence Day:

The spirit of international collaboration founded on the essential virtues of tolerance and generosity. The guiding principles of our international conduct constitute in a sense a constant appeal for the use of means of persuasion, the adoption of formulas capable of receiving unanimous approval. We are not animated by any desire to intervene in the lives of other peoples. We ask them only for what we ourselves offer: loyal collaboration, amicable relations, and increasing exchange in the material and cultural domain for the common benefit. That is the invariable line of conduct of our international relations; that is our sincere attitude towards all civilised nations.

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

Whereas the first, justice, implies a legal idea and surrounds the worker with guarantees that are due to him as a human being, the second, labour, presupposes an economic reality which has to be directed, encouraged and rationalised to avoid the calamity of unemployment.

It is necessary today, in abandoning inorganic liberalism, to study economic facts, to rationalise the forces which determine them, and to establish a plan of production founded on just and constructive principles. This economic and political orientation constitutes progress in the domain of social organisation by giving to wealth a social purpose and controlling the economic facts for the welfare of the community.

Since the right to life merges in the right to subsistence, which in the case of work, all have needs upon the exercise of an occupation, it is logical that labour protection laws should be crowned by the right to work itself—a new principle that must be imposed on social life, since the duty of serving required of every human being demands as a counterpart the possibility of serving.

The right to work has been established in Brazil by the right to employment and the guarantees which surround the contract of employment. In fact, stability of employment is assured for all workers having more than ten years’ service in the same undertaking. Further, it is reinforced by measures taken by the Government which intervenes in private undertakings to the sole end of preventing unemployment among the great masses of employed. President Vargas, by a step which constitutes a fundamental precedent in the new conception of the right to employment when he decreed that employees of banks belonging to totalitarian countries, which were liquidated by the Reich, would be employed by other banks in proportion to the number of their own employees. In that way, the Recommendation of the International Labour Organisation coincides with the measures already taken in this respect by Brazil.

The complexity of modern life requires, both in the economic domain and with a view to the satisfaction of world needs, a growing agricultural, industrial and commercial solidarity between all peoples, and Brazil will not refuse in this domain the loyal contribution of its pacific and commercial solidarity between all peoples, and Brazil will not refuse in this domain the loyal contribution of its experience to this important task.

In conclusion, I agree with the apt phrase of the eminent Belgian statesman, Mr. van Zeeland, who declared with profound objectivity that while it is true that the reconstruction of the world will be based on international collaboration, it is none the less true that national States are and will continue to be the basis of all international organisation. Convinced of the rightness of the social tendencies of modern international law as opposed to the isolationism of the autarchic empires, we affirm our favourable attitude to the draft Declaration on the policy, programme and status of the International Labour Organisation.

Both in this Declaration and in the second part of the report concerning economic policy at the present time and in the post-war period, as well as in the realisation of social objectives, and in the general peace settlement, the International Labour Organisation recommends to Governments a programme for the protection of labour, the application of social insurance and the raising of the standard of living. I have the greatest satisfaction in declaring that Brazil comes to this meeting not only with a desire to collaborate but also with a desire to contribute with its experience to this important plan of social policy. I do not intend to recall in detail the extraordinary efforts put forward in the course of the last years by our Government, which has promulgated innumerable legislative texts on the protection of workers, on the regulation of problems inherent in occupational activity, on the creation of juridical institutions essential to social justice, on freedom of association, on social insurance, and on labour courts. However, I wish to inform this high assembly that this great development of our legislation has already reached the stage of codification.

We have in this undertaking taken count of the lessons of masters such as Korkunov and Azara and of the realities of our plastic society. Thus, we do not claim to have drafted a definitive and immutable code, but only an organized and progressive “codification”. This consolidation of labour laws, which we submit to this Conference, will soon be followed by a consolidation of the social welfare laws. All this is not a tree without roots.
Finally, it encourages technical and vocational education. In addition to this grandiose work of social policy, buttressed by the collaboration of the working classes acting through the intermediary of twelve hundred associations of employers and workers, President Vargas, persuaded of the necessity of social reconstruction and animated by a revolutionary sentiment, has at the same time created social insurance for invalidity and old age in favour of the workers and for the protection of their families in case of death. To this system must be added medical and hospital aid and the advantages of cheap housing, which insured persons may purchase. We consequently follow with the greatest sympathy the proposals of the International Labour Organisation tending towards the application of these principles to the principles of the world, including those in dependent territories. The reasons militating in favour of the extension of such advantages to the dependent territories are of a high order, not only because the incorporation of these people in civilisation directly involves the moral responsibility of the colonising States, but also because these States should not allow private interests to profit from the lower standards of the native population so as to practice on the international market dumping rendered possible by slavery.

So irregular a situation conflicts directly with the basic constitutional principle of the International Labour Organisation, and will, we hope, be suppressed by the progress of the moral sense of the colonising States—progress inspired by the Recommendation appearing in item V on the agenda of this Conference. Lastly, the measures suggested by the International Labour Organisation as regards technical and financial assistance to migratory movements, and to the development of economic activity in the post-war period, are of concern to the Brazilian Government, which has already reorganised the National Department of Immigration so as to find the solution to certain serious problems, such as the selection and placing of immigrant workers, on a solid administrative base.

At the same time, the National Council of Industrial and Commercial Policy recently created and under the distinguished chairmanship of the Minister of Labour, Industry and Commerce, Mr. Marcondes Filho, is preparing to encourage, systematise and multiply economic schemes with due regard to national necessities and in conformity with the aspirations of the Brazilian people. Thus we shall realise the great programme of President Vargas, according to which Brazil, after being an arsenal of the United Nations, will become a granary for the liberated peoples.

Interpretation: Dr. FERNANDEZ STOLL (Government delegate, Peru)—Social improvement through expanding international economic activity—this is clearly the keynote of this Conference, and one to which Peru most emphatically subscribes.

In her address yesterday, opening the discussion of items I and II on our agenda, Secretary Perkins has given us a clear and inspiring outline of the duty that lies before the nations of the world, if our goals of social improvement with full employment, higher wages, greater security, and better educational opportunities for all are to be anything more than lofty but unattainable aspirations.

It must be clear that, try as we may, we cannot hope to have prosperous and happy labour without the essential prerequisite of a high level of both production and consumption. As Miss Perkins said yesterday, “good standards do not necessarily flow from productivity, but without high productivity the principles of a high level of both production and consumption are unattainable”.

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

It has been the privilege of another great American, Secretary of State Cordell Hull, in recent years, to lead the way to sanity in the matter of international trade, through the principles of multilateral trade embodied in his reciprocal trade agreements policy. Peru is a firm believer in this system, and we believe that the continued and widening adoption of that system by all countries, with the elimination of excessive trade barriers, of ex-
From this comparison, interesting ideas might be derived for possible inclusion in the projects that this Conference is about to discuss in detail. We should find, for instance, that, alongside of provisions relating to the supply of raw materials by underdeveloped countries to those which have already achieved a high degree of industrialisation, there are provisions also that relate to the supply of industrial machinery and tools by the latter to the former. There can be no question that a growing degree of industrialisation, in those underdeveloped countries which are qualified to achieve it, would be of incalculable help in the improvement of labour and living conditions in such countries. We should also find, among the Rio resolutions, interesting references to the maintenance of fair wage levels in relation to prices paid for raw materials, and to the avoidance, in so far as possible, of the establishment or expansion of production of substitute or synthetic commodities which are economically artificial and might displace the consumption of natural products. This is, of course, entirely in line with the thought expressed yesterday by Miss Perkins, when she referred to the advantages of geographical specialisation of production; and this Conference might see fit to embody this thought in the resolutions which it will adopt. It is true that in his admirable address of this morning Mr. van Zeeland warned us against excessive optimism in this regard, but it is always possible to hope that the progress of science may serve to increase the consumption of natural products from the soil.

It is, of course, in the Atlantic Charter that the basic principles of the political, economic and social equilibrium of the world find their clearest expression. This is one of mankind's highest guarantees, and it is to be fervently hoped that its spirit will guide our deliberations at all times.

The workers' delegate from the United Kingdom, Mr. Hallsworth, told us yesterday, with a keen sense of reality, that it is necessary to insist on the equality of educational and vocational opportunities, since it is the basic aim of this Organisation to improve the condition of man. It would be most advisable if a concrete resolution on this point were adopted by this Conference. In certain countries, the lack of educational and vocational opportunities arises from a dearth of technical experience which other countries possess. Therefore, the co-ordination of international efforts in this direction, through the interchange of professors and technicians, would be of great help to mankind, and fully in keeping with the basic aims of the I.L.O.

Among the most constructive thoughts advanced in this discussion, I should like to mention the suggestion that was made yesterday by the Australian Minister for Supply and Shipping, Mr. Beasley, when he said that one of the goals to be sought is that of increased consumption. There can be no question that increased consumption of foodstuffs, as well as of other products, would be, from every standpoint, of great benefit to humanity; and I should like to suggest that one of the ways to attain this objective would be through the reduction of excise taxes which, by increasing the cost of goods to the consumer, reduce his ability to purchase them.

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

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

Mr. HEXNER (Employers' adviser, Czechoslovakia)—The privilege of participating in the work of the International Labour Organisation and thus taking part in the promotion of universal social progress is a great honour for the entrepreneurs of invaded Czechoslovakia.

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

All speakers in this general discussion have based their arguments upon the fundamental assumption that future social and economic policy will move in an atmosphere of political security and that rich nations will not hesitate to co-operate in the economic development of poorer countries, because of fear that their own living standards may suffer by assisting to raise international living standards. Indeed, in a régime of reasonable political security, problems of currency, credit, investment and trade barriers will become less problematic.

To consider the future international economic relations of Europe requires a good deal of bold imagination. The two outstanding facts alone that Germany's economic and political position will be completely changed, and that Russia will emerge out of this war as a powerful factor, would be sufficient to make us revise completely our traditional concepts about European trade. A reorientation in the world's agricultural-industrial balance will further change that picture. Several over-agriculturalised countries in central and southeastern Europe may reach considerably higher standards of living. There will be in the next decade a unique opportunity to establish a sound economic framework among the countries of southeastern and central Europe. The success of such attempts will depend considerably on their own understanding of their situation and on far-sighted policies of the great Powers.

I would like to comment on one or two principal propositions contained in the very valuable draft of recommendations for the social policies of the United Nations. A practically full employment in the international sense should be, according to the report, one of the primary objectives of international public policy. And this extent of employment serves, according to the report and according to the assumption of many modern economists, the enlightened self-interest of employers as well.

John Keynes put it thus: "If the Treasury were to fill old bottles with banknotes, bury them at suitable depths in disused coal mines which are then filled up to the surface with town rubbish, and leave it to private enterprise, on well-tried principles of laissez faire, to dig the notes up again . . . there need be no more unemployment and, with the help of the repercussions, the real income of the community, and its capital wealth also, would probably become a good deal greater than it actually is. It would indeed," says Keynes, "be more sensible to build houses and the like, but if there are political and practical difficulties in the way of this, the above would be better than nothing". This is a somewhat extreme proposition, but basically true. There is little doubt that the authors of the report intended to propose the use of productive resources so that they serve the well-being of the community of nations.

The report under discussion suggests that the United Nations should initiate concerted action with respect to the production and international distribution of raw materials and foodstuffs. This concerted action should extend to public interference to ensure to efficient entrepreneurs reasonable returns and stable incomes. Furthermore, arrangements should be established to maintain stable prices in order to afford protection against major short-term fluctuations in supply and demand, consumer representation in pertinent policy-determining agencies, and so forth. I am not in fundamental disagreement with the purposes of these measures. However, I do believe that these problems require a new and thorough-going investigation on the basis of detailed case studies. There are many intricate problems involved in government ownership of raw-material producing enterprises, in the development of substitutes for raw materials like rubber and nitrates, and in difficulties in the readjustment and shift in production, where there is an inclination to produce more than the market is able to absorb. Perhaps more restricted proposals relating to certain commodities and services not requiring control mechanisms for which the international community, at least in the next decade, will not be politically equipped, would have more chance of realisation. And it is worth considering whether or not the adequate supply of certain manufactured commodities will have to be supported by public intervention similarly to that of many so-called raw materials. An internationally harmonious political attack against primary and secondary want of large population groups will make the solution of many raw material problems easier.

One of the most controversial subjects touched upon in the draft of Recommendations to the United Nations is the matter of international cartels. The report approaches this issue with intelligence and restraint. The fundamental idea of that approach is that our concepts about future development of international trade will remain blurred unless we succeed in our thinking about possible and probable alternatives with reference to the kind, strength, presence or absence of competi-
tive and monopolistic elements in certain markets. That publicity on the side of entrepreneurs and public agencies and unbiased public and private investigation would bring light and reduce heat in discussions about international market controls is not questionable. The prevailing majority of people concerned with economic and social policies will agree that everything should be done to prevent the blocking of technological progress by public and private marketing schemes. However, there is considerable disagreement about whether such international control mechanisms, public and private, are by their very essence restrictive, or whether they can be used also to introduce and maintain balanced expansion. In cases where there is little probability that so-called free competition will bring about successful adjustment to desired social objectives, we have to question with reference to certain commodities and services, what is preferable — Government dominated schemes, or private regulation schemes subject to possible supervision by public agencies. That Government dominated schemes may become subject to national power and prestige considerations instead of to reasonable arguments is without doubt. However, wheat and sugar are good examples for such international regulation schemes, which cannot be controlled by private entrepreneurs alone. The draft Recommendations suggest the registration of international market controls and patent agreements by an international public agency. Many great articulate collective marketing controls probably will not resist the registration of facts which are of public interest. However, one may ask, would it not be wise to restrict such public registration to economically or politically significant market mechanisms? Furthermore, would it not be sound to wait until large industrial nations introduce such measures in their domestic sphere? A well-known crux of international cartel discussions is particularly loose terminology. There will probably be no opposition to the suggestion to clarify, positively and negatively, what is meant in the Recommendations by the expressions “international market controls” and “patent agreements”. Less generalisation preceding the investigation of facts and more research concerning attainable alternatives of business behaviour is the prerequisite for making the problem of international cartels less mysterious.

There is general agreement today that the cardinal point in international trade is to base it on multilateral relations and on balanced expansion. The more we penetrate in detail the problem of readjusting the international division of labour to these objectives, the more disagreement should be expected. And there is little doubt that the establishment of a specific international agency is imperative to deal with these problems. That agency will have to take into consideration particular difficulties of distressed areas, whether or not the reasons for that situation are rooted in the present war. The countries of central and southeastern Europe could substantially contribute to that work, if their recovery is supported, not primarily according to considerations of charity, but according to pure and healthy economic and political reasoning.

It is to a specific measure necessary that the prevailing part of the entrepreneurs of Czechoslovakia will wholeheartedly cooperate in economic measures serving social progress. For them, the designation “private entrepreneur” will more than ever imply social responsibility to their nation and to the international community as well.

Interpretation: Mr. OCAMPO PASTENE (Workers' adviser, Chile)—In the month of July 1945 the leaders of the Federation of Latin American Workers, and of the C.I.O. of the United States of America met in the city of Havana to discuss the political and economic problems which with most nations in the world are faced, and more particularly those which concern the backward Latin American countries. Our real desire was to achieve economic financial and industrial co-ordination, not only amongst the countries of America but also amongst other workers, employers and Governments throughout the world.

The Chilean Workers' delegation considers this an excellent opportunity to make known to the I.L.O. the views of Chilean workers. In the first place I should like to state that we are in full agreement with the brilliant speech made this morning by Mr. Lombardo Toledo which explained the full extent of our problem.

In Havana we realised that a unilateral solution is impossible and that the collective efforts of all the progressive forces of every nation in Latin America would be required. Accordingly, when the I.L.O. recalls the Atlantic Charter, we declare that this document is for us one of the greatest historical events resulting from this war. For us the Atlantic Charter is not merely a document signed by the leaders of the United Nations, the heads of the democratic States, but a document signed by all the peoples of the world, some with their blood on the field of battle, others with their efforts on the production front. The principles of the Atlantic Charter have such an influence, both in the present and in the future, that our peoples are filled with enthusiasm to win the war against fascism and at the same time our thoughts go forward to the moral and economic reconstruction of the post-war period.

In fighting for our economic independence, on which our political independence depends, we think not only should fascism be defeated on the battlefield, but that we who have not gone to the front
should drive out from controlling political and economic positions all the men of fascist tendencies or sympathies who are to be found in many parts of America.

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

In the past economically backward peoples have had to struggle against imperialist exploitation, and in Central and South America, for example, there have consequently been established, as a defence against foreign exploitation, protected agricultural and manufacturing industries which in turn have consolidated an antiquated and semi-feudal economic system, the excessive cost of which places their products beyond the reach of the great masses of the people. We consider that the new historical period should be based on mutual confidence between the progressive elements of the nations and on economic co-ordination. This may take the form of great commercial or industrial cartels under tripartite management, including representatives of workers, employers and Governments, formed for the purpose of organising production for export, intensifying agricultural production, raising the standards of living and preventing the anarchy of the individualist capitalist system.

At our meeting in Havana, and at the meeting held last February in Montevideo, we found that if in many countries in Asia, Africa, America and Europe the consumption of sugar was increased to 28 kilogrammes per person per year, if every individual consumed 30 kilogrammes of wheat in the year, if meat were consumed according to the real necessities of the workers, sugar producers would have to increase their output many times over, the export of wheat would be tripled, and the export of meat would be multiplied by thirteen.

If my own country were required to provide fertiliser for all the impoverished lands of Asia and America, we could not do so because we could not meet the demand.

These brief examples show that war, while exhausting the material reserves accumulated in the world, will provide a stimulus for replacing the old system of imperialist oppression by a democratic economic system.

We have often denounced the one-sided industrial development imposed on our countries by imperialistic firms. If the Atlantic Charter is sincerely adopted by the forces here represented, if the new historical situation is understood, the inequality in the development of our industries will be diminished and a plan of world co-ordination will be adopted which will raise the standard of living of our peoples in a manner hitherto beyond all expectations.

As regards items I and II on the agenda of this Conference, I wish to express our complete agreement with all points which are in conformity with our ideas. Some observations will be submitted to the committees concerned.

In our country the Chilean Confederation of Labour, without abandoning its class principles, has asked our Government to set up the Council of National Economy including representatives of workers, employers and the Government, in order to co-ordinate industrial development and raise the standard of living of the working classes, which, as the I.L.O. well knows, is very low. We are endeavouring to cause our federal organisations to study seriously the situation in various industries, and we are glad to be able to state that progress has been made in practice with regard to workers in the coal districts, railwaymen, textile workers and others.

Moreover, we hope that the landowners will not oppose the application of the resolutions approved here and will permit the organisation of rural employees as a step towards the improvement of the standards of living of that large section of the population.

We are sure that the workers of Chile, that our present democratic Government, elected freely by the Chilean people, together with the progressive leaders of industry in our country, will know how to appreciate the effort made by the organised workers of Chile, who thus contribute to the victory of democracy and to progress throughout the world. On this occasion, we, the Chilean workers, put forward the principles of the Atlantic Charter as the goal of today and the reality of tomorrow. Through them and for them we are prepared to struggle fearlessly. We ask the co-operation of all men of goodwill in order that our hopes may be realised.

(The Conference adjourned at 5.55 p.m.)
Delegates present at the Sitting

United States of America:
Mr. Goodrich (substitute for Miss Perkins)
Mr. Shuford (substitute for Mr. Thomas)
Mr. McDavitt (substitute for Mr. Harrison)
Mr. Watt

Argentina:
Mr. Palmieri
Mr. Lamuraglia

Australia:
Mr. Burton (substitute for Mr. Beasley)
Mr. Wynne (substitute for Mr. Barnard)

Belgium:
Mr. van Zeeland
Mr. Wauters
Mr. Joassart
Mr. Keuwet (substitute for Mr. Rens)

Brazil:
Mr. de Rego Monteiro
Mr. Vidal Leite Ribeiro
Mr. Mattos Lima

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

Canada:
Mr. MacDonald (substitute for Mr. Martin)
Mr. Coulter
Mr. Bengough

Chile:
Mr. Bustos Lagos
Mr. Heiremans
Mr. Velásquez Quiroga

Colombia:
Mr. Molina

Costa Rica:
Mr. Padilla Castro
Fr. Nuñez Vargas
Mr. Benavides

Czechoslovakia:
Mr. Hyka (substitute for Mr. Masaryk)
Mr. Shoembaur
Mr. Morawetz
Mr. Kosina

Dominican Republic:
Mr. Cocco
Mr. de Marchena
Dujarrie
Mr. Morales

Ecuador:
Mr. López Arteta
Mr. Hidalgo González
Mr. Torres Vera

Egypt:
Mr. Ramzy
Mr. Soliman

France:
Mr. Tixier
Mr. Antoine
Mr. Laurent

Greece:
Mr. Loverdos (substitute for Mr. Damantopoulos)
Mr. Zarras
Mr. Gratsos (substitute for Mr. Kulukundis)

Haiti:
Mr. Dartigue
Mr. Artaud (substitute for Mr. Thébaud)

India:
Mr. England (substitute for Sir Samuel Rungunadhan)
Mr. Priory
Mr. Mulherkar (substitute for Mr. Mahindra)
Mr. Mehta

Iran:
Mr. Daftary

Iraq:
Mr. Jawdat

Ireland:
Mr. Hearne

Luxembourg:
Mr. Krier
Mr. Le Gallais

Mexico:
Mr. Trujillo Gurria
Mr. Santos Guajardo
Mr. Chapa
Mr. Lombardo
Toledano

Netherlands:
Mr. van den Tempel
Mr. van Rhijn (substitute for Mr. Lou- don)
Mr. Warning
Mr. Oldenbrook

Norway:
Mr. Hambro
Mr. Wellhaven (substitute for Mr. Ord- ing)
Mr. Dahl
Mr. Nordahl

Panama:
Mr. de la Rosa
Mr. Ortega Viejo
Mr. Garrido

Peru:
Mr. Fernández Stoll
Mr. Pastor (substitute for Mr. Elguera)
Mr. Vidal
Mr. Sabrosso (substitute for Mr. Luna)

Poland:
Mr. Stanczyk
Mr. Strakacz
Mr. Falter
Mr. Adamczyk

Union of South Africa:
Mr. Andrews
Mr. Webster (substitute for Mr. Bren- nan)
Mr. Skeelees

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

Turkey:
Mr. Gülek

Uuguay:
Mr. Kühn Talay
Mr. Fontain

Venezuela:
Mr. Tino Rocin
Mr. Pérez Guerrero

Yugoslavia:
Mr. Soubbotitch
Mr. Milos

Also present at the Sitting:
Mr. Asgeirsson (Iceland)
Mr. Acosta (Paraguay)
TRIBUTE TO THE LATE DR. SCHULTHESS

The PRESIDENT—I will now read the telegram that was sent to the President of the Swiss Confederation yesterday.

The International Labour Conference meeting in Philadelphia has learned with deep regret the news of the death of Dr. Edmond Schulthess, former President of the Confederation. It instructs me to express to the Federal Council its profound sympathy for the loss your country has suffered in the person of this eminent statesman, whose active interest in social problems and outstanding presidency of the International Labour Conference at Geneva in 1939 will be memorable in the annals of the International Labour Organisation.

It is signed by the President and the Secretary-General.

THIRD REPORT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE

The PRESIDENT—I shall call on Sir Samuel Runiganadhan to present the third report of the Selection Committee.

Sir Samuel RUNGANADHAN (Government delegate, India), Chairman of the Selection Committee—I have the honour to present the third report of the Selection Committee.

As the document containing the list of names proposed for the members of the various committees is available to all members of the Conference, I refrain from reading out the lists.

Composition of the Committees on Items III, IV and V on the Agenda.

The Selection Committee recommends that these committees, the constitution of which has already been decided by the Conference, should be as follows:

Committee on Employment—as shown in annex A to this report.
Committee on Social Security—as shown in annex B.
Committee on Dependent Territories—as shown in annex C.

The duty of each of these committees, as already decided by the Conference in adopting the second report of the Selection Committee, will be to place before the Conference general guiding principles on the subject with which it deals.

The PRESIDENT—The proposal is that the report of the Selection Committee respecting the committees to report on employment, social security, and dependent territories be adopted.

(The proposal is adopted.)

Sir Samuel RUNGANADHAN—(Government delegate, India), Chairman of the Selection Committee—

Constitution and Composition of Two Additional Committees.

The Selection Committee recommends that the Conference set up a committee...
on the application of Conventions, to which Conference Report VI would be referred, and a committee on resolutions, to examine resolutions in pursuance of the Standing Orders of the Conference.

The Selection Committee further recommends that these committees be composed as follows:

Committee on the Application of Conventions—as shown in annex D.
Committee on Resolutions—as shown in annex E.

The PRESIDENT—The proposal is that the report of the Selection Committee on the constitution and composition of committees on the application of Conventions and on resolutions be approved and adopted.

(The proposal is adopted.)

Sir Samuel Runganadhan (Government delegate, India), Chairman of the Selection Committee—

General Discussion on Items I and II on the Agenda.

The Selection Committee recommends that the general discussion of items I and II in plenary sitting be terminated on Wednesday, 26 April. The Committee will at a later stage make proposals on the procedure for the further consideration of these two items.

The PRESIDENT—The motion is that the report of the Selection Committee with regard to the discussion on items I and II be approved and adopted.

(The proposal is adopted.)

DISCUSSION ON ITEMS I AND II OF THE AGENDA (contd.)

Interpretation: Mr. Trujillo Guerra (Government delegate, Mexico)—It is at a crucial moment of world history that the discussions of our present Conference are being held, and, even if only briefly, we ought to reflect a little on the war with its unspeakable tragedies and succession of terrible scenes.

If we had not the vision of whole continents convulsed by the most tremendous upheaval in history and the realisation of the bitter and bloody sacrifices of so many heroes among the United Nations, our presence here would have no justification and our words would be mere empty echoes.

On the ruins of war and the vast cemeteries in which lie so many victims, peoples and cities will have to be rebuilt, but more important than rebuilding what has been and what will be destroyed is the task of building up a new morality on firmer foundations. This task is most imperative among those peoples who have lived through the terrible tragedy of destruction. In homes saddened by war, among widows and orphans, for comfort in trials and tribulations and for consolation in demoralising grief, a higher morality must be upheld.

With these words, which express the deepest feelings of the President of the Mexican people, and as the representative of that nation which practises a maxim of great value for the peace of the world—expressed by Juárez when he says that "respect for the rights of others is peace"—I come before the representatives of all the continents gathered here, continents which enjoy the broadest measure of freedom, to express the views of my people and my race, which come with the greatest sincerity from their very hearts.

With the sober forms of expression which this debate demands, I should like to begin my brief commentary on items I and II on the agenda of the Conference by congratulating the staff of the Office, and the Director in particular, on the well documented and penetrating reports and draft Recommendations and resolutions which they have laid before us as a basis for our discussions. The work which these documents represent throws into relief once again the usefulness of the International Labour Office and justifies the general confidence in the important part which it is destined to play both in the world of the future and in the transitional period before it.

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

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

In the new world which we are planning, the world which is being built by
those who are fighting on the battlefield and those who are fighting the battle of production in field and factory, in the ideal of a better world for which our young people have gone forth to war—an ideal which it would be a crime to frustrate by imperialistic ambitions or ambitions which are contrary to human freedom—the collaboration of all nations is a vital element. In order to be able to durable peace, we must all collaborate with each other, coordinating on the international plane the measures we adopt nationally in our own countries.

We view favourably the proposals made for measures of economic collaboration. If such collaboration is directed towards safeguarding the interests of all countries, both great and small, on the basis of good faith and fair treatment without discrimination against weak countries by the strong, honourable relations will be maintained between the peoples by practices which will have an important constructive value in the progressive development of production and trade. If we see to it that a spirit of justice and equity prevails over all our actions during the transition period and the preparation for peace, we can look forward already to the advent of an age in which there will be no economic aggression, a form of aggression which has had even more disastrous results than armed aggression itself. Among those results, I may mention the poverty which it creates and maintains among the workers, a poverty which cannot be reconciled with the high principles of social justice which the Organisation defends.

The interdependence of the interests of all peoples requires the setting of general standards, based, in the first place, on uniformity in methods and systems of producing and distributing the fruits of human labour. The development, conservation and fair distribution of natural resources in the interests of the peoples should be effected not only for raw materials such as oil, but for everything which is a source of prosperity and well-being for humanity as a whole. The supply of raw materials is closely linked with the production of industrial goods, so that the economic relations between peoples and their co-ordination for the general good require it to be borne in mind that the distribution of wealth is the most important factor in the establishment of social justice.

So long as there is no real equality of opportunity for every country to develop its own resources and to obtain whatever it needs to consolidate its economy, so long as racial discrimination persists in any form and against any class or type of human being, so long as a monopoly of wealth allows of the exploitation of the economically weak peoples, the proposals we are supporting here will not be able to bring about the lasting peace and social justice which we all desire.

To supplement the legislation which the Conventions and Recommendations of the International Labour Organisation seek to standardise, and that which will result from its activities now that they have passed over into the economic field, collaboration in the strictly social field is necessary so that labour shall be governed by identical standards, laying down the same conditions of welfare and cultural and social progress for every category of workers. Thus, a difficult, but necessary, task of harmonising the different partial interests into the common good, will be done. Just as in our own countries, the I.L.O. is aiming at a high social justice, so by providing the necessary machinery for a world organisation, it must be aimed at a higher social justice. So long as the strong and the weak nations are separated, and as the world is divided into two camps, there can be no peace, no prosperity, no justice.

All the Conventions and treaties which have been discussed and approved in the past by the various nations belonging to the International Labour Organisation have this object in view, but it would be enough for a single one of the nations of the world to produce under special conditions, so that it could market its goods with an advantage obtained at the price of slavery, poverty and ignorance among one section of mankind, for social improvement to be frustrated by every country insisting on obtaining similar advantages and thus preventing the progress of social justice.

I want to emphasise that culture and progress are inter-connected, and that the birthright of all mankind, and that if today some peoples are economically weaker than others, it should be considered whether this situation is not due to an intention to keep such peoples at that lower level, which has made it possible to exploit them.

As you all know, the introduction of social insurance, the regulation of hours of work and of the working conditions of women and children, the technical training of the workers and the rehabilitation of the disabled, and all the other measures to rationalise and humanise labour, are the results of collective endeavour, which demands much time and money in order to bring about social well-being. The absence of an agreement on these important matters, leading to substantial differences in the modes of life of the workers, will increase the dangers inherent in the lack of co-ordination between conflicting interests and may imperil the basis of social progress.

The International Labour Office would be neglecting a fundamental sphere of its activity if it did not make provision for the confirmation of the rights of the workers which have been violated in the territories invaded and occupied by the Axis. During the post-war period, it will be necessary to take steps to re-establish social security both in those countries which have endured the tyranny of nazism and fascism and in those which have been ruled by military power. This will be a basic element in the work of the I.L.O.

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

So far as Mexico is concerned, as an integral part of Latin America, its most definite function, in the opinion of the President of my country, General Manuel Ávila Camacho, is to constitute a link between the civilisations of the East and the West. When we have achieved our object and when the conflict is ended, again, according to the views of the Mexican President, the role of Latin America will be mainly that of a moral regulator. Face to face with the States which have achieved victory by the strength of their armies and the vastness of their technical resources, the Latin American nations have no inner strength than that of their youth, their broad outlook, and their capacity for maintaining, over and above their interdependence in material things, a great solidarity of the spirit.

I wish, in conclusion, to emphasise that so long as man's ability to work, which is the greatest of human riches, is not rewarded by an adequate wage which he can transform into greater purchasing power, better food, honest pleasures, and a healthy home which will do much to solve the housing problem—so long as this wealth is not effectively protected and developed, social welfare will be a mere illusion.

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

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

The father of the Republic of China, Dr. Sun Yat Sen, included in his teachings to the Chinese people the principle of the people's livelihood. The Chinese Government has been waging a war of freedom against the aggressors on the one hand, and doing everything in its power to improve the livelihood of the people on the other. The progress that my country has achieved in social welfare has not been affected and retarded by the war but has, rather, been inspired and accelerated by the war. In 1940, three years after the outbreak of the war with Japan, a new Ministry, the Ministry of Social Affairs, was created by the Government for the realisation of the fundamental social objectives—the improvement of the people's conditions of living. In carrying out the teachings of the Father of the Republic, we are always endeavouring to fulfil within our power all our obligations as a member of the International Labour Organisation. China may therefore be counted upon to co-operate to the fullest extent with the other members in the attainment of whatever proposals the Conference may recommend.

In Report II, it is suggested that some proposals apply only to the Axis countries of Europe. Naturally, circumstances vary in different parts of the world, and therefore so should the proposals. It is, however, important for us to bear in mind that, for an international organisation to be truly international, the first necessity is the principle of universality and equality. All parts of the world, whether Africa or Europe, should be given equal weight and attention in all the proposals of the I.L.O.

With regard to the proposal made in the report for extending to Asia the activities of the International Labour Organisation, I wish to express my complete agreement. For a number of years, it has been observed with regret that in spite of our wholehearted and loyal support of the ideals and operations of the International Labour Organisation, this Organisation has not yet produced its fullest effect in most parts of Asia. One of the chief reasons, I may say, lies in the fact that insufficient attention has been given to the social and economic background and special circumstances prevailing in that part of the world. Consequently, any regional study and specific solution of the regional problem which tends to reinforce the principle of universality of the Organisation, instead of weakening it, would doubtless satisfy the deep aspirations of the millions of people of Asia, as well as enhance the material and moral value of the International Labour Organisation.

In accepting the principle of regional organisation, I should like to add that in view of the wide extent of the war in that part of the world, it is not opportune to hold any such regional conferences during the progress of the war. However, it is not undesirable to make factual studies of those problems and the manner in which they may be satisfactorily solved at an early date; so that when an appropriate moment presents itself, we may call an Asiatic conference without further delay.

The report in question also refers to
the treatment and repatriation of the millions of foreign workers who have been transferred to work for the Axis war machine. Having a large number of her people forced to work in enemy territory or enemy-occupied territory, my country looks with anxiety to the formulation and application of measures for the treatment and repatriation of these victims of war, including workers in industry, agriculture and other fields. At the same time, the Chinese Government desires most eagerly that the treatment be broadened so as to include the return to the occupied countries and territories of foreign nationals who were residing and working there, but were forced out by the enemy before or during the war.

We are now gathered to deliberate on the principles and proposals which will be looked upon by many people with aspirations. May I say that the final aims of all the proposals and policies, social or economic, national or international, must be the attainment of social justice and welfare for all mankind. Failing this, all our deliberations here will be fruitless. At this crucial moment, when the Axis is declining and the Allies are on the offensive, it is all the more important that we all should understand one another and join our forces. Let us all contribute whatever we have. Then our victory will be sure and sooner, and the International Labour Organisation will attain its aim and purpose the sooner.

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

Subject only to the vital need of winning the war in the shortest possible time in order to save our democratic way of life, the question of what we are going to do in the post-war period is the most important problem that humanity has ever had to solve, because if solutions are not found to these problems the stupendous sacrifices made in the effort to save our democracies will have been in vain. Frankly, the majority of Canadian workers are fearful of the prospects of the post-war period. Hundreds of thousands of them retain bitter memories of unemployment and misery during the great depression. They remember when they were anxious and willing to work, and no jobs were available. Today, they look for assurance—yes, very definite assurance—that they will not once again find themselves, through no fault of their own, on the verge of starvation while living in a land of plenty.

When we consider what Canada has accomplished during the war, with a population all told of approximately twelve and a quarter million, we inevitably must go on to ask how we are going to arrange our way of living in order to rid ourselves of unemployment, want and misery in the post-war period. Canada has today some 750,000 able-bodied citizens in the armed services. It must be recognised that in such service, and particularly in modern mechanised warfare, they become far greater consumers that they would be in civilian life. We have around a million and a quarter men and women engaged directly in war work. Over $55,000,000 worth of munitions and supplies are being produced in Canada every week.

Over and above this, in the fiscal year 1942-43, Canada provided a direct gift of $1,000,000,000 dollars in munitions, raw materials and foodstuffs to the United Kingdom, some of which was transferred to other countries. In the three previous years, Canada provided financial assistance to the United Kingdom totaling $1,518,000,000. In the fiscal year 1943-44, Canada provided for the distribution of Canadian war equipment, raw materials and foodstuffs to the United Nations to the value of $1,000,000,000 dollars, on the basis of strategic need. From August 1942 up to date, Canada has donated 260,000 tons of wheat to Greece. And while all this has been accomplished, we have, in addition, grown, manufactured and distributed all civilian requirements.

On the declaration of peace, we shall be confronted with a new era in Canadian history. Canadians feel justly proud of their war effort. The productive capacity of Canada has been more than trebled. It has been officially stated that, in the four war years since 1939, Canada has undergone an industrial transformation which under normal conditions could not have taken place in less than twenty-five years. This indicates what we can do when we are compelled to meet extraordinary demands.

If we can do all these things for the purposes of destruction, is it not natural that people should ask why Canadian workers could not be gainfully employed for constructive purposes during the years of peace? Solutions are not far from hand, as this country is one of our citizens suffering unemployment and want prior to the outbreak of war? One thing we have conclusively demonstrated, and that is that we can produce an abundance to meet every human need and requirement and, knowing this, the workers of Canada will not go back to the pre-war days of fear and want.
We have no illusions as to the magnitude of the problems and difficulties which will confront us in the post-war period, and for which preparations must now be made. Civilian positions and jobs in gainful employment will have to be provided for all of those who have been fighting on our behalf overseas, as well as for those who are working on our behalf in the production of munitions and supplies at home. Two million new jobs have to be found in Canada in the post-war period, and we shall have to find them expeditiously, in order to be sure that chaos, confusion and possibly disaster will not occur.

War compelled us to intensify our industrial efforts, and a gigantic system of planning was adopted which was wholly unprecedented. Apart from such planning, it would have been impossible for Canadians to meet their war responsibilities. The consciousness of the workers and the people generally has been awakened. They realise today the enormous capacity that we have to produce and the value of our scientific and modern methods of production, and they know what Canada has accomplished while at the same time she has maintained and fed a great army of men and women removed from the productive activities of industry. It is obvious that we must not return to a system of life that restricts farm output, that restricts production, and that develops only on a basis of profitable operation for the owners of industry, and the security of commodities for the masses of the people. We have advanced proposals to meet these problems in our own country. However, time does not permit me to present our views on these particular matters at present.

The workers of Canada have no desire, nor do they believe it possible, even though this North American continent has an abundance of natural resources, to solve these problems by a policy of isolation. We recognise the fact that if shoes can be produced in Japan for 25 cents a pair in the post-war period, as a result of low living standards, that sooner or later, workers producing such products in other countries, will either have to reduce their standards or become unemployed. No country today, however favourably situated, can solve these great problems alone. They are international, and must be solved through international co-operation.

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

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

Sir John FORBES WATSON (Employers' delegate, British Empire)—I should, perhaps, start by saying that the speech you are going to hear now, somewhat unlike some of those you have listened to in the past few days, has not been scrutinised; and that is for the good and sufficient reason that it has not yet been written. In these circumstances, perhaps, I may make some mistakes, perhaps I may be somewhat flat-footed, but I am sure that you will give me your indulgence.

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

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

We are here discussing items I and II on the agenda—item I which deals with the future policy, programme and status of this Organisation, on which there are five resolutions, and item II which deals with recommendations to the United Nations, upon which there are four resolutions.

There is one resolution which transcends all the others, and that is our proposed Declaration. I shall come to that in a minute.

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

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

Money doesn't grow on trees. And I believe with the Minister of Labour of Canada that "money isn't money unless it is hard to get". But so long as we go on here as if money didn't matter, what happens? Year after year I find this Conference passing resolutions calling upon the Office to undertake new enquiries, to call together new meetings, and to issue new publications; and when you go away home, you leave the Secretary-General in his capacity as Director of the International Labour Office wondering where the money is to be found.

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

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

Many delegates here have stood at this platform and have said this is an historic occasion. It will be an historic occasion; it will be an historic occasion. It will be an historic occasion. It will be an historic occasion.

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

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

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

What is the first thing that the Fascists did? Abolish trade unions; abolish employers' organisations—knock their heads together—call them corporations, and put an agent of the dictator in charge of them. What is the first thing the Nazi system did? The same thing—clear the decks for action, and make way for the Gestapo and the concentration camp. I know where some of us would have been if that had come to our country—up against the same wall together.

It is in these grim circumstances that we are assembled here to remodel and reequip this Organisation, so that we can meet the future, bearing in mind what we have survived. And it is most appropriate, I think, that we should meet in Philadelphia, for it was in this City of Philadelphia that in 1776 there was drawn up the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America, which contains those immortal words—"Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness".

To me, the Declaration of this Organisation's objectives which we are now considering is a creed, and it must be unanimous. It must not have in it subjects of controversy which will prevent anyone here from embracing it with a clear conscience. It must also be such as to cover widely different views so far as concerns the methods of attaining these objectives. For example, I am not ashamed to stand here and say I believe in private enterprise, and that you will only get full employment if those who are giving employment are able to carry on their business with a reasonable profit. There is nothing contrary to that in the Declaration, so far as I can see, and that is what I believe.

But others here may believe something different. They may believe that the State should take control of everything. We may differ on methods, but we must be at one on the principles of this creed.

Now, the most important thing in this Declaration—Mr. Hallsworth put his finger on it yesterday—is that it starts by insisting on freedom of association. You can have full employment in a slave State. We have seen it done, but is it worth having? Not for me. Without liberty all is vain. Therefore, I say the priority of our considerations in the Declaration must be to preserve liberty. What is liberty? It is the right of free men to associate and speak freely with each other, and the right of every man to worship God in his own way.

Therefore, I suggest that tonight you should each take this Declaration and put in front of each paragraph the two words "I believe". If when you have done that, you feel that you believe what it says, vote for it. If you don't, I ask you in the name of conscience, to stand up here and tell us where you differ, and we will try to come to terms with each other. We don't want any half-hearted people in this movement.
To me, having inserted the words "I believe", I can agree with almost everything. I am differing on one or two instances where by going into detail and into methods, the Declaration has unnecessarily been made controversial.

What it all means to me is that in our free countries our objective is to provide steady and regular jobs, to allow a man to bring up a decent, healthy, well-educated family, in a decent house. That is what it all boils down to—and that that should be done as widely as the combined labour and the skill of the world can make it possible.

Now, I don't think we can change our Constitution by just passing resolutions. In my view, it can only be changed by those who draw up the new Treaty of Peace after this war is won. But it is up to us, here and now, to let those who draw up the new treaty know just what we think about it. We shall be failing in our duty if we don't stress this tripartite principle of Governments, employers and workers having an equal status. It seems to me there are some who don't believe in it. To me, it is the essence of the whole business.

There is just one substantial addition I would like to make to this creed. Although a creed should be a real creed should be short—one you can repeat to yourself—there is one thing I would like to add. We say we are for liberty. Good. We want to say more than that. We want to pledge ourselves that the first time dictatorship shows its ugly head, we, representing here by far the larger part of the people of the world, will attack it.

What did President Roosevelt say in the message he sent to us at this Conference? "We must root out from this earth every trace of Nazi ideas and Nazi methods."

It is not going to be so easy. Think of these last ten years when Nazi youth has been brought up on the false doctrine of brute force and taught to be killers. We must eradicate that. The biggest reconstruction problem we have may well be the one of re-education of German youth. If it is left as it is, and we go on educating our people in a different way, I shouldn't be surprised if the doctrine of brute force festered and grows again, and not long from now we shall be where we are today—fighting for our lives.

Just let us remember how far we are responsible for where we are today. I know it is a pretty hard thing to say, but confession is good for the soul. What did the Secretary-General tell us at the New York Conference in 1941? He told us that in Germany the production of armaments and the general organisation of a war economy had been under way since 1933, but that the democratic States had failed to recognise the magnitude and immensity of the danger.

That is true. Let us therefore determine now that we shall not fail to recognise the possibility of a similar danger coming again. There is a tendency in the present documents, a tendency running through them, as if the war was all nicely finished and everything was all right again. It isn't so. We have got to be on our guard all the time. I would suggest to you that we approach this new creed as a church, militant forever.

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

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

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

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

The general average of ratification is therefore 25 per cent, and that is not very bad. But there is another side to the story, and I want to bring your attention to it, because we are now engaged in remodelling and re-equipping our Organisation machinery. If you take the first 11 years, 1919 to 1930, you will find that this Organisation passed 39 Conventions, and that the average of ratification was 50 per cent. If you take the first 11 years of the Conventions passed—a really wonderful achievement. But if you take the Conventions passed between 1931 and 1937 (when we passed 32 Conventions), you get an entirely different story. You will find that the 50 per cent. figure of average ratification has fallen to 10 per cent. You will also find that of these 32 Conventions, 18 are dead letters because two have been ratified by no country; six by only one country; three by only two countries; and seven by only three countries.

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

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

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

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

To my mind, the chief cause of our failure has been that we have since 1930 been dealing with more difficult questions than we did in the first eleven years, and have been doing so without regard to economic facts. Those who came here to vote from Governments were not skilled in economic affairs and had no regard for them. When they went home, they found that it was not possible to carry out what they had voted for. That, I think, was the chief cause; and, I think, we will in this Decla-
to meet them, but I will not be satisfied until every Member of this Organisation has an equal obligation and is able to take its proper place in this chart of ratifications.

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

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

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

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

One last observation and I have finished. There is a most important speech which I ask you all to read. It was the first speech delivered at this Conference by Miss Perkins, the Secretary of Labor and delegate of the United States Government. I wish to read the portions that I think are right. This is what she said:

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

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

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

I hope Miss Perkins will make another speech, and next time, perhaps, it will not be scrutinised and perhaps we will thereby get closer to this important matter.

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

We are a long way yet from that great vision of the Scottish poet and democrat, Robert Burns, who looked forward to the time "when man to man the world o'er will brothers be for a' that". We shall never have a federalisation of the world until liberty prevails everywhere. There can be no understanding where liberty is up against dictatorship.

History will show that it is your generation and mine that has preserved liberty for this world these last few years, and my own country has done its part. What we are out to ensure now is life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—but don't let us forget this, that liberty must come first, foremost and all the time. If we forget that, if we are false to our trust, we shall find ourselves where we were when this war broke out, living in a fool's paradise. Don't forget that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance.

It is in that spirit that I would ask the members of this Conference to approach the framing of our confession of faith.

Mr. FALTER (Employers' delegate, Poland)—I am speaking here as an employer of a country where social legislation was highly developed. It has even been said that, considering Poland's economic development and its degree of industrialisation as compared with that of other countries, its social legislation was overdeveloped.

As an employer in the coal, chemical and navigation industries, I wish to state that never in the many years of my expe-
rience have I felt that excessive social security burdens were an obstacle in competition in either domestic or international markets, and I do not know of any case of importance in either the industries in Poland where serious difficulties resulted from such burdens.

However, it should be understood that rising tendencies to make social insurance universal, to raise the living standards of the masses, as well as to include everybody in the production scheme, tie together to a greater extent the social and economic problems of every country. In the tendency towards employment of workers, through an increase of production, it is very important to encourage the development of national industries—that is, production based on the country’s own raw materials—which would facilitate employment to an ever greater extent.

The development of inappropriate production causes the manufacture of articles at high prices, which, in turn, does not lead to a decrease of tariffs or encourage international trade—on the contrary, it promotes autarkic tendencies.

The fact that more people will be employed and will enjoy the privileges of social legislation will result in an increase in the consumption of civilian goods by large masses of the population. If this is to be beneficial to the country and not to threaten its financial and economic structure, consumption should be directed towards domestic articles of use to the people and not suitable for international exchange. I do not mean that imports should be restricted, if they are necessary for the health or cultural development of the people. I do, however, wish to import as far as possible and necessary those articles which are not manufactured in the country.

From these examples it is evident that the relation between the social and economic problem is growing; and, therefore, it is necessary for the I.L.O. not only to consider general recommendations, but also to investigate different methods of application.

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

Interpretation: Father NUSEZ VARGAS (Government delegate, Costa Rica) —The soldier at the front, the factory worker, the agricultural worker, all are looking to this Conference to tell them why they are fighting, struggling and working. To give a satisfactory reply, based on knowledge of world conditions and the firm determination to translate that reply into action, is our duty today.

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

Dignity of work is a human person—this we must proclaim in refutation of totalitarian régimes which make of the individual a commodity to be put up to public auction or quoted on the so-called labour market. The dignity of work, so often proclaimed at this Conference, is the inevitable corollary of the dignity of the human person.

Liberty, the liberty of the individual, is the most precious gift of the Creator to man, and gives the individual the right to determine his own individual and social destiny. But this liberty may become vain if it is not based on a sufficient supply of the material needs of the individual, the family and the nation.

The third principle, social justice, demands that every man should have a fair share of the products which were created for the service of all men.

In complying with the demands of social justice the way is paved for the establishment of complete democracy, that is, a democracy which implies the political and economic sovereignty of all peoples, without which political democracy is a mere illusion.

These principles, which I proclaim in the name of the Costa Rican delegation, are the model by which the social measures proposed by the I.L.O. for our consideration must be judged. It is on these principles that the Government of Costa Rica, headed by Dr. Rafael Angel Calderón Guardia, has based its social legislation. Even when not a Member of the I.L.O., our country modelled its social programme on the advanced ideas of the Organisation. They are incorporated in our Constitution, in the social guarantees adopted on 25 June 1943 as a supplement to the individual guarantees, which were already part of our Constitution. These social guarantees proclaim the following principles: the social function of the State, work as a social duty, the right to a minimum family wage, the eight-hour day, right of association, the right to strike, collective contracts, encouragement of co-operative societies, vocational education, housing, equal wage for equal work, social security, and special labour courts.

These principles embodied in our Constitution show that our adhesion to the I.L.O. and its objectives is not merely verbal but is a reality representing the will of the people as a whole.
The Costa Rican delegation considers that the tripartite structure of the I.L.O. must be maintained as the best guarantee for the independence of the Organisation and the accomplishment of its mission. The delegation also supports the declaration that work must be found for all who can work. Our Constitution speaks of work as a social duty, and this means that the nation, and in the last analysis the community of nations, must enable everyone to perform that social duty. It is clear that the Organisation must be considered from the point of view of the consumption of the goods produced. As Miss Perkins said the other day, the word "over-production" is inexact and misleading. The countries of Latin America know very well that there has never been over-production, since they have always lacked all sorts of goods necessary for the life of human beings. The production of goods from the viewpoint of the human necessities of the people must be, to our minds, the aim of each nation.

We are looking forward now to the mechanisation of agriculture in our country. This mechanisation must in no way be taken to mean the unemployment of millions of our workers whose place will be taken by machinery. With production increased, this mechanisation must bring with it higher standards of living and above all, the opportunity of leisure so that the workers can take advantage of it for cultural development and occupational training. It must bring about a more equitable distribution of the goods which are produced.

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

More specifically, we ask for the workers of Latin America the benefits of an international policy which does not recognise any discrimination of race, nationality, sex or religion. We support the principle of free trade unions. A trade union must never be a State organism which would deprive the workers of the freedom of choosing their own representatives and leaders of their own interests.

In agreement with our own Constitution, we would suggest to this Conference the necessity of developing a special labour jurisdiction to deal with disputes between capital and labour. This is necessary to help us to attain those ideals of social policy which we propose.

Among the various proposals which have been made from this platform, we want to mention particularly those made by the representative of the French Committee, Mr. Tixier, and on the following day, by the Belgian delegate, Mr. van Zeebroek. They drew our attention to the fact that the problems of post-war reconstruction will have a different character in the countries which have been invaded by the Nazis and in countries which have not been so invaded. It is natural that the gravity of the problem in the former countries will require a greater effort on the part of the Government and of any international organisation whose job it will be to undertake reconstruction in the post-war phase. Mr. Tixier described the plan of the Algiers Committee. We believe that it is our duty to give all those countries support in this enormous task.

It is our duty to assist those countries, a duty of justice, because they have contributed with tenacity and unshakable spirit to the victory of our democratic ideals. If those countries had accepted the policy of collaboration, there is no doubt that the way of victory would have been even longer and harder. Hitler would have been able to make of Europe an impregnable fortress; but the plans of the dictators have been shattered, the unshakable will of certain countries whose peoples preferred to suffer hunger, deportation, concentration camps and mass executions, rather than yield one inch to the enemy.

We must realise and recognise this heroic gesture of the peoples of France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Poland, Yugoslavia and Greece, who have shed their blood and made sacrifices for the United Nations.

In the name of my country and in the name of many of the republics of Latin America, I wish to convey the message that we are ready to do everything we can to help them in their sufferings. But we believe that it is necessary that there should be some international action taken to help these nations in the resurrection and reconstruction of their devastated countries. Therefore, we hope that this Conference will give special attention in a particular committee to the problems which the occupied countries present at this moment.

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

Costa Rica, a small nation of Central America, has complete confidence in this Organisation and accepts with great enthusiasm and sincerity the political and social policy proposed to this Conference. We promise not to cease our efforts as long as there is one single man or one single woman or one single child who does not have the necessary means to live as a human being. We want peace—a peace of the people, for the people and by the people.

*Interpretation: Dr. NANNETTI (Government delegate, Colombia)—I wish to announce the adherence of the delegation of Colombia to the general principles embodied in items I and II of the agenda, reserving the right to intervene.*
in the final discussion regarding certain details and measures of practical application.

Colombia adheres to these declarations because they give expression to principles deeply rooted in national public law and in American international law. They are principles enunciated in the Convention concerning the rights and duties of States, principles proclaimed in the Pan American Conference at Montevideo of 1933, principles proclaimed in the Atlantic Charter which, according to the meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics, form part of the juridical patrimony of America, principles included in other conventions and treaties, and principles also included in our international law and in the Colombian Constitution, of which the part concerning civil rights and social guarantees contains in essence the principles of equality, justice, and liberty that the Declaration proposes.

The text of this Declaration is an excellent doctrinal synthesis. Against the negation of the sceptics, against the philosophy of violence, we see a reaffirmation of faith in a universal principle of law which must be a fundamental requirement of life if it is to be given expression in human society and the community of nations.

Colombia, on the basis of the unshakable democratic traditions of its national life, and its respect for legal order in international relations, wishes to offer as its principal contribution to this Conference its faith in law, and with Colombia, there are a hundred million Latin Americans who are ready to co-operate with you in a single bloc, forged in the fire of the principles and practices of American international law. These principles are the accumulation of the suffering and the experience of generations. They are an historic culmination—a lesson and a requirement of life. Life is at first struggle and later harmony. Struggle arises from the need for expansion and affirmation of each individual, harmony from the necessity of reconciling this affirmation and expansion of each individual with those of other similar individuals. This is law. Civil law is for men, social law for the forces of labour, international law for nations. The lessons and consequences of the war will carry us towards ideals of universal law and solidarity. We welcome, therefore, the Declaration of the principles of the International Labour Organisation.

In a world of ruin and tears, in the midst of scepticism and hatred, we have to reconstruct a world illuminated by faith, justice and peace; and here, this Conference is telling the people that there will be no lasting peace unless it is based on social justice, that all human beings, without distinction of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue their intellectual development and material well-being, in conditions of freedom and dignity, in economic security and equality of opportunity. Work should not be a commodity. There should be guaranteed living wages. And, lastly, freedom of association and of expression must be the essential condition for constant progress.

And while we affirm the principle of the equality of men, we reaffirm the principle of the equality of nations that will put on an equal footing before international tribunals the powerful machine of war and weakness without arms. These principles are an imperative need of our age and will remain nailed to the mast as battle orders and rooted in the heart as eternal hopes.

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

We contemplate here two aspects of one basic theme—the importance of economic problems, not only for the internal social peace of the people, but also for international peace.

The men of Versailles organised in the League of Nations a political association that would seek supremacy of international legal order through voluntary cooperation of the nations. International economic life was left free. And we are fighting now for freedom everywhere, but we need a new form of liberty. We need to reconcile democracy and technique, organisation and freedom. In the two most important aspects of international economic relations—trade and migration—we have reached a state of chaos and oppression. National sovereignties exposed to the threat of competition have raised obstacles to the march of humanity, and we see before us in the world the spectacle of abundance incapable of remedying distress. Countries producing articles that would satisfy the hunger of all the peoples of the world have adopted restrictive export quotas and destroyed so-called surpluses of production—coffee, grain, rice, cinchona—while human beings perished of hunger in other parts of the world.

In human migration, also, we see the need for a new form of freedom. The totalitarian countries base their recitals of grievances on the lack of living space, and at the same time, they prohibit free migration to other parts of the world.

Migration, as it is affirmed in the Declaration, requires planned organisation if it is to achieve the maximum benefits, both individual and collective. Liberty, organised on the basis of co-operation, must be our motto for the future. Let us endeavour to ensure that the policy of the Good Neighbour, the basis of international law throughout the American continent according to the declaration of Rio de Janeiro.
operation among the nations.

This new form of liberty, rooted in co-operation, will necessitate new international organisations for its practical realisation. Hence, we accept, with certain reservations, but on the whole, the recommendations on item II on the agenda, and the creation of organs of international economic co-operation that they propose.

The Colombian delegation considers that we should study thoroughly any declaration concerning reduction of tariffs or trade barriers and their effects on the life of industries and on the labour market. The delegation notes with special pleasure paragraph 7 of the proposed resolution concerning economic policies in Report II, relating to the stability of prices of raw materials and foodstuffs, and relates it deliberately to the Declaration of principles on item I, according to which these measures are of concern to the whole civilised world.

The American peoples, producers of raw materials, are a hope for the persecuted of all the world, who seek a new world, bread and freedom and yearn for a decent and humane life. If the future fate of the poor in Latin America depends at the present time on the prices and possibilities of consumption of raw materials, we cannot forget that many of these products come also from other parts of the world which need to intensify their social evolution to reach a decent and humane standard of living.

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

On this basis and in the performance of my duty, I offer the wholehearted cooperation of Colombia in the new phase of the life and work of the International Labour Organisation. I offer my congratulations for the work accomplished, and I hope from the bottom of my heart that the intention of all the peoples here met together will be realised, and that the oppressed, the afflicted and the downcast throughout all the world will not hearken in the future to the call of violence, because they will have found open and illuminated the threshold of a new age of freedom and social justice.

Interpretation: Mr. FERNÁNDEZ R. (Workers' delegate, Cuba)—These first two items on the agenda—the future policy, programme and status of the International Labour Organisation and recommendations to the United Nations for present and post-war social policy—are so closely linked that they cannot be dealt with separately, and therefore, as indeed has been arranged, they must be considered together in order to facilitate the discussion and to afford opportunity for delegates to the Twenty-sixth Session of the Conference to express their views on the fundamental problems presented in these two reports which have been placed before us.

The first of these reports says that "a new social emphasis has been the distinguishing characteristic of the statements of policy which statesmen from a wide range of countries and of every shade of political thought have had occasion to make during the war years"; and also that "the general proposition that economic policy is to be regarded as essentially a means for the achievement of certain social objectives has secured a degree of agreement which measures the extent of the response which men's minds have already made to the challenge of two world wars within a generation, separated from each other by the most devastating and tragic economic depression in the history of industrial civilisation".

These statements are a recognition of the enormous importance of the questions which we are discussing here today, and a confirmation of the fact that the workers and peoples who are shedding their blood on the battlefields to free humanity from slavery and oppression by the Nazis and the Japanese are determined that they will not tolerate again, when the war is over, the bitter sacrifice of their lives in vain for a world of tomorrow which is the same as that of yesterday. A repetition of what happened after the last war would mean that the peoples would at once demand a reckoning from those who have been deluding them.

The world is tired, says the report, of vague promises of a new order. Public opinion is calling for concrete plans for the improvement of the conditions of human life. The world, I would add, today desires solutions and not solemn declarations, technical measures which will solve its problems and not sirens' songs. The hour for action has struck on the clock of history, and no-one can prevent the peoples from exercising their sovereign will.

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

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

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

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

The war, by cutting off our European markets and restricting American markets, has created a most serious situation for the peoples of Latin America, who have not only been obliged to reduce their exports but have been unable to develop their national industries as they need, because it has been impossible to obtain machinery, equipment, and iron and steel, oil and other essential materials, to maintain and develop their national production. While the big countries, the strongest economically, because of the needs of the war itself, have fixed maximum prices for raw materials and products and have imposed a maximum limit on output, the Latin American countries are forced to buy the essential consumption goods that they need to import from the big countries at prices without any ceiling, which are produced to a quota fixed beforehand, without taking any account of the most essential needs of each country. The result of this is that the economic structure of Latin America has suffered a serious shock and that the high cost of living and unemployment, chronic in many of these countries, has reached alarming proportions.

But it must be remembered that in order to help to win the war and to ensure that the workers and employers of their national industries as they need, be provided for, since such organisations are basic factors in the life of any modern State.

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nomic exploitation and political oppression.

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

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

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

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

Those are our opinions, as representatives of the Cuban Confederation of Workers, on the various points under discussion. If this Conference wants to contribute towards winning the war and to have an influence on the establishment of social justice after the war, we must deal resolutely with these questions. If we are brave and resolute, our hearts need not fail before the enormity of this task, but if our hearts are weak so that we cannot make practical and effective decisions, the workers who have fought and worked so hard will rise up again tomorrow to impose the principles for which they have fought upon those who ignore them or deny them.

Dr. ZARRAS (Government delegate, Greece)—The decisions which will arise out of the first two items on the agenda of this Conference will determine the new orientation of post-war international social policy and the methods by which it is to be carried out.

The proposals which are contained in the two relevant reports submitted by the International Labour Office are the outcome of the constructive experience which the International Labour Organisation has acquired during the twenty-five years of its beneficent and fruitful activity.

It is true that the form in which these proposals have been presented, as draft declarations or resolutions for adoption by the Conference, is something of a bold innovation which, under normal circumstances, might give rise to long and interesting juridical discussions.

But, today, when the form and structure of post-war world organisation is being evolved on new and more secure foundations, is no time for barren controversy and for the cold arguments of legal formalism. We can very well take our inspiration from the constitutional practices which have been followed in the past, and which on more than one occasion have made it possible to go beyond the constitutional provisions of the Organisation and to create progressive traditions and precedents, opening up new legal avenues and greatly facilitating the work of international co-operation in the social field.

Our only concern should be how to make the International Labour Organisation more effective and stronger for its future work, so that it may be capable of fulfilling in the highest possible measure the demand of the masses of the workers of the whole world for social justice.

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

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

These are the realities of today which are shaping the functions of the International Labour Organisation, and which require not only that its competence should be extended in the economic and financial field, but also that it should collaborate with other international bodies in the planning and execution of the various schemes of international economic policy.
To organise this co-operation in systematic form would mean to give the two basic factors in production—employers and workers—direct access to the policy-making bodies of the international public organisations dealing with economic matters for the purpose of helping them to frame an economic policy ensuring full employment and higher standards of living for all peoples.

I represent a country whose economic structure is such that its standard of living, even in normal times has always been much lower than that which is regarded as necessary for decent living in the country which has offered us its hospitality for this Conference.

At the time of their liberation, the Greek people, who have suffered so bitterly and so long the ravages of war and enemy occupation, will be—as they are now—ill-fed and diseased, ill-clothed, and ill-housed, if they are not actually homeless. The funds of the Greek social services have evaporated because of the unlimited inflation, towns and villages have been destroyed, and the whole economic and social organisation of Greece has been dislocated by the invader, who has destroyed or looted even those small resources which the country possessed. The immediate post-war problem for Greece will therefore be that of rehabilitation. But for the subsequent improvement of its standard of living, Greece is looking confidently towards the proposed international machinery and measures for the collaboration of the International Labour Organisation in the promotion of international trade, of international lending and borrowing, of international exchange stabilisation, international migration, and international public works, through which my country hopes to raise and secure the purchasing power of its people.

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

The proposed provisions for a system of mutual international supervision in the case of the non-ratification of international labour Conventions or of failure to apply International Recommendations would facilitate the more general and complete application of the decisions of the Conference and prevent any possibility of evasion.

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

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

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

It is further proposed that the Director of the Office should be given certain other rights which are essential for the more effective discharge of his duties, and that various privileges, exemptions and immunities should be conferred on the International Labour Office and on its staff. Perhaps it might also be wise to take this opportunity of formulating the right of the States Members, whether members of the Governing Body or not, and of employers' and workers' organisations, with regard to the supervision of the activities of the Office's staff. The Office should, of course, be granted all the facilities and privileges for which it asks in order to be able to carry out its great task. But it is precisely in the interests of the success of the Office's work that some provision should be made for the control of the activities of the staff, both of its headquarters and of its branch offices, in order to ensure that their duties are discharged in accordance with the principles of the international character of the staff and the objectives of the Organisation. The officials of the I.L.O. are servants of the world community, and the activities of the international officials should at all times be as impeccable as though they were carried on within a dome of glass.
In any case, the need for strengthening and building up the services of the Office as quickly as possible should be especially stressed. Neither should the establishment of branch offices, not only in the big countries but in small ones as well, be delayed any longer than is absolutely necessary. An expert staff should be made responsible for advising each country and helping it to give wider application to the measures decided upon by the Conference.

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

The unreserved collaboration of all the United Nations, and especially of all those which are today playing a foremost part in the conduct of the war, is indeed a factor of the highest importance, not only for the post-war reconstruction of Europe, but for the carrying out of a more co-ordinated and progressive social policy.

These are the few brief remarks I wished to contribute to the general discussion of the first two items on the agenda, while reserving my right to put forward my views in greater detail on some of their legal aspects in the committees which will deal clause by clause with these important and historic matters.

The preamble to the proposed resolutions states that they are adopted in Philadelphia. It is fitting that international texts of such world-wide importance, adopted at a truly crucial moment in the history of mankind, with a view to extending and securing social justice throughout the world and promoting the prosperity and happiness of peoples, should be worked out in this historic city, which, with its symbolic Greek name, is a daily reminder to all of us who are the responsible architects of the social reconstruction of the post-war world, of the "Philadelphia" which should guide our decisions, that is, brotherly love and solidarity with our fellow men and women throughout the world.

Interpretation: Mr. HIDALGO GONZALEZ (Government delegate, Ecuador)

—As one of the representatives of the Government of Ecuador, I am glad to be able to present, in the name of the Ecuadorian Government, our appreciation of the work which has been done by the International Labour Office in its twenty-five years of existence, and at the same time to express the hope that the immediate future will bring greater benefit to humanity, and that the voice of social justice and human solidarity will prevail in the world after the conclusion of the terrible combat, without precedent in the annals of history, which is now going on.

The experience of the last war was not enough to avoid the suffering of the present war, but the experience of these two tragedies must be sufficient to turn humanity again to the path of solidarity, respect for right and continental harmony. All peoples are suffering at present, those who are fighting, those who are occupied, and those who are oppressed by the iron hand of totalitarianism which will be finally destroyed by the nations which are co-operating in the service of the democratic cause. Of those nations, Ecuador is one. I remember with great pleasure an incident which occurred when, towards the end of 1942, our President, Dr. Arroyo del Rio, paid a visit to the White House, a newspaperman asked him what he had gained by the co-operation that Ecuador was giving to this war, and our President, Dr. Arroyo, said quickly, "The honour of being allied with all these countries which are spilling their blood".

That is to say, in hours of difficulty and hours of suffering, countries, like individuals, must pool their resources in order to achieve success.

Our country in this way has given everything in its power. We have thousands of tons of rubber which we have sent to other countries; we have quinine, on which humanity is so dependent to fight off the terrible mosquito; we have given balsam wood, which is necessary for aeroplanes. In the last two years, Ecuador has given more than 65 million square feet of this precious material. We have also given bases in our Galapagos Islands and in Salinas. Thus Ecuador is showing its determination in this difficult hour of world history to co-operate with the United Nations.

So far as the work of the International Labour Organisation is concerned, Ecuador also takes a high place, since it endeavours in every way to bring about social justice in its territory. This is the joint aim of the Government, the workers and the employers. For this reason, Ecuador is proud to be represented by all three groups. It is represented in order to share, with men of every language and every race, in this effort to satisfy the aspirations of the working class. The century of slavery is past; the three groups must meet on a footing of equality. It is certain that this aspiration will have to be fulfilled, so that all factors in production may take part equally in the deliberations of the International Labour Organisation.

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

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

On the other hand, in Ecuador we have established that the men who do the work must have a share in the profits. The Office should state clearly the workers' right to a share in profits. The Labour Code in Ecuador provides that this share must not be less than 5 per cent.

I think there would be two ways of remedying the difficulties resulting from the depression which will come at the end of hostilities. Mention has been made of unemployment, from which millions of men suffered after the last war. In my opinion this is caused by the immediate demobilisation of armies. Each nation is now making sacrifices in so far as food, clothes and taxes are concerned, so that men may continue to fight on the battlefronts, and it seems natural that this same effort should continue a few months longer, or possibly one or two years more, so that men who have risked their lives on the battlefront should not come back to misery, unemployment and economic slavery after their fight for victory.

Therefore, these men, it seems to me, should not be demobilised immediately, but countries should continue to bear the cost of keeping them under arms for a time so that they can return to civilian life gradually. We should maintain the present situation as far as possible until the machinery of war has been reconverted to meet the needs of peacetime industry.

On the other hand, there are countries which have too many inhabitants, while others are underpopulated. The concept of migration should apply not only to workers but also to capital, so as to distribute among the continents—and I am speaking especially of the American continent—both men and capital, so that, for example, at a given moment, when some ten or twelve million men come back to the United States, these men, under the patronage of their Government, may find employment in public works, sanitation works and industry in other countries which are still underdeveloped.

These are, in brief, some of the ideas of the Government delegation from Ecuador. Before closing, I should like to suggest that at a suitable time, and as the unanimous expression of this Conference, we should pass a vote of thanks and encouragement to the men on the fighting front, and on the production front in industry and in agriculture, who are taking part in this terrific struggle. Victory is not won only on the battlefield, and without the labours of those who provide food and equipment the sacrifices of others would be in vain. This Conference should therefore express its thanks to those who are giving their all for victory and for peace and world progress, which we are all seeking to strengthen by reforming the laws of our own countries.

MESSAGE FROM THE CHINESE ASSOCIATION OF LABOUR AT CHUNGKING

The PRESIDENT—Before adjournment, I shall read a message we have received from the Chinese Association of Labour at Chungking.

We here extend our hearty greetings to the Twenty-sixth International Labour Conference and all prominent delegations of United Nations gathered in Philadelphia. On this grand occasion we wish to express deep admiration and appreciation for your valuable contributions in solving present and post-war social and economic problems, and splendid undertaking for improving general labour welfare and co-operation between United Nations. We believe that you will succeed in building up world justice and lasting peace.

(The Conference adjourned at 1.00 p.m.)
Delegates present at the Sitting

United States of America:
- Mr. Goodrich (substitute for Miss Perkins)
- Mr. Thomas
- Mr. Harriman
- Mr. Wait

Argentina Republic:
- Mr. Palmeri
- Mr. Lamuraglia

Australia:
- Mr. Beasley
- Mr. Barnard
- Mr. Condie
- Mr. Clarey

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

Bolivia:
- Mr. Saavedra

Brazil:
- Mr. Fonse
- Mr. de Rego Monteiro
- Mr. Leite Ribeiro
- Mr. Mattos Lima

British Empire:
- Mr. Evans (substitute for Mr. Tomlinson)
- Sir John Forbes Watson
- Mr. Hallworth

Canada:
- Mr. Martin
- Mr. MacDonald (substitute for Mr. Claxton)
- Mr. Coulter
- Mr. Bengough

Chile:
- Mr. Bustos Lagos
- Mr. Velásquez Quiroga

China:
- Mr. Li Ping-heng
- Mr. Hsieh Cheng-fu
- Mr. Li Ming
- Mr. Chu Hsueh-fan

Colombia:
- Mr. Nannetti
- Mr. Molina

Costa Rica:
- Mr. Padilla Castro
- Pr. Nuñez Vargas
- Mr. Benavides

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

Czechoslovakia:
- Mr. Masaryk
- Mr. Shoembaur

Dominican Republic:
- Mr. Cocco
- Mr. de Marchena Dujarrie
- Mr. Morales

Ecuador:
- Mr. López Arfeta
- Mr. Bidalgo González
- Mr. Torres Vera

Egypt:
- Mr. Radi
- Mr. Ramzy
- Mr. Hamada
- Mr. Soliman

Ethiopia:
- Mr. Tessema

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

Greece:
- Mr. Loverdos (substitute for Mr. Dimitropoulos)
- Mr. Zarras
- Mr. Gratsos (substitute for Mr. Kulukundis)

Haiti:
- Mr. Dartigue
- Mr. Aarts (substitute for Mr. Thébaud)

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

Iran:
- Mr. Daftary

Ireland:
- Mr. Hearne

Irish:
- Mr. Krier
- Mr. Le Gallais

Luxembourg:
- Mr. David

Mexico:
- Mr. Trujillo Guerra
- Mr. Santos Guajardo
- Mr. Chapa
- Mr. Lombardo
- Toledano

Netherlands:
- Mr. van den Tempel
- Mr. van Rhijn (substitute for Mr. Louton)
- Mr. Warning
- Mr. Odenbroek

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

Norway:
- Mr. Hambro
- Mr. Weihaven (substitute for Mr. Ord
- Mr. Dahl
- Mr. Nordahl

Panama:
- Mr. Valdés
- Mr. de la Rosa
- Mr. Ortega Vierto
- Mr. Garrido

Peru:
- Mr. Pastor (substitute for Mr. Elguera)
- Mr. Sabroso (substitute for Mr. Luna)

Poland:
- Mr. Stanczyk
- Mr. Faller
- Mr. Adamczyk

Union of South Africa:
- Mr. Andrews
- Mr. Brennan
- Mr. Skeels

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

Switzerland:
- Mr. Peir (substitute for Mr. Bruggmann)

Turkey:
- Mr. Esmer

Uruguay:
- Mr. Kühn Talay
- Mr. Fontain

Venezuela:
- Mr. Tinoco Rodil
- Mr. Pérez Guerrero

Yugoslavia:
- Mr. Soubbotitch
- Mr. Milos

Also present at the Sitting:
- Mr. Acosta (Paraguay)
DISCUSSION OF ITEMS I AND II ON THE AGENDA (Contd.)

Mr. MARTIN (Government delegate, Canada)—The Office is to be congratulated upon the preparatory work which has produced the series of reports for this Conference. It has done so under difficulty, without the opportunity of consulting Governments in advance.

I propose chiefly to concentrate my remarks on Reports I and II, which to a very great extent must be regarded as political, in the sense that they impinge on national policies which have not yet been defined. The fact that these policies have not yet been defined by the Governments makes the Office reports even more valuable, as they are, therefore, the beginning and foundation of our discussion. The first step, it seems to me, in the consideration of any problem is the gathering of material; the second, the definition of the problem. The Office has provided the material and has gone a great distance towards defining the problem.

The definition of the problem will be well begun when the Conference has agreed on the text of the proposed Declaration concerning the aims and purposes of the Organisation.

I think that we agree that such a declaration should be made by this Conference. The text of the Declaration provided by the Office offers a good draft from which to work. I am not able, however, to agree with all that it contains. I am sure that the Office did not expect that the Canadian delegation, or any other delegation, would agree entirely. If they did, there would be no need for this Conference.

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

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

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

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

First, is the International Labour Organisation to discharge this responsibility of scrutiny over Governments and over specialised international bodies by way of seeking knowledge of their plans and tendering advice to them as to the social implications of their proceedings or measures?

Second, is it to seek membership in international bodies?

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

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

The form and phrasing of the Declaration can well give rise to these and similar questions, and accordingly, I suggest that the Conference make certain as to whether this is the time to make changes, and so on; and to support the Organisation's claims here, we should endeavour to secure within the I.L.O. representation of agricultural employers and of agricultural workers.

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

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

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

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

Moreover, I have noted that the pro-
proposals to divorce the I.L.O. budget from that of the League is taken in some quarters to mean that the Organisation is prepared to cut itself adrift from the League. Many of you will have noted an item which appeared recently in the press referring to the International Labour Organisation, in which it is stated: "The Governing Body is slated to consider decisions capable of driving another nail into the coffin of the League". And, a little further on: "Some delegates look for a decision which would sever the last practical tie between the I.L.O. and the League".

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Interpretation: Mr. MOLINA (Workers’ delegate, Colombia)—I have listened with admiration to the speeches already made, which is filled with representatives of most nations of the world. I have been impressed with the enthusiasm and the eloquence with which they have explained the problems confronting the various nations. In view of the complexity of the problems already sketched with many details by the preceding speakers, it may be felt that only a new and fuller statement of the objectives of this Conference might be useful. Nevertheless, as a representative of the workers of Colombia, I wish to emphasise items I and III on the agenda, and in so doing to raise certain questions of a social and economic character which affect the working masses of my country and which are common to all the other peoples of Latin America. It is true that my country, like the other countries of the American continent, in virtue of its traditions, is an exemplary democracy, politically speaking. In our nations standards of living are governed by right and law. But this is not enough. We need to perfect the democratic system as a form of government and we still have to achieve economic democracy.

Latin America must enter a new stage in her history based upon the Atlantic Charter. This is why the workers of Colombia, like the workers of Central and South America, are eager to support if necessary in every possible way the first contemporary political document which lays down the policies to be incorporated in the settlement after victory has been won. I feel sure that I am right in affirming that all the democratic forces in the world, particularly those of the centre and those of the left, will protest against any attempt to deform the literal meaning of its text and to evade the practical application of its principles.

This is why Latin America demands a prominent place at the peace table. It is evident that economic and social questions will take the first place there, and we shall have an opportunity of putting into full effect the agreements and decisions resulting from these discussions.

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

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

Items I and II on the agenda refer to a point of great interest at the present time, namely, the price of raw materials. We in the Latin American countries realise that the transformation of industry from wartime to peace-time production, particularly in the United States, may entail serious repercussions of an economic and social character, and we are afraid that prices may fall. It is easy to understand that materials required for war purposes may also be raw materials for peace-time production. The demand for raw materials and their price levels must be maintained and increased, if possible, not only from the point of view of international economic convenience but also as a means of maintaining employment, both in the producing countries and those engaged in the processing of materials.

It seems evident, also, that continental and world economic collaboration will determine the movement of supply and demand. The higher these factors are, the higher will be the standard of living in America. Full employment and the higher
standard of living must be balanced and maintained by higher wages, and this will be a decisive factor in general prosperity. When illiteracy has been abolished in America, and when the Indian has been given a better standard of living, we shall have reached a stage of culture and social life without parallel in the history of America.

The standard of living in Colombia, as in the other Spanish-speaking countries, is still very low. The resources of science and technique which have been used in war should logically be at the service of the weak and the needy, so as to relieve economic inequality and give them social protection. The workers believe only in deeds. This war will be won because men collaborate, without egoism, without jealousy of class, creed, race, or sex, in the defence of the rest of humanity, for whom they procure more just and humane conditions. This will be the second victory, the victory of the peace.

The Colombian people wish for wider international trade than hitherto, because they know that this will be helpful to the national economy. The growth of merchant shipping and air transport will open new markets for tropical products in other countries. Hence there will be a further growth of industry and agriculture. In my country, which is mainly agricultural, we must rationalise our production and introduce technicians in the various branches.

Much has been said about the investment of foreign capital in Central and South America with a view to promoting post-war undertakings. This idea will no doubt be favourably received. The workers welcome progressive industrialists. Colombian legislation provides amply for the establishment of foreign undertakings, but they must of course comply strictly with the laws of the Republic. It is the monopolist and reactionary imperialist undertakings which are responsible for the industrial backwardness of Latin America.

We wish to co-operate with all the workers represented here in promoting the interests of our class. The young trade union movement of Latin America will not be indifferent to the problems of the workers in other continents. We fully support your central Latin American Labour Federation.

One of the most important subjects before this Conference is that of employment in the transition and post-war periods. We are particularly concerned with its treatment by our great ally, the United States, since this will also indirectly affect employment in our countries.

I should like to suggest that this Conference should adopt a recommendation to prevent the demand for full employment from leading to dumping of products in countries which are unable to meet competition of this kind, and which may consequently suffer from unemployment, so that their Governments have to protect the national economy by restrictive tariffs.

The workers of Colombia for whom I speak have well-founded hopes of the results of these international conferences. We are being watched by the workers all over the world. We must not fail them. As Vice-President Wallace of the United States has said, the future lies with them; and I would add that those who have fertilised the earth with their blood and sweat should enjoy its fruits and the benefits of civilisation.

Mr. JAWDAT (Government delegate, Iraq)—Permit me to say a few words to you who are meeting to discuss and decide on the policies and Recommendations of the I.L.O., as embodied in the first and second reports.

Indeed, our meeting today in this troubled world, coming from various far-away lands, is in itself a conclusive proof of the interest and hope laid on such an international body, which has done so much, and is preparing to do more, in the fields of freedom, social justice, and economic stabilisation of labour. We are meeting at a crisis, in which each country has a burdensome share. This war has already created many problems of magnitude to be solved, and to be solved quickly, in the light of sincere and exhaustive study of each of the problems as they come forward. It is, therefore, the obligation and responsibility of the I.L.O. to lead those who have faith in it from the realm of theory to the wide space of concrete constructive measures for the betterment and improvement of labour status in every land.

Iraq, being one of the numerous agricultural countries of the Near and Middle East, which is in itself one of the most important agricultural regions of the world, naturally is interested in the study of the status of the I.L.O., as well as in the trend of thought that shows itself in the Conference.

We gather from the various deliberations, as well as from the Constitution and the composition of the Governing Body, that labour has been given a very narrow definition.

It is a well-known fact that two thirds of the world population depend on and work in agriculture, and though we believe that various industries are important, there is none as important as agriculture. I appeal to you, therefore, who are gathered here to decide on the future policy of the I.L.O., to give this important matter your earnest and sincere attention.

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

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

Iraq has been, and will be, a staunch believer in international co-operation. It has taken an active part in this field, which we believe is fair and just. Therefore, it is in this spirit of firmness that I bring these points to the attention of the various delegations.

Interpretation: Dr. GARCÍA ARIAS (Government delegate, Argentine Republic)—I have the honour, on behalf of the Argentine delegation, to attend the Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labour Organisation, and to acknowledge and thank you for the message of welcome which we have heard here, especially from the President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and from the Mayor of Philadelphia; and, also, for the magnificent hospitality which this meeting has received from Temple University.

The Argentine delegation thinks it is an auspicious sign that this meeting has been held in this city. The events which have taken place in this city, by their influence on the democratic and constitutional history of our country, make Philadelphia dear to the Argentine people.

Before dealing with the object of this speech, I should like to express the gratitude of my Government for the manner in which the International Labour Organisation works for social progress and solidarity. I cannot refrain from expressing our satisfaction during the past years at the efforts made by the Organisation to study the problems of Latin America.

For the Argentine Republic looks upon the International Labour Organisation as one of the most distinguished exponents of international collaboration. We have taken part in it since the beginning, and we remember as a great honour the fortunate occasion on which we had the presidency of the Conference. Today, inspired by the same spirit of solidarity with the Organisation, I am glad to be able to say that the Argentine delegation as a whole—the Government, employers' and workers' members—have each an express mandate from the Government, from the employers' associations and from the workers' organisations, to give their fullest collaboration to the study and solution of the problems on the agenda of the Conference.

Finally, we wish to collaborate in defining the principles of the Constitution of the Organisation and perfecting its machinery.

The Argentine delegation will, in due course, inform the Conference of the way in which the Argentine Republic has fulfilled its obligations as a State Member since the Twenty-fifth Session. The Argentine delegation supports, except in some matters of detail, the principles and contents of the Declaration concerning the aims of the International Labour Organisation, not only because they are in conformity with the organic principles of the Organisation, but because they are in harmony with the principles of our own national Constitution. This delegation supports the statements made by a majority of the preceding speakers to the effect that the principles of this Declaration are essential to the promotion of social well-being. Experience has shown that social justice, respect for human dignity and equality of opportunity are fundamental principles for securing a stable and lasting peace.

I think it will be of interest to point out what an important part this last principle has played in the economic and social development of the Argentine Republic. Thousands of foreigners settled there, responding to the appeal to "men of good will who seek to live in the Argentine Republic", contained in the preamble to our National Constitution. Today, their sons hold important positions in public affairs, commerce and industry, and are prominent in science, letters and the arts. Equality of opportunity in Argentina has been so universal that for more than half a century we have seen the sons of foreigners in our public life in posts ranging from the lowest to the very highest.

For reasons relating to my country and the nations represented here, the Argentine delegation also agrees with the enumeration of the various subjects to which the Organisation should give immediate attention, as expressed in the proposals of the Office. The fate and happiness of the workers within a balanced national economy is of special interest to us.

In considering the post-war situation I should like to remind you that more than 800,000 tons of meat leave Argentina yearly, as well as large quantities of wool and leather, large quantities of cereals—as much as it is possible to export in the present difficult circumstances—and other essential products and materials. During the present century, one industry in particular has developed and at the present time plays a most important role in our national economy—I refer to stock raising. To sum up, the Argentine Republic is a country with agricultural and manufacturing industries, the satisfactory pro-
gress of which depends on the finding of a solution for the problems mentioned in the draft Declaration.

While not abandoning the natural desire to protect the fundamental bases of our national economy, we agree that the revival and expansion of international trade must exercise a healthy influence on the post-war economy. The economic structure of our country, with its capacity for export and import, must, in our opinion, depend upon the maintenance of levels of employment and the establishment of a programme of social objectives, and accordingly our country welcomes the proposals made in this connection.

The war and post-war periods have created and will create problems which the Argentine Republic cannot ignore, and it is preparing to face them. The Government, various administrative departments, the forces of production through their most representative organisations, universities and associations of workers, are studying these problems with remarkable interest. We collaborate within the Pan American Union with other bodies which are studying these same questions. The Argentine Republic is represented on the International Wheat Board, which includes also representatives of Australia, Canada, the United States, and Great Britain. An agreement has already been drafted and is in process of application for the dispatch of a considerable quantity of wheat to zones which have suffered from the war. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration has accepted the task of distributing this wheat.

In conclusion, may I express in the name of the Argentine delegation a fervent wish that the deliberations of this meeting will contribute to a lasting peace and to the establishment of social justice.

**Interpretation: Mr. RENS (Workers' delegate, Belgium)**—My object in intervening in this debate is primarily to give my unreserved support to the proposals concerning the aims and purposes of the I.L.O., and to explain my reasons.

I should like first to express my most hearty congratulations to the Acting Director and to his collaborators for the work they have done under very difficult conditions, and which I consider absolutely remarkable. For the first time to my knowledge, the I.L.O. has set aside its specialised work and has condensed in a complete summary the main, if not all, the trends of current social demands, indicating reasonable objectives and the methods by which they can be reached.

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

When I try, on the basis of the mass of reports and evidence which has reached us from Belgium during the last four years, to sum up the hope which lies in the hearts of the Belgian workers, I find four or five very simple but fundamental things. The first two go beyond the social field proper. All Belgians seek the restoration of stable and lasting peace. I think they are ready to give their full collaboration, to make every sacrifice for any international organisation which is capable of assuring and maintaining such a peace. My fellow citizens also desire passionately to recover their rights and liberties, secured to them under our national charter.

Further—and here we enter our own special field—they want what the present generation has never known, that is to say, social security. By social security, I mean both the right to work and the right to social insurance. They realise that a transformed economy, based on the principles of full employment, is an essential condition for the realisation of this social security.

Next, there is among all the working classes of my country a clear and vigorous desire for an appreciable improvement in their standard of living. The war has shown everywhere that it is possible to employ the productive apparatus to the full. There seems to be a general desire to maintain this level of production after the war, in order to satisfy the needs of peacetime. The workers do not only want better conditions of work; they want better living conditions, that is to say, better housing, nutrition and clothing. They perceive in the progressive improvement of material conditions, in the gradual reduction of hours of work and in a greater share of leisure and more vacations, the possibility of improving the lot of mankind, which is coming more and more to be regarded as the true aim of their lives.

It is because we find these needs and desires expressed in the text which has been laid before us that we support it enthusiastically. The fact that this text meets so closely the needs and hopes which I have just described as applying to Belgium is proof that these claims and desires go far beyond the frontiers of my country, and are truly universal in character.

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

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

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

We must now go forward to deeds. That is why I hope that this general discussion, which has enabled the various delegations to define their position, will be followed by some hard work in committees, so that precise and clear proposals for the internal reconstruction of the Organisation can be formulated. But let the States Members not lose sight of the fact that if practical results are obtained in this field, the International Labour Organisation must be given adequate financial means.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

tion has had a double discussion of its Recommendations and Conventions. We should not forget that we are running the risk of arriving too late if we have not the courage at this Conference to take the necessary decisions, decisions which the working masses are expecting of us.

When I express myself in terms so blunt that you may think them exaggerated, do not think that I am merely the spokesman of an extremist or inflammatory ideology. I think that I have, on the contrary, expressed faithfully and objectively the desires, the hopes, and the will of the working masses in my country, and, I am prepared to say, in all the occupied countries.

The delegates here present must realise that the masses now are fundamentally different from those we knew before 1940. That multitude of men and women who have been through unspeakable suffering, who have been looted of all of their possessions, who have been deeply wounded in their human dignity, who have been tortured in their body and soul—these men and women have not very much patience left.

During the long and dangerous night which has veiled their existence for four, five or six years, they have clung desperately to a few gleams of hope for the future—the future of their children. That is how human beings are made; in the darkest moments of their existence, they dream of light and happiness. And in order to reach that happiness and light, they will rise up tomorrow and they will fight with the desperation of those who have nothing left to lose.

We must realise that these men and women are no longer encumbered with that mass of tradition and ideas which yesterday they thought inviolable. This Organisation, which was founded on the basis of collaboration and freedom, must now give proof that it can bring to the workers who are suffering and struggling the satisfaction of their needs and their human desires. It is for this Organisation to take a great and bold step forward in freedom, that precious gain of our Western civilisation, on the path of social progress and social justice.

In this tremendous task, but a task which is not beyond our strength, we must succeed. Otherwise, all that will come out of this war will be indescribable chaos and bloody civil war; that is to say, exactly the contrary of what the United Nations are fighting for.

At the present moment I am sure that the eyes of the workers throughout the world, and particularly in Europe, are fixed on us very much more intensely than we think. For my part, I am confident that we shall not fail them in their hope. I have always kept my unshakable faith in the I.L.O. I feel, I know, that this Conference at Philadelphia will shed on the world of labour, which is suffering in the darkness of the night, a strong and beneficent light which will be used as a blessing for generations to come.
Interpretation: Dr. PÉREZ GUEERRERO (Government delegate, Venezuela)—The Venezuelan Government delegation wishes to join those many speakers who have firmly supported the extension of the traditional functions of the I.L.O with a view to meeting post-war conditions and the economic and social aspirations for the future.

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

In the national field, it is necessary to protect, in particular, the weakest members of the community. In the international field, action is needed to favour the gradual development of underdeveloped countries, because this is the only way of enabling these peoples to enjoy the same economic levels as the highly industrialised countries. It is obvious that the International Labour Organisation, by its experience and its fortunate tripartite constitution, is particularly well qualified to help the peoples to reach these objectives.

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

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

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

The Government of Venezuela in this decisive moment, decisive not only for the International Labour Organisation but for the whole world, is very glad to reaffirm its firm support of the International Labour Organisation, and it hopes that the Conference will adopt the resolutions proposed by the Office on the aims and objectives of the Organisation. The Venezuelan delegation proposes to make certain observations with respect to the recommendations contained in Reports I and II when these points come up for detailed discussion.

Venezuela is especially grateful to the International Labour Organisation for the assistance that has been given to her in the development of social legislation. Only yesterday the Venezuelan Government issued a measure of the first importance for the country in promulgating a Decree under which the first regional social security fund has been set up. I cite this not only because it is a matter of pride to all Venezuelans, but also because the International Labour Office took a direct part in its inception. It has assisted the Government of Venezuela in the preparation of the Social Insurance Act and the regulations under it, and I cannot allow this opportunity to pass without referring to the recent work of Osvald Stein, to whose memory I wish to pay our respectful tribute, the tribute of Venezuela.

Venezuela is a country which, though conscious of having carried out her obligations during the present war and of having made certain sacrifices, has nevertheless not suffered the calamities by which so many other countries have been overwhelmed. The voice of the delegates who speak on behalf of the occupied countries goes straight to our hearts and we look forward eagerly to their liberation, when we shall make good our pledge to assist in their reconstruction, just as today we contribute with all the means in our power to the victory of the cause of the United and Associated Nations.
What we are discussing here today, therefore, is really a great human hope; and I think I have the right to ask that the Conference should not lose sight of the great cause which is the real stake of the battle being fought with such valour by all the armies of the Allied nations. I might say that the war aim of the masses of the people in all countries. After weathering this terrible storm, they seek shelter, not only from enemy aggression and from totalitarian tyranny, but from the social scourges which before the war, in what were called "normal" times, caused such ravages and such misery—unemployment, sickness, ill-protected childhood, the poverty of aged people, indeed all the forms of poverty and of insufficient protection due to the defective organisation of society. Thus the detailed points which we are discussing here—social insurance, improvement and generalisation of medical services, protection of public health—are all interconnected and form one great whole, which is of capital importance to the welfare of the working classes.

Each of us wishes, in the list of this work the great importance of which we realise, and which is leading us towards new horizons, to connect it in our thoughts with what existed before, with the institutions which we have built up, each in his own country, with the practical results which we have obtained by so much labour and so much struggle.

I should like to explain to you how we of Luxembourg envisage the future social policy of our country, and how we hope to improve on what we had before. It is on the base of the legislation which already existed that we are building up the social reconstruction of Luxembourg. What are these bases, which we shall find damaged and destroyed, but which we hope to be able to re-establish and complete very quickly? The Luxembourg people was proud of having one of the most advanced systems of social legislation in Europe. The basis there was a well and firmly organised working class with strong trade unions, and employers' organisations which were equally well organised. Social insurance systems, with compulsory contributions by employers and workers and the State, were well developed. Our workers had the benefit of an eight-hour day, holidays with pay and minimum wages in some industries. Their rights were secured by collective agreements recognised by law, and by a statutory system of workers' representatives in the factories.

The occupational chambers—the chambers of industry, of salaried employees, of agriculture, of commerce and of handicrafts—watched over the interests of the various sectors of the national economy. The labour inspection service supervised the application of social legislation. The labour courts settled all the disputes between employers and workers. The National Labour Council organised the collective relations between workers and employers. At the head of the social administration was the Ministry of Labour, which I had the honour to direct. The whole social legislation of the country was completed by the ratification of Conventions and Recommendations of the International Labour Office.

These are the foundations on which we intend to build our new house. The social reform which we want to bring about in Luxembourg will involve two stages. In the first place, emergency measures will be necessary immediately after liberation to meet the situation which will face us. We shall then have to continue our work, develop provisional measures for the interim period, and transform them into permanent reforms for the reorganisation and improvement of the social services.

The first social task which we shall have to undertake after liberation will be to secure food and work for the population. At the same time, we shall have to save those who have been deported or have become refugees and bring them back to their homes as quickly as possible. Rapid measures will have to be taken for the protection of labour and public health. The re-establishment of normal living conditions will require some intervention by
the State in regard to wage rates and the fixing of the cost of living during the transitional period. At the same time, the re-orientation of the country towards a stable economic programme and towards a secured future will require the reconstruction or creation of democratic economic and social machinery.

In the transition period, therefore, the measures we contemplate will deal with food supply, repatriation, the organisation of employment, hours of work and social protection, the cost of living and wages, and the creation of new autonomous powers for social administration. Plans have been made which will enable the work of social rehabilitation to be carried out very quickly, and also to form the basis of a wider and more ambitious reconstruction.

It would be interesting to compare the details of these plans with some of the plans which we are discussing at this Conference, but I do not wish to go into too much detail here. I will confine myself to telling you that our plans provide for a combination of Government initiative, inspired by the Ministry of Labour, with the democratic autonomy of the governed, the workers, employers and everyone else concerned.

What we seek finally to secure is a permanent organisation for social progress and human happiness in Luxemburg. This will demand a good deal of legislative work, but we hope we shall be able to bring it about in the form of a Labour Code and to crown our work by introducing into the Constitution itself a number of social principles in the form of a Social Charter, similar to that provided in the proposed draft Declaration concerning the future of the country.

We hope that by these reforms which we have in preparation we can meet the needs of our sorely tried people, and the desires of our still suffering country. We also hope to make the best possible contribution that a small country can make to the common good, to the good of the international community of peoples, to which the Luxemburg people are so passionately attached; for I repeat that we see our own hope and the duty of all of us in the achievement of the great desire for an indestructible alliance between the freedom of mankind and social security.

Mr. ADAMCZYK (Workers' delegate, Poland)—I am speaking to you as the representative of the Polish labour movement, which, since the first days of the war, together with the entire Polish nation, has been carrying on the fight against the Nazi invader. I speak not only in the name of the Polish workers, but also on behalf of all workers' minority groups, organised in our trade unions, which have now been restored and never will recognise racial or religious discrimination.

Polish labour has suffered great losses. Over two million workers have been sent to Germany for compulsory labour. Many thousands more are dying in prisons and concentration camps. In spite of the terror, unprecedented in history, to which the people of our country have been subjected, Poland did not bring forth a traitor government to collaborate with the Nazis.

Under terrible conditions, being hunted daily like animals by the Nazis, Polish labour leaders drew up an economic "programme for a people's Poland"—for a free, independent and democratic Poland. At the risk of their own lives they were able to get the underground labour movement printed this programme and distributed many thousand copies among the working masses of the country.

In this general discussion which deals with the first and second items on our agenda, and which concerns the most important problems that the I.L.O. has to face, I speak in accordance with instructions from the Polish underground labour movement.

The International Labour Office is one of the few international institutions which has withstood the shake-ups brought on by the war. This is the best possible proof that the existence and functioning of this Organisation is absolutely essential. We attach special importance to the present Conference. Its job is to adjust the functions of the I.L.O. to the requirements of post-war reconstruction. The I.L.O., after twenty-five years of valuable experience, is in a position to judge along what lines these reforms should be carried out in order that the mistakes of the past may be avoided.

We must see to it that the Recommendations of the International Labour Conference become effective as soon as possible in all the countries. The cooperation of the I.L.O. with other international organisations will lead to a quicker realisation of this aim. We must also remember the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, having as its purpose relief during wartime and in the immediate post-war period, solves only part of the problem. An international organisation should be formed which would give financial aid to countries unable to guarantee their war-ravaged citizens much needed assistance. This aid should be effected independent of stabilisation funds and of investment credits in order to ensure assistance to those people di-
rectly affected by the war, such as invalids, widows, etc.

We must guarantee employment to every individual capable of working. Countries which do not possess the necessary equipment to guarantee employment to their citizens should receive long-term investment credits. It is absolutely essential that natural resources be made available to all nations and that the monetary system be regulated on an international scale. This is the only way in which we can avoid economic depressions.

There are many other problems which should be solved at this International Labour Conference. Our delegation will have the opportunity of submitting more detailed recommendations to the proper committees.

The fate of all nations at present is closely connected. International security, democracy, prosperity and social justice cannot be divided. There is only one world, and there can be only one freedom for both large and small nations. We cannot achieve a lasting, harmonious peace among nations without granting the working masses of the world a suitable standard of living. In addition, a treaty, if today, we could not create either small isolated States or large isolated spheres of influence of the Great Powers. The first lead to a quick social-economic catastrophe; the latter become the cause of another war. The only road to a lasting peace is to co-ordinate the world into a universal organisation, composed of regional federations.

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

Interpretation: Mr. FAJARDO (Employers' delegate, Bolivia)—I represent the Bolivian employers. We are essentially producers of raw materials that are consumed outside Bolivia. These raw materials find their market in Europe and the United States; consequently, the reactions of these markets, over which Bolivia has no control, profoundly affect the social, economic and financial situation of my country. Hence, the Bolivian producers have an interest in the work of this International Labour Conference. It should be emphasised that Bolivia, in spite of its small population and undeveloped economy, is one of the most important contributors of strategic minerals necessary for the victory of the United Nations.

Like other small countries, we have not been able to bring here as many experts as other delegations. We have not, therefore, all the necessary means to support our arguments, but we ask that in the studies and recommendations of the experts of other delegations the economic conditions of small countries should not be forgotten.

Thus Bolivia, for example, produces raw materials, such as tin, wolfram and antimony. The operation of these mineral industries depends on the markets of the United States and Great Britain. If these consumers continue to use these raw materials and pay a reasonable price for them, it will be possible to improve the conditions of the workers and also raise their standards of living; but if, as is now the case, the consumers refuse to renew contracts for the purchase of these materials, or refuse to maintain prices, there will logically occur in Bolivia unemployment and the stagnation of the social progress which has been achieved. There is, therefore, a concrete case here showing that, despite the goodwill of Government and employers to improve the social situation of their workers, they cannot do so as far as they would like, owing to the economic policy of foreign countries, over which Bolivia has no control.

These facts strike us with all the force of reality, and they cannot be resolved by theoretical or idealistic statements. It is necessary to analyse the facts disinterestedly and attack problems in a realistic spirit. We all wish to make progress—progress for humanity, and particularly in our own country—but this cannot always be achieved at the same tempo, owing to forces operating outside our control, as in the case of Bolivia.

Before the war, only the Axis countries had solved their problems of unemployment, but at the cost of individual liberty. It was an abnormal situation—that is, the war—that enabled the democratic countries to solve the problem of unemployment. Hence, it is certain that had it not been for the innate courage of the English, thanks to their liberal ideology, and to American industry developed under a system of industrial liberty, where Russia and the rest of the world would have been some time ago overrun by the war machine of the Axis. Consequently, since the principles of democracy and liberty have given evidence of their strength and superiority over the totalitarian ideology in the most tragic moments of humanity, it is for the International Labour Conference, in accordance with current realities and its experience of the past, to confirm its wholehearted support of the institutions of democracy and liberty, based above all on freedom of trade and industry. Future generations will never pardon the sacrifice of millions of lives in battle if, after the victory, we adopt the interventionist principles of the Nazis and Fascists, and do violence to private industry and the principles of democracy and liberty.

After reaffirming the principles of liberty and democracy, and always within the limits of reality, we must not lose sight of the fact that the war is impoverishing the world. The greatest loss is doubtless the sacrifice of millions of young lives. But, further, the produce of millions of workers, huge amounts of capital
and stocks of raw material have been destroyed on the fields of battle, both on land and at sea. On the other hand, while men have shouldered their rifles, women in many instances have abandoned their homes and invaded offices and factories, from patriotic zeal in most cases, though sometimes from economic motives. Lastly, the Governments of the strongest countries have piled up unlimited debts in order to pursue the war to a victorious conclusion.

After the war, we shall have to deal with the problems of unemployment, enormous public debts, poverty, and the need for reconstructing homes. Is it possible to think of recommendations and declarations of a theoretical character, such as the “maintenance of full employment and the raising of standards of living”? How can you maintain something which has never been achieved? How can you raise a standard of living if there is unemployment?—unless, of course, you send women workers with families back to their homes, and the hours of work are divided among all those capable of working. We must begin, then, by recommending the protection of the sources that provide employment.

Instead of dividing the world into those who give and those who receive, let us ensure that all who can work are given the possibility of employment. This will be possible only if the necessary political, monetary and financial guarantees are obtained. We should therefore recommend that Governments establish sound monetary systems and put their economic house in order, but not in competition with private industry nor by the encouragement of bureaucracy.

We should also recommend that the workers’ organisations as well as the Governments should see that foreign elements do not enter workers’ organisations to exploit them and create tension between labour and capital. Free organisation of the workers’ unions should be guaranteed so that they may fulfil the functions for which they were designed.

We also consider it important to send working mothers back to their families, because in the home the worker should find material and mental rest, and there the children imitate the principles of democracy and freedom.

When labour is thus protected, industry will develop and produce all that is necessary for a happy life, will offer well-paid employment, and will assure a rising standard of living for all workers.

Failure to consider these problems and those of the post-war period in a realistic spirit will result in diminution of liberties and an aggravation of the distinction and separation between social classes, and will threaten the internal peace of countries.

We must therefore realise that it is the duty of Governments, workers and employers, not only to enjoy the beauties and riches of the world, but also to assume joint responsibility for the difficulties and the shortcomings of the world.

Governments, employers and workers here, far from their own countries, must concern themselves with the social problems in a broad spirit, aiming at the collective welfare and not at that of their respective groups. In other words, we must not only defend our rights, but we must also be capable of feeling for human suffering, and of devising means for preventing it. To sum up, we, as men striving to uphold human dignity in this our democratic liberal society, must attack the problems of the times and of the post-war period in a realistic spirit and not simply theoretically.

Mr. OLDENBROEK (Workers’ delegate, Netherlands)—In 1919, when this International Labour Organisation was founded, the Germany of Kaiser Wilhelm had been defeated. The world had been made safe for democracy, and it was going to be the place fit for heroes to live in. In reality, the world became a place very unsafe for democracy and fit only for heroes to die in.

Have we really learned our lesson? Do we remember those days of 1918 and 1919 that shook the world, when concessions were made to the workers, not out of conviction, but out of fear?

Those who understand what keeps the minds of the people going, both in the free countries and in the occupied territories, expect of this Conference a bold, a courageous policy and far-sighted statesmanship. After the sufferings the people have gone through, they do not believe in pious resolutions nor in petty reforms, but in immediate and resolute action. And if it were only to inspire the millions fighting for freedom, we should act with determination and with great speed. I was rather disappointed by the extremely cautious attitude displayed by the delegate of the Norwegian Labour Government, who was afraid that we might deviate from constitutional procedure. I suggest that we leave the retaliation for war crimes to others, and that we keep to our own job. This is not a political meeting.

What, then, is our job? To state here and now that we hold that full employment must be guaranteed, or otherwise adequate compensation, and that all our resources, both human and material, shall be used in order to achieve that objective. And we shall further say that not only the nations guarantee full employment, but that the nations shall be given the opportunity to provide work and to render services.

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

Since then, however, the International Labour Organisation has come of age, and the Ministries of Labour are coming of age too in the different countries. The question is not whether the League of Nations is or is not defunct. It has also done some good work, but it has been unable to prevent aggression and to maintain peace. The time has now come to give the I.L.O. the powers which it needs. It must become independent, but it must co-operate with other international organisations. All these international institutions which are being set up are of course of the utmost importance; but for the workers—and they represent a small part of the world population—the I.L.O. is the most important, because it has to deal with the fundamental and vital problems of social and economic policy, to which all other functions must be subordinated.

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

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

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

The right of free association and the existence of free trade unions are the very foundations of this Organisation. Free trade unions means no interference by Governments or employers or others. The conclusion which we must have drawn is that the system of government in other countries is not immaterial, because the maintenance of peace depends upon the form of government. The trade unions will support the work of this Organisation, but they must remain free agents and have their own task and their own responsibility. I cannot promise the employers' delegate from South Africa that trade unions will give up their ideal of socialism because the I.L.O. has a social programme. In the meantime, we shall always be grateful for his support in putting the programme into effect. Evolution is gradual, but in the absence of evolution, there will be revolution, and revolution is two steps forward and one back.

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

I have the greatest respect for the sovereignty of nations, but it really goes too far to pretend that if a country is forced to introduce social legislation, her sovereign rights are jeopardised. It is about time that we began to think in world terms and to realise that absolute sovereignty is out of date. My suggestion at the New York Conference was not to abolish sovereignty, but to make Conventions binding after a certain number, be it one half or two thirds, of the Member States have ratified. By refusing to ratify, countries hold up the improvement of conditions in other countries. The seamen, in particular, because of the international character of their profession, found that out to their disadvantage between the two wars.

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

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

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

Finally, I desire to express my appreciation of the fact that elaborate proposals have been worked out with regard to the restoration of trade union organisations and social rights in the Axis countries. I think it is right to say that we must facilitate the building up in these militarist countries of new and democratic mass movements, because, as I have said before, it is these movements that must guarantee future peace.

Although cut off from the rest of the world, the workers of the occupied countries of Europe, those who have stayed at home and those who have gone into hiding and those who have been deported, are discussing the problems which are before this Conference. They have heard of the Atlantic Charter and of the Four Freedoms; they have printed and distributed leaflets. They have listened to foreign radio broadcasts; they have organised sabotage, and they have formed guerrilla warfare. In every instance, they have risked their freedom, their health, their very lives, in order to further victory. May that victory soon come, and may it bring freedom, enduring peace, social progress and prosperity—in short, a world order worthy of mankind.

Mr. RADI (Government delegate, Egypt)—I am deeply privileged to be here today, and to be given this opportunity of laying before this assembly some points of view which are relevant to the important questions under discussion in this Conference.

Although the association of Egypt with the I.L.O. is of recent date, we in Egypt take great interest in its work, and appreciate the important role which it plays in the attainment of a better social life. We are, therefore, attaching great importance to the items on the agenda, and we trust that when they are carried out they will lead to the achievement of better social justice and security.

In Egypt, we have our own peculiar social conditions and problems. Our country till now has been mainly agricultural, and two thirds of the population are still occupied in farming. But, on the other hand, the population has increased to the extent that it has doubled in the last forty years. The agricultural lands available, however, are limited; and whatever reclamation can be done will not suffice to find full employment for our growing people.

Egypt, therefore, is facing a serious difficulty; and, as a result, we feel that encouragement of industry is the only hope of finding work for our people. Taking into consideration, then, the one of the proposals of the International Labour Organisation is to scrutinise all international financial and economic policies, we hope that the social situation of Egypt and other countries in a similar position will be favourably considered.

Another difficulty which we shall soon meet and which will need the co-operation and the help of other countries will be the question of finding employment for great number of its skilled and unskilled labourers who are at present working in army jobs. Egypt has not witnessed the horrors of war to which other countries have been subjected, but the end of hostilities will demand a solution of this problem; and we rely on the aid of other countries in giving us facilities for importing the necessary machinery and material to find employment for our people.

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

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

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

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

These are points which I want to lay before you. I should like, before concluding, to say that we in Egypt have no other aim except to collaborate wholeheartedly, in our modest way, with the I.L.O. in attaining social justice and raising the standard of living of the individual.

Interpretation: Mr. de la ROSA (Government delegate, Panama)—There is good reason for the procedure chosen to deal with the first and second items on the agenda of the Conference. We are faced with proposals of great importance. The reforms which have been proposed in the Constitution of the I.L.O. would convert it into a world instrument for economic and social action of such wide scope as to affect international public and private law. The I.L.O. would be characterised as one of the agencies for planning the reconstruction of the world on a basis of justice and liberty, for which all peoples wish.

The thought behind the text which we are considering does not ignore the realities of the situation. Both from the theoretical and from the technical aspect, the proposed resolutions on the first and second items recognise the unity of the world in which we live, and the universal validity of the principles and the measures which the I.L.O. proposes. They envisage the Constitution of the I.L.O. as a world instrument for investigation, action and co-ordination, so as both to assure the application of the right of all human beings, without distinction of race, creed or sex, to develop their spiritual and material well-being, to live in dignity, which is given only by liberty, and in the fullness which is given by economic security.

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

These are some of the reflections which arise in the minds of the representatives from the Latin American countries, in connection with the serious questions which are set forth in the reports on the first and second items on the agenda. Our people are not blind to the preoccupations which are being expressed here and do not lack interest in the solutions which are being recommended. A hundred million Latin Americans represented here all have the same problems which we are discussing, and which are aggravated in their countries by economic and social peculiarities.

Social legislation has, in Latin America, a very vital action. The I.L.O. can be in the future, as it has not always been in the past, a progressive factor as the centre of investigation, of help and counsel, which will help us to adjust to our own conditions our institutions for the regulation of labour matters. The problem for us is not only the formulation of laws which are technically adequate, but their application in the daily life of the masses. It is easy to condemn this by looking at the imposing collection of social laws which have been adopted in our countries and which are now accumulating dust in the ministerial archives.

My country needs an international organisation which can understand its problems. Problems of labour in Panama are of two kinds. Some are exclusively internal, and can be solved by reform and amplification of the present labour legislation. But there are others having a certain international character, which makes their solution more complicated. They are those which arise from the labour system now existing in the Canal Zone, which has been the principal centre of labour in Panama in two periods—from 1904 to 1919, and from 1938 until now.

Of the labouring population in the cities of Panama and Colón, more than sixty per cent have been occupied, since 1939, in building fortifications on the Canal. Thousands and thousands have been taken away from their agricultural work and converted into labourers. Several thousand more are employed in neighbouring countries of Central and South America.

In the Canal Zone, there is a regulation of labour which is based on principles of frank racial discrimination. There are two great divisions, one called the "gold roll" and the other the "silver roll". In the first are by right of birth the white workers who are citizens of the United States; in the second, the coloured workers, who include Latin Americans, West Indians, and others. This discrimination affects the scale of wages throughout. The principle of equal wage for equal work does not apply in the Canal Zone. Those Amer-
ican citizens who are on the “gold roll” enjoy concessions and facilities which the workers on the “silver roll” do not receive. The job of chauffeur, for example, carries a rate of $1.05 for the workers on the “gold roll”, while a Latin American receives for the same work only 75 cents an hour. In all occupations there is this same discrimination. There are innumerable cases of Panamanian workers who are skilled or craft workers receiving a much lower wage than that of an apprentice or helper from the United States.

At the beginning of the present activity, there was a certain liberality in fixing wages for semi-skilled and skilled workers; but in 1941 new regulations were introduced which reduced and stabilised wages, without taking into account the fact that the cost of living had gone up steadily in Panama and the Canal Zone, as at the same time protected workers from seeking better-paid jobs. Any worker who leaves one section to go into another may not receive any wage other than the minimum wage established for the job.

The system of dismissals is also unfavourable to the workers. Leaving certificates are made out by the foreman in the light of his personal feelings, and usually with little reference to the worker’s ability and conduct. Recently, too, the right of the “silver roll” workers to 15 days annual leave and 15 days sick leave with pay was withdrawn, and in February overtime pay for hours exceeding 40 in the week was abolished. And this discrimination is all the more unjustifiable in the case of Panamanian workers, in that the agreement signed between the Governments of the United States and Panama in 1936 provides that the workers of both countries shall enjoy equality of treatment and wages in the Canal Zone.

It is easy to understand the demoralising effect of all this on the Latin American workers in the Canal Zone. I can testify to the profound resentment, bitterness and doubt felt by every one of these men when they hear appeals to their solidarity in the fight for democracy.

The delegation of Panama proposes to submit to President Roosevelt and Miss Perkins a petition signed by hundreds of humble people asking for an investigation of their problems. We believe that the I.L.O. also can help us and that is why I have made this speech to the Conference. This is one of the problems that tests the strength of organisations such as ours, and affects not only the Panamanian and Latin American workers, but the validity of the principles of the I.L.O.

Mr. CHU (Workers' delegate, China)—Items I and II on the agenda are so pregnant with far-reaching ramifications that I deem it my duty to add some observations to those by previous speakers.

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

For the implementation of these social objectives, Report I provides us with valuable suggestions concerning the programme, machinery and procedures, as well as the constitutional practice, of the I.L.O. I propose now to confine myself to some remarks on certain of these problems.

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

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

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

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

This “continuing responsibility of the Organisation” may best be defined by add-
The question of the development of the regional activities of the I.L.O., dealt with in chapter IV of Report I, is also worthy of note. The report proposes the convened an Asiatic advisory conference of the I.L.O., to be attended by India, China, the Philippine Commonwealth, as well as other countries of Southeast Asia. While welcoming in principle such regional co-operation, I must add the reservation that such a conference as envisaged is premature, inasmuch as prevailing conditions of war would render advance planning impossible in that region at this juncture.

Regional conferences of the International Labour Organisation, moreover, must primarily serve as an instrumentality for arriving at collective agreements, as mentioned on page 10. The purpose of such agreements should be to achieve the objectives set forth in Conventions and Recommendations adopted at the full Conference—first, by the elimination of competition among countries with comparable conditions; and, second, by the gradual improvement of regional standards to reach the world level.

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

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

Bearing this in mind, I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to warn industrialists that, whatever industrial enterprises they might start in China, they must not follow the unenlightened path of imperialistic exploitation of Chinese labour. Wages for workers should represent a just share of the fruits of their labour, as well as of technological progress and increased possibilities of production. Only such a wage policy can afford the workers an improving standard of life. And only through the raising of the standard of living can purchasing power be enhanced, consumption increased, international trade stimulated, and production augmented.

Four hundred and fifty million people are a great mass of consumers. They constitute about one quarter of humanity. They are bending all efforts towards the industrialisation of their country and the development of their natural resources. While eager to increase production, they shun the curse that increased production means impoverishment of the masses and enrichment of only the few.

It is impossible, within the time allowed me, to exhaust comments on the reports. Suffice it to say that we have set for ourselves a goal of social justice. We are going to attain that goal through the international Labour Organisation. We shall see to it that we do not fail again.

Interpretation: Mr. de SANDOVAL (Government delegate, Cuba)—This is an opportune moment to express some ideas which are not perhaps wholly consonant with diplomatic protocol, but which are essential for the social purpose of a whole, and are quite compatible with the practice of this tripartite Conference.

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

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

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

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

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

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

This may seem rather a drastic proposal, but how can we advance and work out new treaties or recommendations unless we begin by seeing that those which already exist, and which represent minimum standards, are applied?
Cuba has ratified twenty-six Conventions and adopted the national legislation required, and has applied more than ten others by constitutional and legal measures, without getting any international credit for it. But if social progress does not proceed in a uniform manner, and if the products sold on the world markets give rise to unfair competition, we shall have to give up our 44-hour week, with payment for 48 hours, our month of paid holiday for every eleven months of work, and other benefits to workers, in order to reduce our costs of production.

To these remarks, which I hope the Conference will take into account, I should like to add that as one of the United Nations, Cuba is following, through its National Committee for the Study of Post-War Problems, the development of these discussions and has adopted the following programme:

(1) Social measures to give effect to the principles of the Atlantic Charter, the Four Freedoms, and the Good Neighbour Policy in the social field: collaboration between all nations to improve labour standards everywhere and establish economic prosperity and social security; measures to ensure to all men in all parts of the world a life free from fear and privation; regulation of international labour legislation, to extend its benefits to all workers without distinction of race, religion, political or economic situation; prevention of unfair competition by countries with low living standards, and achievement of social justice; and various forms of State intervention.

(2) Social security: measures to guarantee nutrition, clothing, housing and medical and educational assistance; the possibility of international financial cooperation in order to ensure social security in all countries.

(3) Relief and rehabilitation of uprooted populations: consideration of the policy of U.N.R.O.A.; social assistance; measures to prevent unemployment; and the elimination of fascist ideologies; education in the democratic organisation of the world. I will not add anything about our domestic policy for lack of time, but it includes the revision of all our laws in order to give our workers benefits equal to those of the most advanced countries.

Interpretation: Dr. KUHN TALAY (Government delegate, Uruguay)—It is encouraging that, at this crucial moment in the life of the nations, the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, with great foresight and courage, unity of intention and decision, should have summoned the States Members to this Conference and established so surely the basis of discussion on the great problems facing individuals and nations.

The Director, in his Report, summarises the sombre social, financial and economic struggle in which the world has been engaged since 1941, and analyses the task and achievements of the Office. But it is in the suggestions in the reports forming the basis of the deliberations of this Conference that the ideological and technical capacity of the Organisation has reached its highest point.

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

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

Uruguay also considers that, with a view to establishing true and efficient international economic collaboration, it is above all necessary to know the demographic, social, industrial, agricultural, and economic possibilities of countries. We have therefore already accepted the collaboration of the International Labour Office in the form of the loan of one of its statisticians, who, in collaboration with national technicians, is working on social plans, and Uruguay wishes that this technical collaboration will develop in all the countries of the world. This view is expressed in the motion which will be submitted to the Conference.

I will describe in broad outline the preparatory work that is going on in Uruguay with a view to exploring present and post-war problems and the possibility of international collaboration.

During the past twenty-five years, Uruguay has effectively collaborated in the work of the International Labour Organisation. We have always supported it, and we believe in its destiny. Of all the Conventions, Uruguay has ratified and has applied thirty-three, and at the end of 1942, another eight Conventions were submitted by the Executive to the Legislative Assembly. We hope that they will soon be approved. If some Conventions have not yet been ratified, it is because our Government feels that they do not correspond to the industrial situation of our country, which is not highly developed in all respects.

I must mention that much Uruguayan legislation complies with the social prin-
ciples recommended by the Geneva Conferences, and that much legislative work and social work is based on the Recommendations adopted there, and we are proud to point out that in many cases the legislation of Uruguay goes beyond those principles. This has been recognised by the International Labour Office itself, and was specially mentioned in connection with the Santiago resolutions, when it was said that the legislation of Uruguay guaranteed to wage earners a more comprehensive and extensive protection in many cases than was required by the international labour Conventions.

I am glad to see in the Director's Report, where it speaks of wages, mention of a recent law, passed in November 1943, by which we applied the Convention concerning the fixing of minimum wages for all the workers in the country, and also the appointment of wage boards to fix the scale of wages for groups of trades and for individual occupations.

I must also mention the recent institution of family allowances for all workers, employees and agricultural labourers, for each legitimate or natural child up to the age of 14, or sometimes up to the age of 16, when they are pursuing secondary school studies or apprenticeship in courses in special schools.

These social security plans are of such range and significance as to testify to the social work of the Government and to make it deserving of international consideration. I do not wish to fatigue the Conference with the details of our social achievements, but I would just mention a few of the most recent.

A great number of public works have been set on foot, giving work to many people. We hope to complete the great Rio Negro hydroelectric scheme which will contribute to the industrialisation of the country. A system of drawing lots was established to provide fair chances of employment for unskilled labourers in public works. The benefits of annual holidays were extended to many trades, and the Executive is hoping to extend them to all workers of the country and has submitted a Bill to Parliament in this respect.

The Government is providing by decree for a civil service code, until Parliament is able to pronounce finally on this important matter.

To the long list of compensable occupational diseases there has recently been added dermatitis allergica.

A law of 31 December 1943 establishes in commerce a continuous six-hour day or a non-continuous seven-hour day. The benefits of pensions have been extended to various trades, and a scheme of pensions and unemployment insurance has been devised for rural workers.

Our experience in the application of insurance against industrial accidents and occupational diseases has been satisfactory, but much remains to be done in the field of insurance. Our Government believes that in countries which are new or of weak structure, or, like our own, have limited economic resources, it is preferable to approach social security from the standpoint of preventing or removing the basic causes of unemployment and other social risks, and only as a last resort to consider the introduction of insurance, which is costly and not likely to be willingly accepted by peoples who are not accustomed to insurance.

But that does not mean that we should not wish later to adopt a full social insurance scheme, extending its benefits to the whole population, if the ills that now prevail should continue. What has been done in Uruguay about unemployment and occupational accidents and diseases clearly shows our interest in the social insurance system.

In Uruguay, these risks are still met by social assistance measures such as popular restaurants, State-supported hospitals, municipally-supported hospitals and maternity hospitals, and philanthropic societies. In the capital alone, there are more than fifteen mutual aid societies, and a large part of the population are members. It is very common for autonomous organisations of the State, private organisations, large industries and commercial organisations to have their own medical and hospital services, supported by the members and financed partly by the employers.

Our Government is resolutely facing the critical situation now and after the war. In accordance with the Recommendations of the New York Conference, we set up various commissions: one of these to collect material concerning post-war problems; another to deal with the legal questions arising out of the present war, and similar questions that may arise afterwards. Finally, another commission, representative of all sectors of national life, studies the various post-war problems, independently of all political considerations, and is to submit a preliminary report to the Government in its internal and external policy.

In recent rural congresses of the Republic, a need has been expressed for the setting up of specialised agricultural centres with due regard for international needs after the war. We have also received suggestions in this matter from the United States of America.

The rural institutes and the Directorate of Agriculture are responsible for determining suitable zones for intensive cultivation. Uruguay is thus prepared to share in the international effort of aid and collaboration. In this connection, our Government is prepared to receive immigrants, and, in agreement with the United Nations, to provide them with favourable conditions of settlement.

Although the problem of unemployment will not be so grave as it is in many highly industrialised countries, Uruguay is, as already stated, prepared to listen to the
ReCOMMENDATIONS AND decisions made BY this Conference and is tricking to apply them—since they are bound to be wise and well considered—so far as may be compatible with national and international facts.

In conclusion, we trust that there will be no weakening of the spirit of frank and loyal collaboration that we all feel here, and that the solemn Declaration of aims and purposes that will govern the existence and operation of the I.L.O. will serve as a goal for the United Nations to the lasting benefit of humanity.

Interpretation: Mr. SABROSO (Work­ers' adviser and substitute delegate, Peru)—I should like to express to you in a few words the opinion of the organised workers of my country concerning items I and II on the agenda.

The organised workers of Peru have faith and hope in the results of this Conference, and in the work which the International Labour Organisation is going to fulfil in the future, as a consultant and technical director for the solution of the problems of social and economic character which the world will face as a result of the war.

We believe that the International Labour Organisation should develop by coordinating its acquired technical capacity with the aspirations and directives expressed by the sections of the population which are most interested in its work. This means that it must come out of this Conference perfected to the greatest degree possible. We do not expect to see those transcendental reforms which would cause such alarm to certain delegations, but we do believe that improvements in procedure and working may be adopted.

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

In insisting on the importance of the International Labour Organisation, we must express complete disagreement with the idea expressed by Mr. Beasley, the Australian delegate, when he said that in his opinion the International Labour Organisation should be reorganised as an intergovernmental organisation. We cannot affirm that the International Labour Organisation has achieved all its objectives, but modern labour law has undoubtedly been developed and strengthened by its 25 years of activity. If anyone is to speak of the slowness with which the rights of labour have been achieved, it should be the workers who are those most affected thereby. But, as we have said, we still have faith in the future of the Organisa-
belonging to the Employers' and Workers' groups, who would alternate regularly in such a way as to permit the participation of representatives of all countries in turn. We also believe that the same tripartite principle should be applied in all the agencies and branch offices which the Organisation maintains in various countries, since it would enable them to do much more useful work.

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

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

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

The Peruvian workers in mines, oilfields and agriculture live under miserable conditions and would welcome any gesture of understanding. We are confident that we can count on the sympathy of Governments—especially of the Government of the United States, whose President inaugurated the "good neighbour policy", of the employers who will follow their lead, and of our working-class brothers.

_Interpretation:_ Dr. FONTES (Government delegate, Brazil)—My Government is ready to put into practice the concrete solutions and principles established for the post-war period, whether in the form of the domestic measures necessary to attain these social objectives, or of international co-operation.

Among the principles which should be translated into action, none are more important for the American countries than mutual collaboration in the economic field and multilateral co-ordination of commercial policy.

Among these economic measures, the principle of the interdependence of nations and of their mutual obligations is generally recognised, and this implies the elimination of autarky and of dangerous isolationism, of aggressive nationalism, and of the disastrous effects of closed economic systems. The temporary success of such policies has been due in some countries to the development of all resources and the mobilisation of all reserves for war purposes. But peace is the normal condition, and we cannot win and maintain it in the international sphere except by an equilibrium of economic forces, by the natural mechanism of commercial expansion, and free access to production and consumption markets.

It is this policy of collaboration, and not of exclusion and privilege, which we are following on this continent, with the co-operation of the United States in particular, which stimulates economic development and the improvement of industrial technique, the use of all sources of production and exploration of natural resources, and the raising of the standard of living of all American countries.

On this continent, there is no policy of monopoly, reprisals or economic oppression. Because of our natural resources, our countries do not come into competition with each other, but complement each other. That is why we fully support the recommendations on international movements of capital and investment trends, and all measures to remove barriers and discrimination in international commerce, thus promoting greater economic stability.

The carrying out of this policy on a continental scale has united us into a federation of interests, seeking a common solution for common problems. The experience of our association in times of peace and in times of war, which has given rise to new forms of world co-operation and mutual collaboration, enables us to view the future without fear, although we realise how difficult it will be.

With regard to social policy in the Axis countries, and particularly in Germany, where promises and hopes still continue to exist, although they are belied by events, I can see two kinds of problems: the elimination of totalitarian organisations, and the preparations for the restoration of democratic practices. I think there is no doubt that the very fact of military defeat, of political collapse and general demoralisation, will help our occupation forces to suppress the totalitarian organisations, re-establish civil liberties, do away with impediments to trade union activity, and free the peoples from party tyranny.

But, looking at the matter realistically, I think that only gradually will it be possible for free institutions to return. There is a danger that we shall again be deceived and mystified by false conversions and a false renunciation of fallen idols. But even if the future of Germany is obscure, war crimes and acts of vandalism and violence must not go unpunished. Hitler is a product of the German soul, a typical phenomenon of the German character. We cannot condemn Nazism and then absolve the German people. Germany is responsible as a nation and must be punished as a nation—in all classes of the population. We cannot admit distinctions, or separations between the military caste, high finance, landed aristocracy, the monopolistic forces, the vanguard of youth, nor among the masses of the workers to whom we are
somewhat prematurely promising the benefits of labour protection, free association and social justice. By their silence and passivity, the German workers’ organisations have gone from easy acquiescence to active support of a régime which gave them work and uniforms. Today, in contrast to the heroic activity of the underground movement in Europe, we see in Germany only submission and conformity, and no form of direct action, nor even of passive protest.

The national wealth and industrial potential of Germany and of the other aggressor countries must pay for the damage suffered, in the form of reparations and of economic reconstruction. But the peace-loving workers of the invaded countries who have had to forge arms to meet the invasion and to defend their homes, their property, their harvests against destruction, are asking, and are entitled to ask, for the restoration of their devastated regions and wealth by German labour.

In the roll of war guilt, we may accept a greater or lesser degree of responsibility, but no acquittals. We cannot accept punishment for one, and pardon and absolution for the other. We think that the Germans are not incapable of regeneration and reform; but we ask that they shall redeem themselves and save themselves by their own efforts, until they are fit to take their place again among the peace-loving community of peoples. If we insist on repeating the errors of the past, instead of a lasting peace we shall have only an armistice, long or short, which will precede a third aggression.

The PRESIDENT—That concludes the discussion on items I and II. Delegates may be interested in some statistics with regard to the six sittings that we have had. There have been 52 speakers, 32 Governments, or countries, have been represented by the speakers. There are nine countries whose delegates had wanted to speak, but who said that what they had to say had been said by someone else, and, therefore, they determined to help the Conference by not adding another speaker to the list. There were 14 speakers from the Workers’ group, 30 from the Government group, and 8 from the Employers’ group. Sixteen countries were represented by one speaker only; 12 countries had two speakers; and four countries had three speakers. Those are just statistics.

It has been a magnificent help to the whole of the Conference to get the opinions of the delegates with regard to the subjects which are set out in items I and II on the agenda.

The discussion on these two items is now closed.

(The Conference adjourned at 6.45 p.m.)
Delegates present at the Sitting

United States of America:
Mr. Goodrich (substitute for Miss Perkins)
Mr. Thomas
Mr. Watt

Argentina Republic:
Mr. García Arias
Mr. Palmieri
Mr. Lamuraglia

Australia:
Mr. Beasley
Mr. Barnard
Mr. Clarey

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

Bolivia:
Mr. Fajardo

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

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

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

Chile:
Mr. Bustos Lagos
Mr. Velázquez Quiroga

China:
Mr. Li Ping-heng
Mr. Li Ming
Mr. Chu Esueh-fan

Colombia:
Mr. Nannetti
Mr. Molina

Costa Rica:
Fr. Nuñez Vargas

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

Czechoslovakia:
Mr. Hyka (substitute for Mr. Masaryk)
Mr. Shoenbaum
Mr. Kosina

Dominican Republic:
Mr. Coco
Mr. Morales

Ecuador:
Mr. López Arteta
Mr. Torres Vera

Egypt:
Mr. Radi
Mr. Ramzy
Mr. Soliman

Ethiopia:
Mr. Tessema

France:
Mr. Tixier
Mr. Antoine
Mr. Laurent

Greece:
Mr. Loverdos (substitute for Mr. Dimitropoulos)
Mr. Zarras
Mr. Kulukundis

Haiti:
Mr. Artaud (substitute for Mr. Thébaud)

India:
Mr. England (substitute for Sir Samuel Ranganadhan)
Mr. Mehta

Iraq:
Mr. Haidari
Mr. Jawdat

Ireland:
Mr. Hearne

Luxembourg:
Mr. Krier
Mr. Le Gallais

Mexico:
Mr. Trujillo Gurria

Netherlands:
Mr. Oldenbrook

New Zealand:
Mr. Taylor
Mr. Butland
Mr. Allerby

Norway:
Mr. Skard (substitute for Mr. Hambro)
Mr. Welhaven (substitute for Mr. Ording)
Mr. Nordahl

Panama:
Mr. Valdés
Mr. de la Rosa
Mr. Ortega Viento
Mr. Garrido

Peru:
Mr. Fernández Stoll
Mr. Pastor (substitute for Mr. Elguera)
Mr. Vidal
Mr. Luna

Poland:
Mr. Stanczyk
Mr. Strakacz
Mr. Alcohol
Mr. Adamszyk

Union of South Africa:
Mr. Andrews
Mr. Brennan
Mr. Skeles

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

Switzerland:
Mr. Beer (substitute for Mr. Bruggmann)

Turkey:
Mr. Esmer

Uruguay:
Mr. Kühn Talay
Mr. Pontaina

Venezuela:
Mr. Tinoco Rodil
Mr. Pérez Guerrero

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

Also present at the Sitting:
Mr. Asgeirsson (Iceland)
Mr. Acosta (Paraguay)
TENTH SITTING

Saturday, 29 April 1944, 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Bustos Lagos

FIRST REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT (Mr. Bustos Lagos)—The sitting is open. The first item on our agenda is the consideration of the report of the Credentials Committee.

Dr. van den TEMPEL (Government delegate, Netherlands), Chairman of the Credentials Committee—I have the honour to submit the first report of the Credentials Committee, which deals entirely with matters of a formal character and does not present any controversial issue. Meanwhile, the Committee is considering the five objections, and it expects to report further to you in the course of next week.

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT (Mr. Bustos Lagos)—I should like to thank the Chairman of the Credentials Committee for his report. The report is now open for discussion. If there are no speakers, I shall consider the report adopted.

(The report is adopted.)

FOURTH REPORT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT (Mr. Bustos Lagos)—I should like to thank the Chairman of the Credentials Committee for his report. The second item on the agenda is the fourth report of the Selection Committee. I call on the Chairman of the Selection Committee to present the report.

Sir Samuel RUNGANADHAN (Government delegate, India), Chairman of the Selection Committee—I have the honour to present the fourth report of the Selection Committee:

Proposed Declaration concerning the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation (contained in Report I, pages 185 to 186).

The Selection Committee recommends that the Conference refer the Declaration concerning the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation to a Drafting Committee with a view to its adoption by this session of the Conference, the Drafting Committee to be composed of the Officers of the Conference with the addition of the Chairman of the Selection Committee and one member nominated by each of the three groups in the Selection Committee.

It is understood that at least the Government group in the Selection Committee will nominate a member representing an occupied country.

The Drafting Committee so composed will take into account all observations made during the general discussion in the full Conference on the Declaration. It will also be prepared to take into consideration any further observations which delegates may wish to make to it and will decide on the way in which such observations may be brought to its attention.

Interpretation: The PRESIDENT (Mr. Bustos Lagos)—If there are no speakers on this part of the report, I shall consider the proposals adopted.

(The proposals are adopted.)

1 See Third Part, Appendix I.
Sir Samuel Runganadhàn (Government delegate, India), Chairman of the Selection Committee—

Further consideration of other matters coming under items I and II of the agenda.

The Selection Committee recommends that the Conference should refer to a Committee the other subjects covered by the reports on items I and II of the agenda, including the proposals in regard to joint industrial committees, for examination and report to the Conference.

1 See Third Part, Appendix V.

It would be understood that this committee would take into consideration, inter alia, the resolution submitted by the Government delegates of Canada¹, and resolutions submitted by other delegates on the substance of Reports I and II.

Interpretation: The President (Mr. Bustos Lagos)—The discussion is open on the second part of the Selection Committee's report. If there are no observations on this part of the report, I shall consider it adopted.

(The proposals are adopted.)

(The Conference adjourned at 10.50 a.m.)
Tenth Sitting

Delegates present at the Sitting

**United States of America:**
- Mr. Goodrich (substitute for Miss Perkins)
- Mr. Thomas
- Mr. Watt

**Australia:**
- Mr. Beasley
- Mr. Barnard
- Mr. Clarey

**Belgium:**
- Mr. Rens
- Mr. Barnard

**Colombia:**
- Mr. Nannetti
- Mr. Molina

**Costa Rica:**
- Fr. Nuñez Vargas

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

**Czechoslovakia:**
- Mr. Hýka (substitute for Mr. Masaryk)
- Mr. Kosina

**Dominican Republic:**
- Mr. Morales

**Ecuador:**
- Mr. López Arteta
- Mr. Torres

**Egypt:**
- Mr. Radi
- Mr. Ramzy

**Ethiopia:**
- Mr. Tessema

**France:**
- Mr. Tixier
- Mr. Antoine
- Mr. Laurent

**India:**
- Sir Samuel Runganathan
- Mr. Prior
- Mr. Mulherkar (substitute for Mr. Mahendra)
- Mr. Mehta

**Iran:**
- Mr. Daftary

**Ireland:**
- Mr. Heare

**Luxembourg:**
- Mr. Krier

**Mexico:**
- Mr. Trujillo Gurria
- Mr. Santos Guajardo
- Mr. Chapa

**Netherlands:**
- Mr. van den Tempel
- Mr. van Rhijn (substitute for Mr. Louden)
- Mr. Warning
- Mr. Oldenbroek

**New Zealand:**
- Mr. Turner (substitute for Mr. Nash)

**Norway:**
- Mr. Hambro
- Mr. Ording
- Mr. Nordahl

**Panama:**
- Mr. Valdés
- Mr. de la Rosa
- Mr. Ortega Vleto
- Mr. Garrido

**Peru:**
- Mr. Pastor (substitute for Mr. Elguera)

**Poland:**
- Mr. Stanczyk

**Union of South Africa:**
- Mr. Andrews
- Mr. Brennan
- Mr. de Vries

**Sweden:**
- Mr. Thorsson
- Mr. Anderson

**Switzerland:**
- Mr. Feer (substitute for Mr. Bruggmann)

**Turkey:**
- Mr. Gülek
- Mr. Esmer

**Uruguay:**
- Mr. Kühn Talay
- Mr. Fontaina

**Venezuela:**
- Mr. Pérez Guerrero

**Yugoslavia:**
- Mr. Soubotitich
- Mr. Bruer (substitute for Mr. Banae)
- Mr. Milos

Also present at the Sitting:
- Mr. Asgeirsson (Iceland)
- Mr. Acosta (Paraguay)
ELEVENTH SITTING

Monday, 1 May 1944, 3.15 p.m.

President: Mr. Nash

FIFTH REPORT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE

The President—I call upon Sir Samuel Runganadhun to present the fifth report of the Selection Committee.

Sir Samuel Runganadhun (Government delegate, India), Chairman of the Selection Committee—

Special Drafting Committee on the Proposed Declaration concerning the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation.

I have the honour to submit to the Conference that the following persons, in addition to the Officers of the Conference and the Chairman of the Selection Committee, have been nominated by the groups:

Government group: Mr. van Zeeland (Belgium).
Employers' group: Mr. Chapa (Mexico).
Workers' group: Mr. Oldenbroek (Netherlands).

The President—If there are no objections to the names submitted by the Chairman of the Selection Committee, I shall consider the proposals adopted.

(The proposals are adopted.)

Sir Samuel Runganadhun (Government delegate, India), Chairman of the Selection Committee—

Composition of the Committee on items I and II on the agenda of the Conference.

The Selection Committee recommends that this Committee be composed of 36 Government members, 18 Employers' members, and 18 Workers' members, with the Riddell system of voting, each Government member having one vote and each other member two votes.

The list of members of the Committee, as proposed by the Selection Committee in accordance with the nominations made by the groups, will be read by the Clerk of the Conference.

The Clerk of the Conference—

Government members:

United States of America.
Argentina.
Belgium.
Brazil.
British Empire.
Canada.
Chile.
China.
Colombia.
Cuban.
Czechoslovakia.
Dominican Republic.
Ecuador.
Egypt.
France.
Greece.
Haiti.
India.
Iran.
Ireland.
Luxembourg.
Mexico.
Netherlands.
New Zealand.
Norway.
Peru.
Poland.
Union of South Africa.
Sweden.
Switzerland.
Turkey.
Uruguay.
Venezuela.

Substitutes:

Bolivia.
Costa Rica.
Ethiopia.

Employers' members:

Mr. Dahl (Norway).
Mr. Harriman; substitutes: Mr. McDavitt, Mr. West and Mr. Dennison (United States of America).
Sir John Forbes Watson; substitute: Mr. Kirkaldy (British Empire).
Mr. Chapa; substitute: Mr. Fernández del Castillo (Mexico).
Mr. Morawetz; substitutes: Mr. Hexner and Mr. Basch (Czechoslovakia).
Mr. Joassart; substitutes: Mr. van Essche and Mr. Raick (Belgium).
Mr. Skeeles; substitute: Mr. Williams (Union of South Africa).
Mr. Coulter; substitute: Mr. Macdonnell (Canada).
Mr. von Heldenstam; substitute: Mr. Wahlström (Sweden).
Mr. Kulukundis; substitute: Mr. Gratsos (Greece).
Mr. Antoine; substitute: Mr. Gentil (France).
Mr. Mulherkar (India).
Mr. Vidal (Peru).
Mr. Li Ming; substitute: Mr. Shaw Kinn-wei (China).
Mr. Butland (New Zealand).
Mr. Vidal Leite Ribeiro (Brazil).
Mr. Heiremans Brockmann (Chile).
Mr. Bruer (Yugoslavia).

Workers' members:
Mr. Hallsworth (British Empire).
Mr. Clarey (Australia).
Mr. Dowd (Canada).
Mr. Milos (Yugoslavia).
Mr. de Vries (Union of South Africa).
Mr. Oldenbroek (Netherlands).

Mr. Laurent (France).
Mr. Watt (United States of America).
Mr. Andersson (Sweden).
Mr. Nordahl (Norway).
Mr. Sabrosu (Peru).
Mr. Mehta (India).
Mr. Velásquez Quiroga (Chile).
Mr. Garrido (Panama).
Mr. Rens (Belgium).
Mr. Fernández R. (Cuba).
Mr. Carrillo (Mexico).
Mr. Chu Hsueh-fan (China).

Substitutes:
Sir Walter Citrine (British Empire).
Mr. Allerby (New Zealand).
Mr. Bengough (Canada).
Mr. Guigui-Théral (France).
Mr. Green (United States of America).
Mr. Thedin (Sweden).
Mr. Lie (Norway).
Mr. Bhole (India).
Mr. Liu Hsuan-tsui (China).
Mr. Kosina (Czechoslovakia).
Mr. Milman (Poland).

The PRESIDENT—The motion is that the membership of the Committee on items I and II of the agenda, as submitted by the Chairman of the Selection Committee, be approved and adopted.

(The proposals are adopted.)

(The Conference adjourned at 3.25 p.m.)
Delegates present at the Sitting

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<td>Miss Perkins</td>
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<td>Mr. McDavitt (substitute for Mr. Harriman)</td>
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<td>Australia:</td>
<td>Mr. Cowley Hernández</td>
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<td>Mr. van Zeeland</td>
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<td>Brazil:</td>
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<td>Sir John Forbes Watson</td>
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<td>Canada:</td>
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<td>Mr. Velásquez Quiroga</td>
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<td>Mr. Li Ping-heng</td>
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<td>Mr. Hsheh Cheng-fu</td>
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<td>Mr. Liu Hsuan-teui (substitute for Mr. Chu Hsueh-fan)</td>
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<td>Mr. Mulherkar (substitute for Mr. Mahindra)</td>
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<td>Mr. van Rijn (substitute for Mr. Lodon)</td>
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<td>Mr. Laires-Gabaldón (substitute for Mr. Timoco Rodil)</td>
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<td>Mr. Oldenbroek</td>
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<td>Mr. Welhaven (substitute for Mr. Ording)</td>
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<td>Mr. Gabrovšek (substitute for Mr. Soubbotitch)</td>
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<td>Mr. Dahl</td>
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<td>Mr. Bondy (substitute for Mr. Banac)</td>
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<td>Mr. Lie (substitute for Mr. Nordahl)</td>
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<td>Mr. Jeličić (substitute for Mr. Milos)</td>
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ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE DEATH OF TWO DELEGATES

The PRESIDENT—I have one or two announcements to make to the Conference. We were all greatly shocked by the passing of Dr. Abdelmagid Ramzy, one of the Egyptian Government delegates. Following the desire of the Conference, a telegram was sent to the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Cairo, under the signature of myself and the Secretary-General. This telegram reads:

Greatly shocked by the sudden death of our eminent colleague, Dr. Abdelmagid Ramzy, we beg you to be good enough to offer to the Royal Government of Egypt, in the name of all the members of International Labour Conference, our sincere sympathy for this untimely loss.

We also at the same time have to record that, following on the passing of Mr. Oscar Heiremans Brockmann, a telegram, also under the name and signature of Mr. Phelan and myself, was sent to the Minister of Labour, Santiago, Chile, which said:

The sudden death of Mr. Oscar Heiremans Brockmann, Chilean Employers' delegate, has deeply moved all members of International Labour Conference, in whose name we beg you to convey to the Chilean Government and to the Employers' Association our sincerest sympathy.

Those telegrams have been acknowledged, the one to Chile by the Chairman of the Employers' Federation, thanking the Conference for its telegram.

MESSAGE FROM MR. SCHÜRCH

The PRESIDENT—I also want to report that the Secretary-General has received a telegram from Mr. Schürch of Switzerland, a great friend and advocate of the I.L.O. It reads:

Am prevented by technical reasons from being present at Conference. I express my feelings of solidarity with the aims of the Conference. I offer my best wishes for its success and greet its members.

ELECTIONS TO THE GOVERNING BODY

The PRESIDENT—I call upon the Chairman of the Electoral College of the Government group to announce the report from the Electoral College.

Interpretation: Dr. FONTES (Government delegate, Brazil), Chairman of the Electoral College of the Government group—The Electoral College met on Friday to elect new members of the Governing Body. The Electoral College decided unanimously that the mandate of the States occupying elective seats on the Governing Body would not be extended beyond the next ordinary session of the International Labour Conference. The Elec-
The Electoral College unanimously decided to confirm for the period stated the mandate of the six States occupying elective seats on the Governing Body before the election. These States are Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Norway, Poland and Yugoslavia.

The Electoral College proceeded to hold secret ballots to fill the two vacant seats on the Governing Body. The results of the ballot were as follows: 56 ballot papers were distributed; 55 valid ballot papers were returned; and there was one blank ballot paper. The absolute majority required was 29. The results of the vote were as follows: Peru, 33 votes; Greece, 30 votes. Peru and Greece obtained an absolute majority and were declared elected.

The PRESIDENT—I now call upon the Chairman of the Workers' group to present the report of the Workers' Electoral College.

Mr. HALLSWORTH (Workers' delegate, British Empire), Chairman of the Workers' group—At the meeting of the Workers' group assembled as an Electoral College on 5 May 1944, it was unanimously agreed that the duration of the mandate of the persons to be elected should continue only until the holding of the next ordinary session of the International Labour Conference.

The Electoral College proceeded to vote by secret ballot. The results of the election were as follows:

As regular members of the Governing Body:

Mr. Hallsworth (British Empire).
Mr. Watt (United States of America).
Mr. Andersson (Sweden).
Mr. Laurent (France).
Mr. Rens (Belgium).
Mr. Chu Hsueh-fan (China).
Mr. Lombardo Tolelano (Mexico).
Mr. Bengough (Canada).

The deputy members (in order of priority) were as follows:

Mr. Crofts (Australia).
Mr. Oldenbroek (Netherlands).
Mr. Kosina (Czechoslovakia).
Mr. Ibañez (Chile).
Mr. Downes (Union of South Africa).
Mr. Adamczyk (Poland).
Mr. Nordahl (Norway).
Mr. Mehta (India).

The PRESIDENT—I now call upon Mr. Coulter, Vice-Chairman of the Employers' group, to present the report of the Employers' Electoral College.

Mr. COULTER (Employers' delegate, Canada), Vice-Chairman of the Employers' group—The employers' delegates to the Electoral College met on 5 May 1944 and it was unanimously agreed that the duration of the mandate of the persons to be elected should continue only until the holding of the next ordinary session of the International Labour Conference. The regular members (in alphabetical order) who were elected were as follows:

Mr. Antoine (France).
Mr. Chapa (Mexico).
Mr. Erulkar (India).
Sir John Forbes Watson (British Empire).
Mr. Gemmill (Union of South Africa).
Mr. Harriman (United States of America).
Mr. Joassart (Belgium).
Mr. Morawetz (Czechoslovakia).

The deputy members (in order of priority) were as follows:

Mr. Li Ming (China).
Mr. Dahl (Norway).
Mr. Macdonnell (Canada).
Mr. Cowley Hernández (Cuba).
Mr. Falter (Poland).
Mr. Kulukundis (Greece).
Mr. Warning (Netherlands).
Mr. Banac (Yugoslavia).

The election was unanimous.

SIXTH REPORT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE

The PRESIDENT—I call upon Sir Samuel Runganadhan to present the report of the Selection Committee.

Sir Samuel RUNGANADHAN (Government delegate, India), Chairman of the Selection Committee—I have the honour to present the sixth report of the Selection Committee.

The PRESIDENT—The motion is that the report of the Selection Committee be adopted.

(The report is adopted).

DIRECTOR'S REPORT: DISCUSSION

The PRESIDENT—I now propose to proceed to the discussion on the Director's Report, but before doing so, I want to make one or two announcements. First, it will be essential that the speeches should be telephoned, and they can be telephoned only in the best way if manuscripts are sent in. They can be telephoned otherwise, but it may not be so helpful and accurate, so those who have sent in their names to speak would be helped in getting their message over if they put in a manuscript of the speech they propose to make.

Secondly, the speeches, in accordance

1 See Third Part, Appendix II.
with the Standing Orders, will be confined to fifteen minutes. Delegates are urgently requested to make them less than five fifteen minutes. The speaker who talks for one minute will be helping the Conference tremendously, provided he says in the minute what he would normally have said in fifteen.

The procedure to be followed will be that when the speaker has talked for thirteen minutes, I will hit the table twice, and everyone will sit down and the speaker will then know that he must finish very quickly; and at the end of the next two minutes, I will hit the table once again and rise myself, and the delegate must finish when I rise unless, by the consent of the Conference, the speaker goes on.

**Interpretation:** Mr. BUSTOS LAGOS (Government delegate, Chile)—In the name of the Chilean delegation, I put forward, in Reports I and II, a few points designed to facilitate the adoption of a programme for the development of the activities of the International Labour Organisation.

The Director's Report now gives the countries an opportunity of explaining their own social development and I should like to describe the conditions prevailing and the progress made in Chile.

Chile is at the extreme end of the southern hemisphere and covers a considerable area, not very much favoured by nature and not very favourable to intense production, so we have had to take account of these adverse circumstances and endeavour to secure co-operation and understanding between capital and labour.

Chile has always, as the International Labour Office is aware, been animated by high conceptions of economic and social policy, based on the rights of the workers and solicitude for their welfare, but without neglecting the interests of production, and our own measures on behalf of the workers preceded the development of international co-operation in the social field.

When the Treaty of Versailles of 1918 denounced the shortcomings and the injustices under which the workers of the world were labouring, Chilean social legislation had already begun its development.

We had introduced legislation concerning workers' housing in 1906, the Sunday rest in 1907, protection for invalid children in 1912, protection for the burial funds of mutual societies in 1913, seating arrangements in commercial establishments in 1915, industrial accidents in 1916, nurseries in factories in 1917, the State Railways Superannuation and Welfare Fund in 1919. The Treaty of Versailles and the creation of the International Labour Organisation gave us a fresh stimulus, and between 1919 and 1924 another series of measures were passed. These included the limitation of the working hours, introduction of employment contracts for industrial workers, and creation of an inspection service in the Directorate of Labour, compulsory insurance against sickness, invalidity and old age, compensation for occupational accidents and diseases, establishment of conciliation and arbitration boards, freedom of association, consumers' co-operative societies, employment contracts for salaried employees, prohibition of night work in bakeries, and the establishment of the Ministry of Health, Social Welfare and Labour.

The year 1925 marked a very important step in our social policy. Our social principles were, as it were, constitutionalised, and a special provision governing them was inserted in the Constitution, as Article XIV. We were the first country after Mexico to include social provisions in our Constitution. Article XIV guarantees to all inhabitants of our country labour protection and social welfare, especially as regards housing and wages, so that all workers may share in the work of the world. In 1925 we also began to ratify international labour Conventions, being the first country in South America to do so. In 1925, we began with seamen's articles of agreement, and we created labour courts in 1927, thus instituting a separate labour judicature. Then came the third stage of our social development. In 1931, all these laws were codified, and our Labour Code has served as an example to many other countries.

We have kept in close contact with the International Labour Office, not only through administrative means but also by the application of Conventions and Recommendations. Eight Conventions were ratified in 1925, and now the number ratified has increased to 33 Conventions and 10 Recommendations. In this respect we take a first place on the American continent.

We have also been continually improving our Labour Code, especially as regards the basic conditions of employment, so as to extend the rights of workers and give them a better social status. The Salaried Employees Act of 1937, which provided for the adjustment of wages in accordance with the cost of living, on the basis of the activities of joint committees of employers and workers, was substantially amended in 1941 and 1942. Our aim is to relate economic development to social progress, with due regard for the rights of the workers and of the employers.

As a logical development of the principles championed by the International Labour Office, we were compelled to improve our administrative machinery, and in 1940 and 1942 we reorganised the Directorate-General of Labour and made it a more appropriate body for the performance of its social tasks.

We have thus tried to establish suitable technical administrative machinery; but that is not enough to ensure enforcement of the law, and we have instituted our system of labour courts. They were
created in 1927 and were reorganised by an Act of 1943 with a view to speeding up the procedure. The courts of second instance are tripartite bodies and enable labour-employer disputes to be settled in a most efficient and equitable manner. We also try to develop interest and understanding in economic and social problems, and for this reason we have developed labour councils which facilitate the constant exchange of views on matters in this field, and we make great use of statistics and data relating to production, distribution and consumption. A tripartite Superior Labour Council has also been set up, under the inspiration of the Santiago Conference of 1936.

Our country, which has five million inhabitants, has 1,800,000 workers, including industrial workers, seamen, land transport and agricultural workers. There are about 500,000 employers. In 1940, wages amounted to 3,331,683,455 pesos and in 1943, to 6,078,754,280 pesos; that is to say, they had doubled in three years. It is true that there was inflation and that the cost of living increased, but a satisfactory balance between prices and wages was maintained.

Our family allowance legislation has not only benefited so-called salaried employees, but also manual workers. At the end of 1943 there were 277 undertakings, with more than 130,000 manual workers, where family allowances were paid to the extent of some 60 million pesos annually. Thus, we have tried to establish an equilibrium between the purchasing power of money and the real level of wages, so that if, as is the case in some branches, production expands, there will be a real improvement in the people's standard of living.

At the New York Conference in 1941, the Chilean workers' delegate, Mr. Ibañez, paid a tribute to our Government and said that we should overcome our difficulties, that disputes between employers and workers were equitably settled and that they were grateful to the arbitrator, taking due account of the interests of both workers and employers.

I am glad to see that the Director of the International Labour Office pays tribute to our recent social developments, and mentions the participation of Chile in September 1942 in the Inter-American Social Security Conference, a Conference which gave an impulse to our social development and tended to the uniformisation of social insurance policy in Latin America.

I am also glad to see that the Director refers to the institution in 1943 of the Committee on Welfare and Re-employment, which has very important industrial and administrative functions, and to the progress made in the solution of the housing problem. I refer to the Act of October 1943, which has granted a subsidy of 300 million pesos annually, enabling us to construct no less than 5,000 houses a year, and thus house about 25,000 people a year. Perhaps the Director has not had an opportunity of mentioning the establishment in August 1943 of our Committee for the Study of Post-War Problems, divided into five subcommissions. Neither was he able to notice our Economic Act of December 1943, which provides for Government control of the investment of industrial profits above a reasonable amount in order to ensure the development of production in essential industries, establishes price and wage control, and strengthens the State's action for the conciliation and arbitration of labour disputes. Lastly, if economic factors have necessarily resulted in the stoppage of industries, undertakings may not dismiss their staffs without notifying the authorities beforehand so that arrangements can be made for their transfer and for the payment of compensation.

This, then, is the path that Chile has been following in the development of relations between capital and labour, and these are the measures that we have employed to promote labour-capital co-operation. We hope that this development will continue and increase after the war and will become internationalised, but this international collaboration which we are stimulating here must not remain a mere pious hope. It must become a real thing, so that we may help the devastated countries and avoid economic crises. But I also must draw your attention to countries which, like our own, although not directly at war, have increased their industrial production in the interests of the war and will need international co-operation after the war. We cannot regard the future without some anxiety unless we have confidence in international co-operation.

Interpretation: Mr. COWLEY HERNANDEZ (Employers' delegate, Cuba)—

The brilliant report of the Acting Director contains some excusable omissions, since the brief nature of the document made it impossible to give all the salient economic aspects of each nation. This is true also in respect of social security, and I think it my duty to supplement the information given.

The sugar industry in Cuba is the basis of the country's life and economy and represents over 80 per cent. of the nation's business and wage bill. The pay of the planters who plant and cut the cane is regulated on the basis of a percentage of the total product in sugar obtained. The industrial and agricultural workers' wages are determined by the price sugar obtains on the world's market, with a minimum of $1.42 for an eight-hour day, increased by one and a half per cent., for every five hundredths of a centavo's rise in the price of raw sugar.

What I want to make clear, because of the social implications, is the close connection between the wages of the workers and the price of sugar, because there is no other industry in the world anywhere
which is as fully socialised and the profits of which are distributed so fairly between the workers and employers.

Since the price of sugar depends on the world market, although Cuba is the most important exporter, I want to call the attention of the Director, in this matter of economic collaboration both now and after the war, to the importance of protecting the nations and industries which devote their income to improving the collective welfare.

The small increase in the price of sugar, which has cost 2.65 centavos a pound since 1942, as compared with the record price of 22 centavos in 1919, has been invested in works of social betterment. I refer to the wage increase of 10 per cent. in industry and agriculture, following on another of 50 per cent., and by the recent creation of the Sugar Pension Fund, which is financed equally by workers and employers.

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

Mr. Li Ming (Employers' delegate, China)—After having read carefully the contents of the Director's Report, I wish to express my appreciation of his firm grasp of the problems of Asia in general, and of China, in particular. China's war production, industrial development, her inflationary situation, and various Government measures in connection with the control of prices, all find understanding treatment in the Report. Convinced as I am of the importance of China's industrialisation programme for the economic development of the world in general, the integrated picture is very gratifying to me.

It is my view that the International Labour Conference must continue to have close concern with the basic issues on which depend the balanced economic development of the various countries, as well as the elevation of living standards of all of the peoples, and, hence, the promotion of their well-being. From my personal experience in this gathering, I am of the opinion that it has very important functions to perform in the future.

Now, let me refer to those parts of the Conference documents in which China's economic development and social conditions are presented, especially pages 82 and 83 in Report I. As a Chinese banker who has devoted himself to the financial and industrial field for over three decades, I wish to discuss briefly practical post-war measures for the improvement of the livelihood of the Chinese people through the development of my country. China is still an agricultural country; about 80 per cent. of its population depends on agricul-

ture. There are still large areas of uncultivated land in certain parts of China, and the Government's war effort to increase the production of the foodstuffs will not only be continued, but accentuated for the war. Soldiers who are now fighting are mainly drawn from farms. After the war, they should return to their farms, and, with the assistance of the Government, help the nation in the production of food, clothing, and crops for export. The aim is to produce not only enough food and crops for the Chinese people, but also enough for export to pay balance of international payments to pay for imports of industrial goods for post-war reconstruction.

Immediately after the war, China's war-devastated areas must be rehabilitated, new railways and highways built, waterways and flood control systems improved. The developments, if properly planned, should assist in providing employment for the disbanded soldiers.

I note in the report on the organisation of employment the emphasis on properly planned public works as a means of preventing unemployment in the transition from war to peace. The need for manpower in the large-scale development of China will be great, and the soldiers who will be released from military duty should be utilised to the advantage of the country.

Furthermore, after the enemy is driven out of our country, China must proceed to rehabilitate her former industries and embark on new enterprises. As Report II of the Office has clearly shown, two resolutions relating to China's post-war industrial development and co-operation with friendly nations were adopted by the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang in September 1943. The enterprises open to foreign loans and investments were designated. The principle, as stated in Section I, paragraph 5, of Report II, to the effect that appropriate international machinery should be established forthwith, for the purpose of promoting international movements of capital, is of great interest. It refers to the proposal made by the United States Treasury for a Bank of Reconstruction and Development of the United and Associated Nations, and to the suggestion that the capital should be made available for development purposes, particularly to those countries which have the greatest need of it. I know that our Government will welcome the assistance of such a bank for the industrial development of our country. The September 1943 resolution of the Chinese Government also made provision to facilitate the inflow of foreign capital in the form of loans, direct investments or joint enterprises between local and foreign investors. I personally believe this is very important. My past experience in banking and my knowledge of the economic situation of my country have convinced me that, even if given a long period of time, it would still be impossible to
raise enough capital within China itself to meet the requirements of industrialisation. After bearing the burden of seven years of war and blockade, the people should not be called upon to bear the additional load of providing industrial capital, at the expense of their living standards. My view is shared by many men of finance and industry in China, and they are cooperating with the Government in planning for the encouragement of foreign capital.

Certain commercial and industrial interests in Western countries fear that, with the abolition of extra-territoriality, their investments in China may not be protected in the future. I draw the attention of these people to the fact that the Chinese and other Governments are beginning to negotiate new commercial treaties, and I am confident that they will include fair and equitable arrangements for mutual interest. I firmly believe that China needs both technical and financial assistance from foreign countries for its industrialisation. Only thus can the standard of living of the people rise.

They are also afraid of the serious situation of our currency inflation. Of course, I admit its evil effects on the general life of the people, but I am of the opinion that the situation is entirely unavoidable; because China has been fighting against the Japanese aggression for almost seven years, with most of her means of production either destroyed or seized by the enemy; with her normal sources of revenue greatly reduced; and with her transportation systems disrupted; and the shortage of supplies of goods intensified by the sea and land blockade. Any country under such conditions is bound to suffer the same hardships. However, I believe that our Government is exerting its utmost efforts to protect the people from the further perils of inflation. Once the war situation in Asia turns in our favour with other supply routes, it is my conviction that commodity prices will begin to decline considerably, and our currency will find its real economic value. I trust our Government will then be able to stabilise its currency and to maintain its foreign exchange rates at a proper level. This will enable us to carry on our international trade and put into operation our programmes for post-war economic reconstruction.

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

Many skilled workers have been transferred from occupied coastal cities to Japanese war plants in Manchuria. Many others have been forced to work at insufficient remuneration for the Japanese in other occupied areas. I hope the International Labour Office will co-operate with the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration to ameliorate the conditions of these workers, as well as to advise on the technical training which is essential to Chinese industrialisation.

In conclusion, let me return again to the question of the development of China. To raise the standard of living of the Chinese people means to improve the condition of one fifth of the world's population. This, of course, would achieve important economic and social progress, not only in China, but also for the rest of the world, because the demand for the goods necessary for the betterment of the livelihood of the Chinese people will provide a good market for the products of foreign countries, and thereby assist in maintaining full employment.

For the sake of us all, then, I hope that this development can proceed as soon as possible for the lasting benefit of all concerned.

Interpretation: Dr. Tinoco Rodil (Government delegate, Venezuela) — The Report of the Director of the International Labour Office has always been a document of the utmost interest to all countries of the world, and the contents of the Report which we are now discussing, completing the reports on items I and II on the agenda, constitute a most important review of one of the most critical periods of human history.

In the two and a half years since the New York Conference many economic and social changes have been brought about by the war. While in some countries it has produced full employment and labour shortage, in others restrictions on international trade and transport and the shortage of raw materials have provoked a disequilibrium in the economic and social systems. Many Governments have reacted energetically to this situation and have expressed the desirability of international collaboration to achieve equilibrium.

Venezuela has not escaped the consequences of the conflict. As the Report states, employment in my country has fluctuated and at first there was serious unemployment. To this was added the rising cost of living, as a corollary of the changes in the movement of our foreign trade. But the Government, while making every effort to develop collaboration with the United Nations, has adopted remedial measures. In particular, it tried to utilise the unemployed from the petroleum industry for the development of agriculture, which is extremely important to our country. It has also endeavoured to control the prices of necessities and the results have
been fairly satisfactory. In the purely social field, emergency measures have been taken, and a 40-hour week has been introduced in specific cases. Our Government has made great financial sacrifices, reducing customs tariffs and so tending to increase opportunities of employment and reduce the cost of living. New industries have been introduced, and others greatly developed. We do not pretend that we have solved all our problems, but we have done something, and we look with confidence to the future.

The Government has paid particular attention to social problems, and in particular, post-war social problems. It has set up an Inter-Ministerial Committee to study these problems with special reference to their social aspects. Another committee is preparing agrarian reform. I would also refer to the recent creation of a Regional Social Security Fund for the Federal Capital and adjacent districts, covering sickness, maternity and occupational risks. This is only a beginning, and we hope to develop such regional organisations when the number of workers and the risks covered justify such action.

Here I should like to pay a tribute to the collaboration of the International Labour Office, which has been of inestimable benefit in the preparation of our social legislation. The Venezuelan Government delegation hopes to derive further benefit from the consideration of item IV of the Conference’s agenda.

As regards housing, the Government is giving it constant attention. Through the Workers’ Bank, an official organisation, we have begun a very large programme of construction in conjunction with private industry, and we hope therefore in this way to relieve the housing shortage and improve the housing conditions of the people.

We do not, in saying this, wish to emphasise the administrative aspect of our activities. We look to the future and we have in mind the general welfare of workers and the promotion of social justice; and we therefore wish to make common cause with other countries which are advancing towards social justice.

We are very glad to have this opportunity of participating in an international discussion of problems consideration of which cannot be postponed. We must begin now to work for the future and thus satisfy the demands of humanity, which is struggling today in order to live in peace and prosperity tomorrow.

The Venezuelan delegation wishes to congratulate the Acting Director on his brilliant report. In spite of all unfavourable circumstances, it clearly expresses the proved efficiency of the Office and its irreproachable technique. We can learn very much from it. The reports on the various items on the agenda are also extremely clear and useful documents. They have been prepared by excellent officials many of whom remain anonymous. I thank them one and all for their contribution to the welfare of humanity.

Venezuela’s social evolution since 1936 has been intimately related to the International Labour Organisation. Many of its officials have come to us and given us their help. I refer particularly to David Bleloch, Wilfred Jenks and Osvald Stein; the first two assisted in the drafting of labour laws and the establishment of administrative machinery, while Stein in collaboration with Oscar Powell, of the Social Security Board of the United States, helped us to develop a social security system.

We should like to draw the attention of the Organisation to our position with regard to immigration, which our appropriate Government authorities are considering with interest. Our country has great possibilities, and many regions are suitable for immigrants. We hope that the Organisation will be able to render us assistance in this respect.

Venezuela has in the past received very great benefits from the I.L.O., and we are confident that in the future it will continue to do so. But this is not the only reason for our enthusiasm and admiration for this Organisation, and we heartily support the proposals for its reinforcement, which are justified by its activities during the past 25 years.

The President: Before calling on the next speaker, I want to announce that Mr. Radi, Government delegate from Egypt, did desire to come to the platform to thank the delegates for their expression of sympathy at the loss of his colleague, but he refrained from doing so to save the time of the Conference. He does desire to say, “Thank you very much for your sympathy”.

Mrs. Caselman (Government adviser, Canada): Students of public affairs have long been accustomed to look to the annual Report of the Director of the International Labour Office for a faithful survey of world economic and labour developments and an authoritative appraisal of the trends in social policy. The reappearance, after two years, of this Report is therefore a welcome event.

This year, as usual, the Report devotes attention to Canada’s place in the world’s economy. Even before the war Canada ranked among the eight most important trading and industrial countries. Since 1939 she has become an arsenal of supply in the battle for world freedom. Her agricultural and industrial development has been tantamount, in the words of the Director, to an economic revolution. As a producer of munitions, for instance, Canada now ranks fourth among the United Nations. By the end of 1943 she had produced more than ten thousand planes, six hundred thousand motor vehicles, seven hundred and fifty escort cargo and patrol ships, vast quantities of chemicals and ex-
and the rapid expansion of aluminium pro-
duction also constitute admirable ex-
amples.

In many cases, moreover, the war has
made important changes in technology
which will remove differences that existed
before the war. The Director is therefore
right in estimating that the structure of
Canadian international trade will thus be
permanently affected.

It is likely that munition and armament
factories, because of the peculiar nature
of the existing production, will not be
useful to Canada in times of peace. There
will be, therefore, the problem of re-
converting to civilian use a certain vol-
ume of resources no longer needed for the
making of war material. The great com-
plexity of this task is widely recognised,
and a beginning has been made with the
advance planning and preparation which
will be essential to its successful per-
formance.

The increase in production capacity has
been possible only through the full employ-
ment of manpower. Five million, or near-
ly 60 per cent. of the total population aged
fourteen and over were in the armed forces
or at work at the end of 1943. The
strength of the armed forces was around
770,000. The number of workers of both
sexes in war Industry alone was over
1,140,000.

We are glad to record here the mag-
nificent part played by the women of
Canada in all phases of our war effort.
They have come forward as volunteers to
accept all kinds of work at a rate and
with a spirit that is nothing short of spec-
tacular. At the end of 1943 over one mil-
lion women were gainfully employed in
Canada, as compared with around 600,000
in August 1939. In addition, there are
over 750,000 women—wives and daugh-
ters of farmers—supplementing the work
of men to maintain the high record of
farm production. Each year these women
have taken on more and more of the farm
work in addition to their work for the
home and family, at a great sacrifice of
time and energy.

It is, of course, in war industry that we
have seen the greatest expansion in the
employment of women. In June 1941
there were 40,000 women so employed. By
September 1943, that number had in-
to an all-time high level. They are con-
ducted at an all-time high level. They are con-
versely increased to 235,000. This large employ-
ment of women in a thousand different ind-
ustrial plants has created problems of its
own in connection with work conditions.
For instance, the entry within two years
of nearly 200,000 women into war indus-
try alone has had the effect of creating a
shortage of help in other industries and
services in which women workers have al-
ways predominated. One of them is hos-
pital service.

Every effort has been made to bring
into full productive activity the skill and
services of all the Canadian people. Since
1940 Canada has brought its employment
service under federal administration and
strengthened it in a variety of ways. Now
there are over 240 offices in five regions
across Canada with a staff of over 5,000.
The Director’s comments on employment
services in general apply to Canada. The
gradual evolution of the machinery needed
for solving employment problems is one of
the most hopeful factors in the present
situation.

War experience in attaining the most
effective use and distribution of the avail-
able skills will be of direct value in meet-
ing the vast programmes of employment
organisation in the transition from war
to peace. We agree with the Director that
the broader conception of the employment
service brought about by war needs must
continue to prevail once the war has come
to an end. As the Director points out,
there should be no delay in equipping the
employment services to play an effective
part in the carrying out of national plans
for the after-war period.

In 1939 the total wages and salaries
paid in Canada amounted to two and a
half billion dollars. In the following years
the total rose steadily until in 1943 the
figure of over four and a half billion dol-
ars was reached. This is due not only to
the increase in the number of earning
population. Wage rates in Canada today
are at an all-time high level. They are con-
siderably higher, in fact, than in 1920,
when the cost of living was at a peak as
a result of the first world war. While the
wage index for 1943 has not yet been
definitely determined, the Canadian Minis-
ter of Labour predicts that it will show a
still greater advance this year.

In addition to an increase in the level of
salaries, it should be noted that, since the
outbreak of war, vacations with pay have
been introduced, covering an aggregate of 600,000 employees.

The improved position of wage earners is best realised when the cost-of-living index is taken into account. Canada's record in this respect is outstanding among Allied countries. In January 1944, the cost-of-living index in Canada had risen by almost eight points less than it had risen in Great Britain.

As one of the measures necessary to prevent inflation, Canada has enforced a strict wage policy. It is with satisfaction that the Canadian delegates note the statement in the Director's Report that the Canadian policy of stabilisation "has achieved considerable success". Wartime wage controls have involved the temporary assumption by the federal Government of powers formerly vested in the provincial authorities. The Director is right in his view that this development may have widespread effects in the post-war period.

A statement of measures adopted by Canada to stabilise wages and salaries at the net levels prevailing in November 1941 will be found at page 44 in the Director's Report.

Wage control and price control have not been separated. It is noteworthy that the Director reports that in control of prices in Canada the administration has "achieved a degree of success which affords a welcome contrast to the experience of the last war" (page 19). "After a period of selective price controls", he explains, "Canadian authorities put into effect an all-inclusive price stop towards the end of 1941. The policy has been effective: during the first four years of war the Canadian cost-of-living index rose 18 per cent, as compared with 28 per cent, in the United Kingdom, 23 per cent, in the United States, and 51 per cent, in Canada in the same period of the last war. In the first two years of price ceiling control to the end of 1943, the rise in the Canadian index was only 3 per cent."

A chapter of the Director's Report deals with wartime international collaboration in the economic field. It describes the part played by Canada in this collaboration, her participation in the co-ordinating boards of the United Nations, the international wheat agreement of June 1942, and the mutual aid agreements between Canada, on the one hand, and Great Britain, the Soviet Union, Australia, China, and the French Committee of National Liberation, on the other. As the Director points out, a basic principle of these agreements, and one of outstanding importance for the post-war period, is that "these give rise neither to war debts nor to indefinite and uncertain post-war obligations". When explaining the scheme, the Canadian Minister of Finance stated: "It shall be good and sufficient consideration for furnishing war supplies to other United Nations that such supplies are to be used in the joint and effective prosecution of the war."

In a subsequent chapter, the Director discusses social developments such as employment and social insurance. There again he is able to announce to the Conference an important measure taken by Canada, in the midst of the war itself: the putting into operation of a national scheme of unemployment insurance for workers in industry and commerce. To bring about this measure, which had been delayed for constitutional reasons, it was necessary to amend the British North America Act, which is the basis of our country's Constitution. This was done with the unanimous consent of the nine provinces. A parliamentary committee is now considering detailed measures covering all persons in Canada for health insurance. Already on the statute books are comprehensive rehabilitation acts for veterans of the war.

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

In making this call, Canada expressed confidence in the Office to which she gave sanctuary when it was forced by events to move from its seat in Switzerland. She was glad of having this opportunity, when the future of the Organisation was at stake. She is likewise proud that The International Labour Code, 1939 was published in a Canadian city. This corpus of social legislation is, perhaps, the most valuable legacy which the inter-war period has left us. On that broad basis the present generation should be able to rise to constantly higher levels on the road to progress.

The war is not over. We face now the most critical period. We must still expend our energies and resources to defeat the enemy. But while we do not relax our efforts, our minds are already struggling with the problems of peace. We have learned in war to unite our strength to win our common objective within our nation and among our nations. Differences between clashing interests that divide us at home have been set aside in order to reach the goal of full wartime production. Differences that impede us in reaching the goal of full peace-time production must give way to a similar united effort to bring prosperity to all our people.

Canada shows by her co-operation in international conferences in war and in peace that she realises her responsibilities and that she stands ready with her allies to build structures of firm and lasting cooperation. The I.L.O. stresses the importance of interchange of views and free discussion among the three member
groups, Government, employers and workers. It stresses the importance of these same methods among member countries—the interchange of views and free discussion. It has made and is making a tremendous contribution to world progress. Canada joins in congratulating the Director and his staff on their splendid achievements. Their objective, our objective, can be reached by no easy path. But by determined purpose, by patient perseverance, by common action, we shall conquer fear and want within our borders, and among the peoples of the world. By breaking down barriers of courage and decision, we shall conquer the greatest enemy of all mankind—war itself.

Interpretation: Mr. VELASQUEZ QUIROGA (Workers' delegate, Chile)—The Director's Report, as usual, is an important document, invested with all the authority conferred upon it by the prestige of its author, the chief of the greatest and most effective sociological laboratory in the world.

In present circumstances, the Report is smaller than usual, principally because many very important questions are dealt with in the reports of the Office on items I and II. Nevertheless, it is a document of very great importance.

The workers of my country, and indeed the workers of the world, see in this document an objective examination of the world situation, an account of recent events, and in particular, of matters that are of interest to our class and affect the social and economic destiny of humanity. As is customary, the Report devotes considerable attention to the economic situation of the world. It deals in particular with the wartime expansion of production, the dislocation of international trade, inflation, and international collaboration in the economic field.

You might think that my country, which is so far away from the field of battle, although intimately bound up with the fighting, is more an interested spectator in the working out of post-war plans and, indeed, in the war, and that we are not really greatly affected by the processes which are forging the future of humanity. But this is not the case. The war has wrought great upheavals in our internal and external economy, and we have prepared extensive plans for the post-war world, and in this world we hope to play our part.

Our country, owing to the first world war and again to this world war, is becoming more and more industrialised. We are having to fight almost insuperable difficulties due to lack of capital, lack of industrial equipment, and lack of markets. At this critical moment in our history, the country looks to its sons, who will not evade the great task of ensuring national survival and who will play their part in international co-operation.

We have faith in our own action and in the sincerity of the proposals for interna-

ional co-operation made by the responsible leaders of the principal democracies and carried out at international meetings. We are convinced that we should all work for a really democratic international system in which each country has its rights, but also has its duties, towards the others.

This is our faith at this historic moment. But we do not wish to insinuate that everything is rosy in this gigantic struggle for security, justice and peace. We should be failing in our responsibility if we kept quiet in respect to certain matters. In particular, I should like to refer to the hesitations and delays that we have found here in this Conference. Such an attitude is incompatible with a clear and decided determination to deal adequately with the problems of the time. We have seen, for example, in the Committee on the Organisation of Employment, and in the Committee on items I and II, a flood of amendments the adoption of which can only serve to obstruct from the essential features of the proposed Recommendations.

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

Mr. STANCZYK (Government delegate, Poland)—Taking part in the discussion of the Report of the Director, I wish to express my admiration for the work done by the I.L.O. in these extremely difficult political and financial conditions with a greatly reduced personnel.

I must say without exaggeration that we all appreciate very much the efforts of the Director and his able staff. The very fact that during the war the I.L.O. did not for a single moment cease to work proves not only that its ideals are vital, but also that its Director and his collaborators have devoted a wholehearted effort to the cause of the I.L.O. It is understandable that exceptional conditions have made it impossible for the International Labour Office to attend to all problems in the same way as during peacetime.

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

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

As Mr. Bevin stated in a speech delivered to the Emergency Committee of the I.L.O. in London in April 1942, "it was inevitable that, in the starting of the Organisation, by far most attention was paid to what might be regarded as industrialised areas of the world". But as the Organisation has already recognised, the greatest potentialities for social advancement lie in industrialised areas of the world. The I.L.O. has already recognised, the greatest potentialities for social advancement lie in industrialised areas of the world. The I.L.O. was to make possible an international co-ordinated social advance in industrial communities.

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It is true that nearly all countries of prevalingly agricultural character are now trying to apply a policy directed towards their industrialisation. It is also quite obvious that industry could absorb more labour on a much greater scale than agriculture in these frequently overpopulated countries.

Nevertheless, even limited to a more reasonable proportion, the contrasts between different countries as regards their industrial equipment will probably subsist for a long time.

In the most vital interests both of those engaged in manufacturing and those who work on the land, the wide gap existing between them needs to be closed, and this can only be done by raising the economic conditions of the countries of prevalingly agricultural structure and of their population.

The obtaining of a closer co-ordination between the purchasing power of the primary and secondary producing countries and some approach to greater economic equality between nations seems to be necessary, if social justice is to form a basis for the future peace and well-being of all.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dr. MASARYK (Government delegate, Czechoslovakia)—The Czechoslovak delegation has read the Director-General's report with interest, appreciation and approval. This document, written under difficult circumstances, shows clearly that the International Labour Office was, is and is
going to be a very important factor in the social and economic development of this war-ridden world of ours. Czechoslovakia has been closely and intimately connected with the International Labour Office from its very inception. My chief and partner, Dr. Benes, worked with the present Director on the first draft of the Constitution of the I.L.O. in 1919. Dr. Benes presided over the I.L.O. Conference in 1925. The Governing Body met in Prague in the year 1937, just a year before the world began to pay a terrible price for pussy-footing and wishful thinking. The social legislation of Czechoslovakia, which was second to none on the continent of Europe, was achieved and successfully carried on within the framework of the International Labour Office. Czechoslovakia was the first country on the continent of Europe to ratify the eight-hour day and many other Conventions and proposals. Our method was not only to ratify, but simultaneously to pass legislation through our Parliament, which was a guarantee of fulfilling that obligation which we took upon ourselves by ratifying. Before Hitler, followed by the sheep-like German citizens of all political parties, committed on their behalf the greatest series of crimes in the history of humanity, the social conditions in Czechoslovakia were good and sound. We had lived up to the I.L.O. ideals, and had I time I could prove to you that it paid us. The country was prosperous. The relations between the Government, the workmen and the employers were good. Strikes were very rare. In other words, we had what I could term a social peace.

In looking back on the I.L.O., I must say that the Czechoslovak delegation, and I am sure all the rest of you, miss the rugged frame and the whimsical smile of my remarkable friend and compatriot, Osvald Stein, whose tragic end will be felt for many years to come. We were very proud of him indeed.

I am happy that the second Czechoslovak Government delegate is Emil Shoenbaum, the father of our social insurance, which functioned well, and to which we shall revert as soon as this cataclysm is ended by the entry of the punishing United Nations' armies into the Prussian stronghold. Czechoslovakia was glad to lend Shoenbaum to other countries whose delegations present here in the historic City of Philadelphia praised his work in a manner which not only pleased me, but will please my Government when I report it upon my early return to that great war capital of Europe, London. If I have spoken a little too much about Czechoslovakia, forgive me. But at times such as these, when we cannot go home yet, we like to think of the nice and useful things we did in peacetime, and to long for their return. I assure the Conference that Czechoslovakia will give its loyal support to the activities of the I.L.O., at the same time expressing my hope that these activities will be enlarged and strengthened, and become more universal.

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

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

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

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

I am going to end my short and not comprehensive speech by a note of solemn warning. Before I do that, I wish to go on record as saying that the record of Czechoslovakia, and, if I may be allowed to say so of my family, stands rather high in the humanitarian efforts in Europe. It was my father who said: “Jesus, not Caesar”. But the time has come for all of us to become stern realists. After the last war we lost the peace by not persuading the German nation that it was beaten. Sometimes I feel, and indeed I hope and pray that I am wrong, that certain indications of that very dangerous softness are appearing on the horizon. I am the last person to want to exterminate the German nation; but to say that it is only Hitler and a few of his guttersnipe partners who are guilty is not only untrue, but not especially intelligent. The other day I read in one of your great papers a proclamation by some committee in which it said—I haven’t got the text at hand—but the definite meaning was that the poor German nation was led into this war by Hitler. What a nauseating thought of 70 million people being led into war by one abnormal monstrosity! I am not submitting to the Conference that all Germans are guilty; but I do submit to the Conference that we Czechs have been neighbours of Germany for thousands of years, and there is nothing anybody can
teach us about certain bellicose and goose-stepping German qualities. I, myself, had the very delightful pleasure of being assigned to a Prussian Army Corps for a year during the last war, and I know my Prussians! Since Hitler came into power, I have travelled extensively all over Germany, and have seen the rising tide of universal enthusiasm among workmen, among employees, and among members of the pre-Hitler Governments. We surely must plan to help to make Germany a democratic member of the concert of Europe, but if we do it by wasting our sympathies and announcing it from the housetops at the moment when our boys are standing prepared for perhaps the greatest battle in history, I doubt whether we are serving this ultimate object. Until the last shot is fired, in my humble estimation, the fate of Germany should be exclusively in the hands of the Allied commanders-in-chief: General Eisenhower, General Montgomery, and their remarkable counterparts in Soviet Russia. I am sorry I have to speak thus. It is not my, or my country’s, nature.

I am glad that some additional attention is being paid to the occupied countries. The voice of their representatives will be heard by this Conference. The people of Norway, Holland, Belgium, Soviet Russia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Greece, Czechoslovakia, and France, have gone through years of differently graded hell. They will not understand if their cause is not given priority—definite and lasting priority before the aggressor. We all know in these days what priority means. My responsibility is to the saintly inhabitants of concentration camps, ghettos and Gestapo torture chambers; my responsibility is to the thousands of graves of women, children and men, who died because they believed in the principles which brought the International Labour Office into being. I for one cannot let them down, and I know that this Conference agrees with me. Indeed, I am looking forward to the rebirth of Goethe, Kant, Herder, and Beethoven in Germany. But there is only one way for achieving that. First, by proving conclusively and once for all to the German nation that aggression does not pay and never will pay. When that fact is firmly established, we can proceed with the second chapter. What I say about the German question applies equally and as a voluntary war contribution, we have just raised agricultural wages and industrial wages in the sugar industry by a further 10 per cent.

Economic difficulties and the disequilibrium between demand and supply of necessities have made frequent readjustments necessary in order to maintain real purchasing power. In the sugar industry, a general permanent wage increase of 50 per cent. was imposed, and now, with the price of sugar maintained at 2.65 centavos per pound, as a voluntary war contribution, we have just raised agricultural wages and industrial wages in the sugar industry by a further 10 per cent.

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

On behalf of the people of Czechoslovakia, I can promise you that they will do their duty once the last Nazi disappears from within the July 1938 frontiers of Czechoslovakia.

Interpretation: Mr. de SANDOVAL (Government delegate, Cuba)—Since the New York Conference our country has continued its social progress, during the war and in spite of the war. The Director’s Report mentions some of the advances made, but I should like to supplement the necessarily brief references found in that Report. What I have to say should not be interpreted as being merely a desire to boast of the benefits we have given to the Cuban workers, but as a description of an actual experiment, worthy of imitation.

As the Director’s Report said, in many Latin American countries the shortage of lack of raw materials and the absence of war industries has caused acute unemployment. This is the case in Cuba, and it has been aggravated by the concentration of shipping in certain ports to facilitate the convoy system. The development of mining and of military construction, which is the sole and temporary exception to the 44-hour week, and the efforts to diversify agricultural production have not been enough to maintain the previous high standards of labour conditions without requiring new sacrifices from the employer class, who have agreed to them with a fine spirit of patriotism. The same may be said of the organised workers, who have given up their right to strike during the war and have submitted all their disputes to the Superior Labour Council, which is a tripartite body.

The Government’s protective mission has included all activities, including the liberal professions. Intellectual workers have a minimum wage, but their hours of work do not fall within the classical definition of time at the employer’s disposal; in such cases the definition is more elastic and is determined by the nature of the work itself.

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Any doubts as to the Government’s real intention to distribute incomes fairly and to keep them at a high level would be dispelled by consideration of our wage policy, which I cannot describe in detail here. But I must indicate the social burdens borne by industrial and agricultural production in Cuba. We give a month’s holiday with pay for every eleven months of work, without requiring the usual condition of having worked for the same employer consecutively, and we also give this
benefit in industry, commerce and agriculture, paying the holiday proportionately in the case of irregular work. Collective agreements and freedom of association, safeguarded by the prohibition of dismissal, promote the improvement of conditions and the observance of social legislation, which includes the principle of equal pay for equal work in industry.

In social security, we are initiating an important experiment, the Sugar Workers’ Pension Fund, which protects all the workers in our main industry, including agricultural workers. This new system is expected to benefit more than half a million wage-earning and salaried employees.

I will give no further examples of our social progress, which is making it possible for us to comply with thirty-six international labour Conventions, but will close with my congratulations to the Director on his brilliant Report, with the hope that it will have a sharper social focus when the war permits us to devote our energy and convert machinery, techniques and resources to the service of mankind.

*Interpretation: Mr. LI Ping-heng (Government delegate, China)—The Report which we are discussing here today stresses the urgent need for economic and social reconstruction in the world of tomorrow. So important an international assembly as ours includes representatives of Governments, employers and workers, and gives clear proof that the International Labour Organisation has an essential part to play in building an international peace founded on collaboration in seeking justice and social security for all peoples in the world.

The future is bound up with the cause of democracy, and democracy with the cause of social justice. It is this hope which is coming from millions of resolute hearts, determined to make it into a reality, for we may admit here that there is too sharp a contrast between the ideal of social justice which lies behind all the work of our Organisation and the infinite sum of suffering, injustice and misery with which the world is burdened today.

In the desire to solve the many social and economic problems which we shall have to face tomorrow, the present Conference, convened in this land of liberty and hospitality, expects to play an important part in shaping the fate of the future generations. This is a heavy task, but I hope that from our proceedings resolutions both comprehensive and detailed will come forth and will help to accomplish it.

I should like now to describe very briefly the economic and social policy of the Chinese Government. You all know that since the Japanese aggression, a war which began several years before the general world catastrophe, China has not only managed to keep the invader at bay and inflict serious defeat on him, but has undertaken, in the middle of the war, the economic and social reconstruction of the nation. Although the needs of national defence inevitably affected the organisation of the country, my Government has paid special attention to questions of social policy. Its social policy is based on the teachings of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, founder of the Chinese Republic. One of his three principles, the principle of economic democracy, aims at the social reconstruction of China.

For the effective application of social policy, the administrative machine must be organised on a sound basis. We have considered what were the best methods of improving the administrative machine, and we have laid down the lines on which it should develop. In the central Government, we have the Ministry of Social Affairs, in the provinces, the Departments of Social Affairs, and in the districts, the Sections of Social Affairs. The Ministry has also organised special courses for training those responsible for the social services, and we have set up a vast network of training centres everywhere.

The activity of the Minister of Social Affairs has consisted in increasing aid to refugees, creating centres for social services, and developing the protection of children and measures on behalf of workers, and establishing vocational guidance centres. Measures have also been taken to help private organisations engaged in various branches of assistance. Before this Ministry was set up there had, of course, always been welfare activities. But the Ministry of Social Affairs is trying to form a new public attitude towards this type of work. In the past these services were regarded as a form of charity; but the new attitude is based on the sense of responsibility towards the disinflicted and those who are victims of forces beyond their own control.

The Social Assistance Act, which regulates the operation of existing social institutions and tries to improve and extend welfare activities, came into force in 1943. Now all assistance given is regarded as social assistance from the State or from private organisations to increase individual output; whenever possible, we try to help people to rebuild their new life by helping them to recover their personal dignity and acquire new skills.

This law provides that war refugees and the unemployed, or those who have been deprived of their means of livelihood by flood or other natural catastrophe, are entitled unconditionally to emergency assistance. Shelter, food and other essential needs are provided free of charge. Other classes of people are entitled to assistance because their own means are inadequate, or because they cannot be supported by those who should support them; for example, people over sixty years of age, children under twelve, expectant mothers, the physically and mentally infirm, and other persons who are defined in the regulations.

Furthermore, the Ministry of Social Affairs and the National Administration
of Public Health have jointly organised an Industrial Health Committee, the principal object of which is to study the problems of industrial health and propose measures for the protection of the workers' health. Important recommendations by this Committee have been adopted and carried out successfully by the Government.

The social policy of my country is in harmony with the economic policy which has been followed so far. To attain the aims of social policy, the principle of economic democracy must be applied fully. In the midst of the war, China has managed to reorganise and develop in new areas the industries which are necessary for the conduct of the war. As soon as the war is over, industry will, of course, develop very rapidly; but if we want industrial development in China to go forward systematically, agriculture must be developed, together with industry. These are the two objectives of the economic reconstruction of post-war China.

China is an agricultural country. There are still a very large number of persons who gain their livelihood from agriculture. To industrialise agriculture, and to reduce the size of the rural population by bringing it into industrial production, are the two problems which my Government will have to solve, if agriculture is to be revived.

Very marked progress has been made in improving agricultural equipment, seeds, fertilisers, technique, land clearance, irrigation and agricultural hygiene. Progress has also been made in the training and education of the rural population, and in the provision of credits for agriculturalists.

These developments are full of promise and are an important step forward towards the industrialisation of agriculture after the war. The industrial development of China is the most direct task of my Government. It is the development of industry which will benefit the Chinese population most. A resolution on industrial reconstruction was presented to the Kuomintang last September and contained the following recommendations: the drawing up by the Government of an industrial plan to be carried out by successive stages; the delimitation of industrial areas on the basis of different local needs, local economic conditions, distribution of raw materials and state of communications; and the development of industry, on the basis both of public and private enterprise.

To encourage industrialisation, the resolution called for the co-operation of foreign capital and technical assistance. A prosperous China with its 470 million inhabitants would certainly be an important factor in world economic development. The investment of foreign capital in China and foreign technical assistance are subject to no special restriction. Principles in this respect were published in September 1943. With foreign capital and technical aid, China will, no doubt, be able to carry out economic reconstruction more rapidly, and international commerce will expand. At the same time, the creditor countries will not only benefit by this opportunity for investing their surplus capital, but will find that this is another way of solving their own employment problems, and the problems of the transition from war to peace production.

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

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

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

(The Conference adjourned at 1.10 p.m.)
Delegates present at the Sitting

United States of America:
- Mr. Goodrich (substitute for Miss Perkins)
- Mr. Thomas
- Mr. Watt

Argentina Republican:
- Mr. Garcia Arias
- Mr. Palmieri

Australia:
- Mr. Beasley
- Mr. Barnard
- Mr. Clarey

Belgium:
- Mr. van Zeeland
- Mr. Rens

Bolivia:
- Mr. Andrade
- Mr. Saavedra

Brazil:
- Mr. Fontes
- Mr. de Rego Monteiro
- Mr. de Mattos Lima

British Empire:
- Mr. Tomlinson
- Sir Frederick Leggett
- Sir John Forbes
- Watson
- Mr. Hallsworth

Canada:
- Mr. Renaud (substitute for Mr. Martin)
- Mrs. Casselman (substitute for Mr. Clinton)
- Mr. Coulter
- Mr. Bengough

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

China:
- Mr. Li Ping-heng
- Mr. Li Ming
- Mr. Chu Hsueh-fan

Colombia:
- Mr. Nannetti
- Mr. Molina

Costa Rica:
- Fr. Nuñez Vargas
- Mr. Benavides

Dominican Republic:
- Mr. Garrido Cestero (substitute for Mr. Cocco)
- Mr. Morales

Ecuador:
- Mr. López Arteta
- Mr. Hidalgo González
- Mr. González Artigas

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

France:
- Mr. Tixier
- Mr. Antoine

Greece:
- Mr. Loverdos (substitute for Mr. Diamantopoulos)
- Mr. Zarras
- Mr. Gratsos (substitute for Mr. Kulukundis)

Haiti:
- Mr. Dartigue
- Mr. Thébaud

India:
- Mr. Mehta

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

Israel:
- Mr. Daftary

Italy:
- Mr. de la Rosa
- Mr. de Garrido

Japan:
- Mr. Vidal
- Mr. Luna

Korea:
- Mr. Kim

Lister:
- Mr. Andrews
- Mr. de Vries

Luxembourg:
- Mr. Krier

Mexico:
- Mr. Trujillo Gurria
- Mr. Chapa
- Mr. Lombardo
- Toledano

Netherlands:
- Mr. Warning
- Mr. Oldenbroek

New Zealand:
- Mr. Turner (substitute for Mr. Nash)
- Mr. Taylor
- Mr. Butland
- Mr. Alerby

Norway:
- Mr. Hambro
- Mr. Ordning
- Mr. Dahl
- Mr. Nordahl

Panama:
- Mr. de la Rosa
- Mr. Garrido

Peru:
- Mr. Vidal
- Mr. Luna

Poland:
- Mr. Slaneczyk
- Mr. Strakacz
- Mr. Adamczyk

Portugal:
- Mr. da Silva

Scotland:
- Mr. Mclean
- Mr. McTaggart

South Africa:
- Mr. Andrews
- Mr. de Vries

Soviet Union:
- Mr. Yegorenko

Sweden:
- Mr. Ohlin
- Mr. Thorson
- Mr. Thedin (substitute for Mr. Anderson)

Switzerland:
- Mr. Feer (substitute for Mr. Bruggmann)

Turkey:
- Mr. Gülek
- Mr. Esmer

Uruguay:
- Mr. Kühn Talay
- Mr. Fontana

Venezuela:
- Mr. Troncoso Rodil
- Mr. Pérez Guerrero

Yugoslavia:
- Mr. Soubbotitch
- Mr. Milo

Also present at the Sitting:
- Mr. Asgeirsson (Iceland)
- Mr. Acosta (Paraguay)
THIRTEENTH SITTING

Monday, 8 May 1944, 3.10 p. m.

Presidents: Mr. Nash, Mr. Bustos Lagos and Mr. Watt

DIRECTOR'S REPORT: DISCUSSION (contd.)

The PRESIDENT—We will resume the discussion on the Director's Report.

Interpretation: Mr. ANDRADE (Government delegate, Bolivia)—My country is participating in this Conference in the hope that the world may come to understand our problems and that, through our deliberations, means will be found to help those masses of human beings who today live on a low standard of life and who feel upon them the weight of misery and poverty. We have come here with the hope that the masses may be liberated from anguish and insecurity, and with the knowledge that the human family is attempting to establish collective well-being based upon love and tolerance, on unselfishness and sacrifice and upon those ideals which led the founders of democracy to establish political liberty and to seek freedom from misery and insecurity.

I would first explain to you the reasons for the deep social unrest which exists today in Bolivia. It seems a paradox that poverty should have sunk its claws into the flesh of a country that possesses enormous potential riches. The men of my generation must face this fact honestly. We must enquire why progress and the great victories of human intelligence have produced only unhappiness and grief. We must not allow this situation to continue. We believe that its cause is the poor distribution of the wealth produced by modern progress. This progress should have brought enlightenment and material and spiritual growth for all. But of our three millions of people, eighty per cent. are Indians of the Aymara or Quechua groups, who live, in this era of the radio and the aeroplane, under conditions very similar to those which prevailed four hundred years ago.

During the 119 years of our existence as an independent republic, not a single serious effort has been made to bring these Indian masses into the national family and to the benefits of modern life. Our Indians plod along, eking out a subhuman existence, their physical senses dulled by the use of coca, their only ambition that of dying in an alcoholic stupor.

The Indian lives in the heart of the mountains, scratching the rocky bowels of the earth to mine the tin which is used by the civilised people of the world. He works at this task under such conditions that in a short time his lungs become encrusted with silica dust. According to information which has been gathered by the Workers' Savings and Insurance Fund of Bolivia, a man who enters the mine may expect to become completely incapacitated or to die within five years. Thus it is that a country with such a small population is losing every year from two to three thousand workers, a loss which could be stopped through proper social assistance.

Much has been said in my country with regard to the raising of wages. However, we have reliable data which show that up to 1943 there were thousands of workers in the mines who received less than 25 cents a day, United States currency. More than 50 per cent. of the miners received less than 50 cents and only 5 per cent. earned a dollar a day or more. Since the beginning of 1943, there has been an increase of about 30 per cent. in wage rates. But the rise in the cost of living has been such that purchasing power remains about the same as in 1942. Wages are caught in a vicious circle. There is a miserable standard of living because of miserable wages, and miserable wages are paid because of the miserable standard of living.
Those who have assumed the responsibility of public office in my country want no share in a situation in which the people are kept in criminal darkness. We do not wish to preen ourselves over those weak attempts at social betterment which have been made in order to cover up the tragedy of our people. We do not wish to build a golden mausoleum over the bones of men who have died of hunger. We of this generation are aware of our tragic plight, and we know that our strength is limited in relation to the great tasks that lie before us. So we appeal to the generosity of all mankind, we appeal to the idealism upon which the I.L.O. is founded, and to the noble purposes which inspire you who have come to this Conference of the I.L.O.

To you we say that the difficulties to which I have referred are not the only ones that lie before us. We must resolutely attack the problems of public health, of malaria, of the diseases of the tropical regions, of tuberculosis, which together have added thousands of lives, year after year, among our people. We must organise an educational system for future generations. We must face the fact that great personal fortunes have been amassed with the sweat, tears and blood of our workers; that the concentration of wealth in a few hands is the fundamental cause of the state of affairs I have sketched so briefly.

The spirit of the Bolivian people is profoundly democratic. For over a century we have fought against the power of oligarchies whose only ideal is the acquisition of money and the exercise of irresponsible power. Some of our revolutions have been merely palace uprisings, but in other cases they have expressed the holy, undying protest of a people against dictatorship which tried to perpetuate themselves in power.

Hence, the ideals of the Bolivian people are those of the United Nations. Our position on the side of the democracies is not a mere formality; we are doing everything within our power to play our part in this struggle to the death against oppression. We are seeking by every means to become active warriors in this war, which is our war as much as yours. All our strategic materials are being sent to the United Nations. The Bolivian workers have solemnly sworn to wrest from the depths of the Andean mountains the last ounce of copper, of tin or tungsten or any other material that may be needed to win this war. Men from every walk of life have journeyed into the jungle to gather rubber and quinine so that the American soldiers who slog through the marshes and jungles of the Pacific Islands may be protected against malaria. In the prosecution of this task which we have placed upon our own shoulders, nothing or nobody shall stand in our way. We are deeply convinced that this is our duty and that we must fulfill it to the point of sacrifice.

In the line of our co-operation in the war effort, I must also say that my country is doing its share in waging economic warfare. We are expropriating the property of Nazi agents and sympathisers. These measures will become as drastic as may be required by the objectives of economic war.

We who have prepared and carried out the revolution in Bolivia did so with two fundamental purposes in mind: first, to resolve our social problems and thus bring hope to the common man of Bolivia; and, second, to establish in deeds, not in words, a truly effective economic and social co-operation with the United Nations. If the war requires that our workers give to the limit, I am sure they will do so without hesitation. But we maintain that this generous co-operation cannot and must not be used to fill to overflowing the money bags of the powerful. On the contrary, the men who give their labour and their lives must be rewarded with the hope of a better life at least for their children.

The Government which I represent has given proof of its sincere desire to achieve both objectives. Bolivia has for the first time recognised the legal right of workers to organise into unions. It was my privilege to sign the decree which outlawed the dismissal of workers because of trade union organising activities. As Minister of Labour, I have also issued a decree setting minimum wages consistent with the economic possibilities of my country. I have also regulated the Workers' Savings and Insurance Fund, giving equal representation to employers, workers and the Government. The Bolivian Ministry of Labour has also set aside funds for the relief of the families of the workers massacred at Catavi.

The basic problem of our country is the separation of man from the soil. Our small population is lost in an immense territory which possesses great potential riches. My Government proposes to establish an effective equilibrium between man and the soil so that future generations may be able to make a better life from the careful and considerate use of the earth. We shall also try to increase by every possible means the productive capacity of the present generation of workers by improving their nutrition, their housing, and giving them sanitary facilities to prevent their early death. Bolivia has one of the highest rates of infant mortality in the world. We are trying to establish a programme of rural education, the aim of which is to teach every Bolivian child to read and write within the next ten years. These are not promises; they are a plan of action.

A few days ago, the President of the Latin American Workers' Federation, Vicente Lombardo Toledano, told me in conversation that he thought Bolivia was on the road to democracy. We have welcomed foreign visitors who desire to come to Bolivia and to see with their own eyes what we are trying to do. One of these
given every opportunity to move among the masses of our people and to gather all the information he desired, and I am told that his report recognizes the merits of our programme. We have also welcomed the leader of the Chilean workers who came to us on a mission of brotherhood and mercy not long ago. On his return from the United States, he brought the sum of $5,000, donated in equal shares by the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the American Federation of Labor to the families of the workers who were shot down at Catavi. I want to take this opportunity of expressing the thanks of my country for such an expression of the ideals of solidarity by the North American workers.

Bolivia is a symbol of the terrible struggle that the oppressed people of the world are carrying on against an archaic, capitalist régime. Hungry masses are seeking the road to happiness, and are solidly resolved that tyranny and race prejudice shall disappear from the face of the earth. The Bolivian revolution represents an effort to direct this powerful force towards constructive objectives. When the springs of human hope are released, the desire for a better life must be satisfied or it may be turned into a delirium of destruction and of frustration.

The I.L.O. must fix its eyes upon these truths; otherwise, the result may be a sterile bureaucracy. It must raise a standard of freedom and dignity under which workers can live as men and not as slaves. It must establish principles of work which will make labour a binding tie of brotherhood between man and man, rather than a chain of misery, grief, exhaustion and futility.

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

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

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

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

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

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

We are, however, most anxious that the Asiatic side of the Organisation should be strengthened, and for that reason, as my leader has already said, we welcome the proposal for an Asiatic regional conference when conditions are suitable and the war situation allows.

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

My third point is to say something about my country. I do not propose to deal with our war effort, and I do not propose to deal with the manner in which we are planning reconstruction. Our war effort is, I think, more considerable than many people realize. Our plans for reconstruction are well advanced, and I am sure asking the co-operation of non-officials in preparing and giving effect to them, but this is not the place to talk about that.
I do, however, want to talk about our labour policy, in particular in its relation to the social policy. I have here at various committees in this Conference had to propose amendments, because social practice, which I knew to be desirable in all countries, was in my view at present far beyond our capacity in India.

I have, however, to say that this may lead in some minds to the impression that we feel we have got far enough in regard to labour matters, social security and full employment, and that we have reached a stage beyond which further progress is not needed. If that impression is in anyone's mind, I want here and now to contradict it. We intend to go forward. We recognise it as an obligation to reach ultimately the standards set by this Organisation, but it makes it easier for us to progress if those standards are framed with regard to practicability in our conditions, and it is that view which I have attempted to put forward.

The Director in his Report refers to some matters in which we are progressing, among others, to the start we have made with the employment exchanges and to a new and unusual war risk compensation insurance scheme. To these I would make no further reference, but there are two other matters to which I wish specifically to call attention.

The first is the measures we are taking to improve contact with provinces and States, with employers and workers, and for improving co-ordination between them. Better co-ordination and better contacts are essentially necessary in a country the size of India, not only to secure that legislation is framed quickly in a form suitable to all parts of the country, but also to pool experience of administrative methods, which must lead to all-round improvement. And the Conference will remember that the executive authority responsible for administration of most labour legislation in India is that of provincial Governments and not the Government of India. Contact and co-ordination is essential to progress, particularly if uniform progress is to be secured.

We are developing that contact mainly through the establishment of our Tripartite Labour Organisation. This is perhaps a unique development, and one which seems to us to be full of possibilities. We have to start by feeling our way, but the one yearly conference we hold and the three quarterly conferences of the Standing Labour Committee are helping us not only to feel but to find our way. And speaking for myself, I find each session that we hold more interesting than the last.

It is perhaps worth noting, with reference to a remark made, I understand, in another place by one of our workers' delegates, that representatives from States' Governments are associated with us in the work of those conferences, and are taking very keen interest in them.

A subsidiary manner in which we are developing contact is by the appointment of a number of central Government labour welfare advisers. These officers are mainly responsible for keeping contact with employment conditions in central Government undertakings, but they also keep in close touch with the Labour Commissions of the provincial Governments, and they, too, will help us in securing the co-ordination which is necessary.

The last point to which I wish to refer is the steps we are taking to prepare the ground for an improvement in health standards and in social security measures. We are, in India, desperately short of statistics, and short of accurate knowledge of conditions. We have had no detailed enquiry since the Whitley Commission. We are taking steps to remedy this position, to improve our statistical knowledge, and at the same time to get a clearer picture of the facts on which to frame a programme.

There are two committees which will help us in this: the Health Survey and Development Committee, and a special committee set up on the advice of our tripartite conference to deal with social security matters. When we get these reports—and we expect them quickly—we shall be able to frame a policy which will, I hope, enable us to go a long way to carrying out many of the Recommendations we have been considering here. But to do so, and if we are to secure a well-ordered and well-administered advance, it is clear that the provinces and we ourselves will need a largely increased administrative staff.

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

Mr. CHU Hsueh-fan (Workers' delegate, China)—Reading the Report of the Acting Director, one has the impression that the International Labour Office is gradually widening its horizon in the appraisal of the economic background and social developments. One discerns in particular increasing concern being taken of conditions such as prevail in China.

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

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

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

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

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

The growing and enormous importance of the East in the post-war period reveals itself in the post-war period in Asia, it would not be surprising if the International Labour Office finds itself engaged in much expanded endeavours in the East—in China, in India, and elsewhere.

Even with regard to Japan, while our immediate objective is to bring about her unconditional surrender and to rehabilitate her Government and her industries as to put her in a position where she cannot wage another war of aggression, the opinion of Chinese organised labour is that Japanese workers should be allowed a reasonable standard of life, so as not to affect the standards of the world as a whole.

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

Organised labour in China, dedicated as it is to the elevation of the standard of living of the workers, will use all means at its disposal to persuade its Government to give effect to as many as possible of the Conventions and Recommendations adopted by the International Labour Conference.

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

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

Interpretation: Mr. KRIER (Government delegate, Luxembourg) — The discussion of the Director's Report has been greatly facilitated by the fact that at the beginning we were able to devote many sessions as well as in committees and sub-committees with items I and II of the agenda. These items are really part of the Director's Report, while the Report itself deals mainly with technical aspects.

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

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

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

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

The International Labour Organisation is based on social principles. These principles are not a matter for bargaining. You may accept them or reject them, but they cannot be whittled down, either in spirit or in scope. It is by its attitude towards these principles that the International Labour Organisation will be judged. It is in the light of the application of these principles that the Governments of the different countries will be judged. It is on this that the confidence of the masses depends, a confidence which cannot be created by artificial means, but must be nourished by deeds. These deeds are imposed on Governments not only by the decisions of our Conference, but also by the programmes and the schemes that will be put forward when the occupied countries are liberated. Who will be bold enough to deny to these peoples the right to defend and even to fight for their achievement? We can discuss here the various proposals that are before us. Some say they go too far, but I will say that they can never go too far, and they are certainly much too modest. Nothing can go far enough to satisfy the liberated peoples. We cannot keep the working masses in slavery and oppression; even under the occupation they dare to fight for the improvement of their position, and not a day passes without concerted action for the raising of wages, and improvement of material conditions, often for purely ideological reasons. In my small country, the workers had, in September 1942, the magnificent courage to declare a general strike for the defence of the fundamental rights of the Luxemburg people. If this can happen under the German terror, and if such acts occur almost everywhere, shall we then believe that these same men will allow themselves to be deceived by declarations as solemn as they are hypocritical?

Let us be conscious of our duty towards those who fight for themselves and for us. It is not we who are winning the war—it is these people and the Allied armies. For those who are suffering under the occupation and those who are fighting on the fields of battle, we have the duty of preparing the ground for that peace which is not yet won, and which is still in danger of being lost, if we continue to haggle over the most sacred rights of humanity and subordinate them to material profit.

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

Other countries claim that their legislation is in conformity with the principles and the Conventions of the International Labour Organisation, whereas all the world knows that their workers have no rights at all, not even the right of free association.

In the past, at different conferences, we have objected to the presence of delegations from fascist countries, such as Italy; but we have too often accepted, without protest, delegations of semi-fascist countries. I think that we owe it to those who suffer now under the fascist yoke, to tolerate semi-fascist and pseudo-democratic delegations that are prejudicial to the International Labour Organisation, which can only live and flourish in a truly democratic régime.

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

I therefore ask the Director to consider whether it would not be to the interests of the International Labour Organisation to have the Governing Body composed in the future of the countries which are most advanced socially; for it is the Governing Body that should encourage social progress and watch over the application of social principles and the satisfaction of social claims. These countries may not be the largest or the most productive. During the war the Allied countries have made gigantic efforts in the economic domain, in order to attain their end, which is the destruction of the enemy war machine. Everything has been subordinated to production. It is for us to see now that production shall be subordinated to the needs of humanity, which should enjoy essential rights—the right to work, fair wages, social security, the right to leisure, to education, to culture, social peace and cooperation in economic life. These words constitute the whole future programme with which we are concerned, and the realisation of which will establish what has been called the century of the common man.

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

On behalf of my people, I am ready to undertake that Luxemburg will keep its international engagements.

Mr. HALLSWORTH (Workers' delegate, British Empire)—The 1941 Conference marked a new stage in the development of this Organisation, and this Conference, if it is to be successful, must link its conclusions with those of 1941 in regard to the role which the I.L.O. must play in world affairs.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is no use, for example, granting so many millions of Swiss francs for an expenditure budget if we are going to realise only 60 or 70 or 80 per cent. of that budget, because it creates an uncertain situation for the Governing Body and the Director of the Organisation. On the Director's part, he can neither plan nor perform the obligations laid upon the Office unless his budget is guaranteed and is adequate, nor can the representatives of the three elements in this Organisation do their work effectively.

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

Now, I don't want to go into the detailed subjects comprised in the Director's Report and in the reports that have gone to the various committees. We have all had our share in considering those matters. But I think you will forgive me if I make a reference to one subject dealt with in the Director's Report, a subject which has been one of almost perpetual interest since I learned to think at all, and that is, the welfare of children and young persons, to which you will find references beginning at page 57 of the Report.

On page 57 of the Report, the Director draws attention to the problems of youth, which have been greatly aggravated by the war, and he points out that the situation is tragic beyond description in the countries which have been turned into battlefields or which are dominated by a brutal and ruthless enemy. He sets forth what those serious results are. But he goes on to point out something which is equally important—that it is not only in the devastated and occupied countries that the war is seriously prejudicing the future of today's children and adolescents, for he indicates, what is undoubtedly true and known to us, that in all the belligerent countries, the manpower shortage has led to the increased employment of young persons, with harmful results to their general and vocational education.

I won't go into the details of it beyond saying this, that we are grieved beyond measure in my own country of Great Britain that for the active prosecution of this war, and for the support of the fighting men in the field and on the sea and in the air, the labour of young children and adolescents has been mobilised, to their great disadvantage. I do hope that Governments and employers' and workers' organisations will collaborate in freeing these children and young persons from the obligation of earning and learning at the same time, that we shall lift from their shoulders, as soon as may be, those burdens that they are carrying in this fight, that has now been going on for four years.

We must give them the opportunity of repairing, as far as possible, the effects of war, and we must give them as expandingly and as quickly as we can the means of making their full contribution towards social progress throughout the world and the enthronement of abiding peace.

After all, these children and these young persons are going to be the standard bearers of democracy in the future. They are the people, the men and women of the future, who are going to come to future conferences of this International Labour Organisation, and I would not like it to be said that we at this time failed to give attention to this problem and to make it as easy as possible for the future for these young people to carry on when we have laid down the reins of office.

Interpretation: Mr. HERNANDEZ FRANCO (Government adviser, Dominican Republic)—The Government of the Dominican Republic is convinced that although the war is not yet won it is necessary to plan now for peace; for this reason, as soon as they knew of the convocation of the present Conference, they decided on the composition of their delegation and did all they could to enable this delegation to work in the best of conditions.

To define the policies, programme and
future position of the International Labour Organisation, the only surviving organisation of all those created by the Treaty of Peace, with twenty-five years of work to its credit in the application of social justice, to recommend the social policy that should be carried on after the war, to deal with employment during the transition period, and to work out a plan of social security—all these are matters that require the special attention of Government, employers' and workers' delegates of all the countries of the world, and we support them with all our heart, confident that we are moving towards a better world. To realise the aspirations of workers all over the world, we are also helping to work out a policy for dependent territories, although our country is satisfied with its liberty and sovereignty and has no dependent territories. We are united in spirit and in action with the United Nations. We have come, as our delegation went to the Conference at Hot Springs, to associate ourselves with the view that the ideal of a world free from misery, with abundance of wholesome food sufficient for the health and welfare of all peoples, is a practical possibility, and we wish to co-operate in the carrying out of the resolu-
tions of that historic gathering.

We come, as also did our delegates to the Relief and Rehabilitation Conference at Atlantic City, to offer our help to the countries devastated by the war, men, women, old persons and children, so that they may have food and shelter as soon as the destructive forces of the enemy have been driven from the occupied countries.

It is fitting that we should meet in the country of this great nation which is leading this fierce battle for liberty, has encouraged humanity with the promises of the Atlantic Charter, and practices the policy of the Good Neighbour, which we so fully approve. We are proud to declare that we are giving practical expression to the Havana Declaration and that the Government and the people of the Dominican Republic, like those of our other American countries, are strong supporters of the International Labour Organisation.

We have not made special studies of the questions on the agenda, because in our country social problems, though similar to those of other countries, are not yet acute. Our Government has prepared legislation and takes other steps to ensure the progress of our people. The Dominican Republic entered the International Labour Organisation in 1924, and although previous Governments had tolerated the existence of trade unions, until 1930 only one labour law existed, Act No. 175 of 25 May 1925, respecting the Sunday closing of commercial and industrial establishments.

In 1930, an Act established the Secretariat of Labour and Communications and defined its duties. These included a number of matters concerning the welfare of the workers, such as workers' protection, measures to ensure employment, Sunday rest, hours of work, insurance, savings fund, and housing.

Since 1930, we have given special consideration to the decisions of the International Labour Office. In 1932 we were able to ratify the Convention concerning the minimum age for employment in industry and that on hours of work, and in 1935 we established the eight-hour day and weekly rest, prohibited night work of women, and adopted regulations fixing the minimum age of admission to industrial employment; we limited the hours of work of minors in commerce, and provided facilities for nursing mothers. We also provided for seats for women workers, and for canteens to provide midday meals.

In 1932 we ratified the Conventions on the minimum age of admission of workers to maritime employment and to agriculture. In 1933 also, we introduced an accident insurance law, which was amended in the same year. This law gives effect to the Convention on workmen's compensation adopted in 1921, and applies also to agricultural workers, thus covering the Convention and Recommendation of 1927.

We have also dealt with the fixing of minimum wages in accordance with the Convention of 1928; this we did in 1940. In March 1941, we applied the provisions of the Conventions concerning paid holidays for employees and workers in all kinds of undertakings, and we have also established an inspectorate of industrial health. We have also legislation on statistics, including statistics on migration. By Act of 1937, we set up a national labour inspectorate, and by an Order of 1932, under the Workmen's Compensation Act, we took measures to prevent industrial accidents in the building and construction industries, mines, electrical undertakings and others, in accordance with various Recommendations of the International Labour Conference.

As a result of the legislation on minimum wages, wage schedules drawn up by the National Wage Board have been approved for various industries. We are also working out a plan for a general labour code and regulations under this code.

This is a brief résumé of the work of social justice accomplished by the Dominican Republic since 1930, when the Government of Dr. Trujillo Molina came into power. This work of his has been beneficial both to capital and to labour. Our legislation has provided ample freedom of association, and we are trying to ensure that the workers shall receive rewards for their labour and higher wages. We hope to receive capital from other countries so as to be able to develop agriculture and industry without monopolistic privileges, and to provide general and vocational education in an atmosphere of peace and progress.

(Mr. Watt takes the Chair.)
Mr. McDAVITT (Employer’s adviser, United States of America)—I should say at the outset that I am speaking for Mr. Harriman, and am going to read his paper.

The present Conference of the International Labour Office is meeting under the most auspicious circumstances. It is meeting in Philadelphia, which is the cradle of American liberty. It was in this city 168 years ago that Thomas Jefferson declared: “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.” Certainly no words could better epitomise the basic philosophy of the International Labour Office, or the world programme for which it stands.

Again, it is fortunate that the I.L.O. is meeting in Temple University. Many of you may not know that its founder, one of the most distinguished preachers and educators of his time, wrote a very famous lecture entitled “Acres of Diamonds”. Its theme was that great opportunities lie all about us, and that if we but see them, we will acquire more wealth and do more good in the world than if we had discovered acres of diamonds. This lecture netted Dr. Russell Conwell over six million dollars, all of which he devoted to the founding of this University.

It is interesting to compare the picture of the war when the I.L.O. last met in Colorado in October 1941 and the picture of the war as it is today. At that time, substantially all of the continent of Europe, outside of Russia, had been overrun by German and Italian hordes. Even then, the armies of the Reich were striking at the heart of Russia, and few military men thought that Moscow could be saved. Also, England had suffered terrific damage from the bombing of the Luftwaffe, and the United States was sitting in splendid, but terrifying isolation, entirely unconscious of the rude awakening which was to come on 7 December.

Today, how different is the picture! Italy is out of the war. The Mediterranean has been reopened and its African shores freed of Axis armies. The incomparable forces of Soviet Russia have driven the German hordes from their land, and are now pushing forward from Budapest, Warsaw, and Vienna, and, ultimately, towards Berlin. Indeed, it is more than probable that before this Conference closes, the combined armed forces of Great Britain and America will have begun an attack from the west which will mean the end of the German military power. I do not think it is overoptimistic to feel that the plan laid forward for the close of the present calendar year. Not only are the Allies winning great victories in Europe; their forces are now striking crushing blows at Japan, and already the Japanese Navy has had to seek safety in its best defended harbours.

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

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

But the I.L.O. must also remember that great reforms can only endure when they are graduated and with the hearty approval of those who are affected. The Chamber of Commerce of the United States, which suggested my name to the President as employers’ representative at this I.L.O. Conference, has recently adopted a set of principles on international post-war problems, which I think are most enlightening and which I am sure represent the thoughtful conclusions of the businessmen of America. I must last not I.L.O. may plan its contribution to the establishment of the better world order.

(1) The Chamber of Commerce favours prompt consideration by the United Nations of such political, economic and social questions as may be definitely settled in advance of the cessation of hostilities. It is generally recognised that one of the reasons for the failure of the peace treaties which followed the first world war was that there had been insufficient preparation, which followed the first world war was that there had been insufficient preparation, and with the hearty approval of those who are affected. The Chamber of Commerce of the United States, which suggested my name to the President as employers’ representative at this I.L.O. Conference, has recently adopted a set of principles on international post-war problems, which I think are most enlightening and which I am sure represent the thoughtful conclusions of the businessmen of America. I must last not
war will find chaotic conditions throughout much of the world, and the leaders of the victorious Allies will be faced with the task of restoring and maintaining peace and order until reasonably normal conditions of life are restored in the various countries.

(3) It recommends that the United States, joining with the other great Powers as trustees of the peace, immediately establish an international commission to prepare in outline the structure and constitution of a new society of nations. Such a society must be based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States, and must be open to membership by all such countries, large and small; and its primary function must be to maintain peace and security as set forth in the Four-Nation Declaration at Moscow. While it is realised that the exact powers, functions and duties of such a world organisation cannot be exactly set forth at this time, it is felt that consideration can now be given to the basic principles of such a society of nations.

(4) It favours participation by the United States in a re-established world court, and it further favours the fullest possible development of international law, on as broad a basis as possible for the safeguarding of relationships among nations. To this end, it favours the creation in Geneva of a permanent international institute to study and report to international and national bodies on the development of international law and procedure for international justice.

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

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

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

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

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

The name "International Labour Organisation" has led to many misconceptions as to its nature and activities. This is especially true in the United States where, because of the relatively short period of our membership, the I.L.O. is less well known than in other parts of the world. The name suggests a labour union of international dimensions. This is quite misleading, for although the Organisation does concern itself with the problems of labour, it is not a trade union organisation. Trade unions are represented in it, but so are employers' organisations and Governments. Furthermore, it is a social organisation whose funds are provided by governmental appropriations, and in which Governments exercise a predominant influence.

I have long sympathised with the views so well expressed by Mr. Mulliken, and I hope this convention will give most serious consideration to the suggestion. Many names suggest themselves, among a few of which are: International Organisation of Labour and Management; International Organisation of Labour and Industry; International Organisation of Labour Problems. Management in the United States does not urge the acceptance of any particular name, but it does feel that the
and these new forces now within his grasp, supreme question which concerns this generation is whether technology can be brought under control. Is man to be the master of the destructive energies he has created or is he to be their victim? Will the physical power he already possesses and these new forces now within his grasp be employed to serve the race in constructive ways or will they become a Frankenstein monster that will slay its own creator? In brief, has man the wisdom and ethical and spiritual power to control the forces which he has himself set loose?

If science were standing still, if no new powers were to be added to those already in man's possession, the problem might eventually find solution; but of course this idea is fanciful. We are merely at the beginning of progress in our technology. New power, new weapons are just around the corner—powers and weapons which mankind with utmost wisdom can scarcely be trusted to use unless it also possesses ethical and spiritual powers. Man is developing aeroplanes larger and more deadly than those now employed and explosives capable of far-flung destruction, beyond anything dreamed of at the moment. And the people who are most concerned with the control of our technological progress are the workers of the world. If such progress is controlled, a high standard of living is available to all. But if wars are to be continued and become more deadly and more destructive, then the future is grim in its portent.

These are days of self-examination, of search of motives, and of the appraisal of what has happened. You who have come from England or China or any of the other nations united in the struggle for freedom are, I am sure, searching your hearts to see what there is in your history, in your form of government, and in your concept of life that is fine and worth while and enduring. In this spirit, may I tell you what America means to me?—and in so doing, I am quoting freely from a recent article by Dorothy Thompson.

America is a credulous people, given to think well of people at first, not easily wrathful, but terrible when angered.

America is an idea, and that idea is that, given a chance, the most ordinary man can pull himself up to the highest position; that given freedom, he will improve himself; that given opportunity, he will work; that given a chance, he will strive for equality with all men, and then strive for something higher.

America is the land of great orators: "But as for me, give me liberty or give me death"; or "We hold these truths to be self-evident"; or "A Government of the people, for the people, and by the people"; or it is a poem: "Listen my children and you shall hear of the midnight ride of Paul Revere". And America is also a song: "Protect us by Thy might, great God, our King"; or "As he died to make men holy, let us die to make men free"; and, "Crown thy good with brotherhood from sea to shining sea".

America means vast areas. One hundred years ago it was the wilderness. An endless continent, boundless, a land where anything might happen. America means free enterprise, political, economic, and social; the right to plan much, to venture much, to fail much, but out of endeavour, to win much; the right to become the President of the United States, or the head of General Motors, or Jane Addams in Hull House.

America means vast areas. One hundred years ago it was the wilderness that anybody could have for the asking. Land-hungry men came from Europe or other continents to take it. They were of many races—Anglo-Saxons, Teutons, French, Scandinavians, and Slavs. Later came many fine men from the Mediterranean. These settlers felled trees and built cabins. They broke the soil with simple ploughs; they were enterprising men; some were good and some were bad. Then came the speculators and the builders, laying railroads and building towns, and the prospectors delving in unknown mountains and shifting the waters of streams, that they might uncover the gold. The pioneer Americans conquered the plains and on them they planted corn and wheat. Others settled in the muckland and planted all the vegetables that grew anywhere. Still others ventured on the vast rolling prairies and raised their herds of cattle and sheep.

After the farm came the village, and after the village came the city. These Americans built a town hall to govern in, a courthouse to judge in, a church to pray in and a school to learn in; and they governed and judged and worshipped and taught themselves.

America is ingenuity—the telegraph, the telephone, the electric lamp, the internal combustion engine, the aeroplane, the radio, nylon stockings, and the submarine, all were invented or first perfected in America and in doing so, fortunes were made and fortunes were lost.

America is movement. Before the war, America had four times as many automobiles as all the rest of the world, and the greatest road system since the days of the Romans. Now they are building aeroplanes and streamlined trains and jeeps.

Americans are a new people—a people melted out of all European and many non-European races. They speak a language which is built on the English tongue, but full of its own whimsicalities and imageries.

Americans are a credulous people, given to think well of people at first, not easily wrathful, but terrible when angered.

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The PRESIDENT (Mr. Watt)—I do not know what rules Mr. Nash had, but if there is no objection I am going to hand
over an envelope to each speaker when he has two minutes left, so that he will know when to conclude.

Interpretation: Mr. SILVERIO y SAINZ (Government delegate, Cuba)—The Director's Report, especially when he reads this for exchanging ideas, but unfortunately time is so short that I can only deal with one point of the many raised by the Director's Report.

In the first pages of this document, by way of introduction, the Director gives an account of the principal military and political events since the New York Conference. The conclusions of this chapter alone are of supreme significance because they show how the dawn of victory which is now discernible is a direct result of the measures adopted by the democracies to co-ordinate their efforts, unite their peoples and create a spirit of material and moral solidarity, by eradicating all traces of the poison of nazism.

Before the war the nations maintained close diplomatic and cultural relations and signed peace treaties and commercial treaties. This process was developing slowly, but received a stimulus when the first threat of war loomed on the horizon. The nations came closer together, in particular in the economic field, so that all resources could be put to common use.

This point has been brought out in the Director's Report, especially when he refers to the intensification of the production of strategic raw materials in South American countries such as Brazil and Mexico, and the economic development in, Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, and Haiti.

I regret that in this connection no mention has been made of my country, doubtless owing to the haste with which the Report was prepared. I imagine that you all know that we in Cuba have devoted all our energies to the development of our industrial production, and have also done much to improve roads and to construct new roads, through our National Development Board and with the help of the twenty-five million peso loan advanced by the American Import and Export Bank.

International trade is adopting new forms—forms that have not hitherto been envisaged. The nations that had both import and export trade have become almost exclusively importing countries, owing to the war situation. Certain countries now have a vast market for their products, but on the other hand, the interruption of shipping and various trade restrictions have considerably reduced their imports. Some countries, therefore, have had to reduce their exports very considerably and rely on their home markets. On the other hand, imports to the United States and other belligerent countries have increased enormously from the Latin American countries, with the results that the latter countries have seen their trade greatly expanded and have acquired considerable foreign exchange, which they could use to improve the life of their people and consolidate their public finances.

I shall not go into great detail. You will find more information about Cuba in the volume that has been distributed to the delegates at this conference. There are some current figures relating to wages, which are strikingly indicated by the figures published by the Central Health and Maternity Board, which administers maternity insurance. The contributions paid by employers and workers increased from 1,056,578 pesos in 1940 to 1,731,674 pesos in 1943.

This is a notable improvement in one important aspect of economic life in Cuba, but other matters are causing us much anxiety. Cuba is an agricultural country, and therefore essentially an exporter. We can only maintain our home trade if we find adequate foreign markets and acquire adequate foreign exchange to meet the needs of our young industries and pay for our imports and our debts. The commercial treaties between Cuba and the United States and other countries enable us now to devote all our energies to war production, with no desire for gain, and in particular, to the production of agricultural products such as sugar, alcohol, tobacco, coffee, fruits and vegetables. But what has saved Cuba today may be very dangerous in the post-war period. The development of the manufacturing side of the sugar industry has had to be carried out without any new machinery and equipment for the mills. The peasants, on the other hand, have had to develop new lands and make improvements at considerable cost, in particular for labour, as compared with their profits.

I assume that the United Nations, and the International Labour Organisation in particular, will take these conditions into account when the time comes, in order to ward off financial disaster from countries such as mine which rely primarily on the export of a single product and which, in their desire to ensure the victory of the democracies, have done all they could to organise a vital war industry that ought not to be allowed to fetter their progress after the war.

Happily, international economic cooperation is developing day by day. Its growth is shown by the American proposal for an international reconstruction and development bank and by the decision of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration at Atlantic City to raise a common fund among 44 nations to meet the most urgent needs of the devastated countries when their own Governments are unable to cope with them. There is no need to cite the need of the Atlantic Charter, which are engraved in every heart and mind, and promise a peaceful future to the whole world. We shall continue to maintain, as this Conference has done, that there can be no enduring peace until all men of goodwill are assured of a decent standard of living,
and that in the troubled post-war period which will follow the triumph of the democratic cause, only close collaboration between all nations, great and small, rich and poor, and whatever the colour of their people and their economic conditions, will prevent the occurrence in the future of "conditions of labour involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled", as this Conference stated in the Declaration of Havana.

Mr. MULHERKAR (Employers' adviser, India)—I have carefully gone into the Director's Report and particularly the portion dealing with India in the chapter relating to economic background. I have also seen the reference in the report on item 1, on pp. 84-87, re wartime developments in India, and I am rather disappointed to see that the picture drawn of the impact of war on India's economy. Some important features are missing in that sketch, and a true and full picture is not presented to the Conference.

For instance, both in the Director's Report and in the report on item 1 a reference is made to the progress of expansion in India's iron and steel and textile production, and to the establishment of non-ferrous metals, drugs and chemical industries. They do not, however, deal with the effect of the British Government's war economy on India's industrial development, with particular reference to the establishment of key and defence industries for the manufacture of automobiles, aeroplanes, heavy chemicals, power alcohol, and construction of ships. Since we are all anxious that every possible effort should be made from now on to ensure a high level of employment in the post-war period, you will be surprised to know that the British Government's war economy has discouraged every initiative from Indian industrialists to put up modern industrial plants to manufacture all types of industrial products. You will see from the Director's Report that it was made possible for my neighbouring country, Australia, to establish such plants permitting the manufacture of two-engined bombers, ten thousand-ton merchant ships, and power alcohol, while India, in spite of all resources in men, money and material, was denied that opportunity of manufacturing these supplies, which I am sure would have further helped the United Nations war effort. I, for one, think that the Report would not be complete without specific reference to the effect of the British Government's war economy on India's industrial development.

Similarly, I do not find any reference to the incorporation of the U. K. Commercial Corporation, which is a purely British Treasury concern, but the activities of which have resulted in serious repercussions on India's ability to create new export channels in neighbouring countries. It is a fact that private enterprise and initiative in the export trade, as far as India is concerned, have come to a standstill.

The situation is further aggravated by the introduction of certain financial controls by the British Government under their Dollar Requisition Order, under which the whole of India's dollar credits accruing to her as a result of her trade with the United States of America are put in the Empire Dollar Pool for the benefit of the Empire countries. I have also been told that the War Loan offered by the British Government to the United States of America, and the Dollar Requisition Order have brought about a serious decrease in India’s dollar credits which has discouraged every possible effort to expand trade, as far as India is concerned, have come to a standstill.

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The increase between the period of the declaration of war and December 1943 is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Increase in Note Circulation %</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U. K.</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U. S. A.</td>
<td>138</td>
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<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>201</td>
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<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>231</td>
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<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>88</td>
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<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>150</td>
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but in India there has been an extraordinary expansion rising to about 400 per cent. I am sure that if the British Government were to allow export of capital goods to India, now that the shipping position has improved, there would be a setback to a further increase in the notes in circulation, and much of the finance which is at present responsible for inflation to a certain extent would be sterilised, to the benefit of the country.

It has been stated here that Indian employers have been charging high prices for manufactured goods in India. I may inform the House that the industrial manufacturers never opposed any Government initiative in controlling prices; in fact, in respect of all supplies to Allied Nations and to the Government of India, prices are controlled. Jute, mica, tea, textiles, cement, paper, iron and steel and sugar, all these articles are supplied for war purposes under controlled prices on the basis of 10 to 12 per cent. The Government of India have set up elaborate machinery to check the cost of production to
the manufacturer and the return on the capital engaged. These prices are periodically revised and lower or higher levels are determined on the basis of new factors. I can say with confidence that Indian manufacturers never recorded a profit against Government action in controlling prices.

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

Dr. WYNES (Government adviser, Australia)—I am reading the following statement on behalf of the leader of the Australian Government delegation, Hon. J. A. Beasley.

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

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

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

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

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

Interpretation: Mr. de REGO MONTÉIRO (Government delegate, Brazil)—The Director’s Report submitted by Mr. Phelan to this Conference follows the tradition of culture and objectivity handed down by Albert Thomas, the brilliant first Director of the Office. The Director’s Report, the central point of the discussion on social policy, is always a document that Governments await with much interest.

Mr. Phelan has clearly thrown into relief the political and economic evolution of the world since the New York Conference of 1919. The principal merit of the Report lies in the excellent choice of the problems that Mr. Phelan, has selected,
the principles that he lays down and the questions that he raises. There are three tendencies in the Report, and we can draw three conclusions from them. First, international collaboration is essential to the development and the equilibrium of world economy; second, the intervention of the State is an essential condition of the industrialisation of undeveloped countries; third, the right to employment has received a legal definition based on the social principle of respect for the human person.

More powerful than differences of ideology, social life, by its respect for objective realities, will sooner or later inspire new methods of political co-ordination in which the three principles mentioned above will be taken into account.

Although the war has meant terrible suffering, I think it will teach us the need of mutual international aid. I think that the lesson will not be lost, and that it will not allow the survival of economic imperialism. This means that the peoples will not permit the withdrawal of protective economic measures and social assistance that the State has given them during the war. At the end of the war there must be a revision of international budgets, and taxation which hitherto has been devoted to war must in future be partly utilised to ensure a more equitable social levelling and the suppression of chronic pauperism.

A spirit of intelligence and justice should preside over all agreements in the domain of international economic co-ordination. This co-ordination should not, however, be an obstacle in the way of the industrialisation of young countries like those of Latin America. Manufacture by machinery is for these countries an elementary measure of civilisation which aims at satisfying their primary needs of food, clothing, and hygiene, and providing them with the agricultural machinery that shipping costs make too expensive to import. This is the tendency of the growing industrialisation of Brazil, encouraged at present by the friendly aid of the United States.

Mr. Phelan, in his Report, has selected the most urgent social problems and has dealt in particular with employment and social insurance, as well as wages, housing and the welfare of young workers—three questions that are of just as much importance as the other two, and which in my opinion should be dealt with at a future Conference.

The information that I am going to give about Brazil is intended to supplement, in a spirit of collaboration, the information contained in the Director's Report. The accounts given by the different delegations of the social conditions in their countries make it possible to paint an overall world picture. On the other hand, they bring out the particular problems and the diversity of the various countries.

As regards the placing of workers, Brazil has adopted a system of incontestable social value. Considering that placing is a trade union matter, Brazilian legislation allows the trade unions to set up and manage employment exchanges. By such decentralisation and by the elimination of bureaucracy, the social function of placing has become more dynamic and has been removed from the political sphere. However, when unemployment ceased to be an individual problem and became a collective problem, as was the case in the different ports of Brazil when shipping was interrupted on the Atlantic, the Government had to intervene directly, and has done so especially as regards workers who are not members of trade unions. Accordingly, an employment service was created in Brazil on the occasion of the reorganisation of the National Labour Department in December 1942.

As regards the problem of demobilisation in the post-war period, the Brazilian Government, desirous of ensuring the economic stability of the soldiers' families, passed a Legislative Decree in October 1942, providing that soldiers on their return will be entitled to the posts that they held before they were mobilised. During their service with the colours, they are deemed to be on leave and are entitled to 50 per cent. of their wages.

Brazil has also taken steps to adjust wages to the cost of living. In July and November of 1943, the Government issued Legislative Decrees increasing minimum wages for all classes of workers throughout the country, and for the first time the Government intervened in the fixing of wages that were above the minimum. This is the effect of the so-called "compensation wage" instituted by Legislative Decree No. 5979 of 10 November 1943. All workers, without distinction as to sex, are covered by this regulation and are entitled to the compensation wage, if their wage is below the minimum wage. If it is above the minimum wage, allowance being made for differences in conditions in different regions of the country.

With a view to total mobilisation and to avoid the dangers of inflation, President Vargas has taken over the direction of economic activities and appointed a Co-ordinator of Economic Mobilisation, whose duties, among others, are to fix maximum prices, minimum prices and basic prices, or ceilings for the price of goods and for wages. With a view to ensuring the economic stability of the country and encouraging the renewal of its economic equipment, the Government, by a Legislative Decree of 26 January 1944, placed a tax on extraordinary profits.

These social objectives inspired by an organic spirit and solicitude for the collective interest, are deeply rooted in the Brazilian conceptions of today. The Civil Code has recently been amended and a Legislative Decree of September 1942 established a new principle of private law, namely, that in the application of the law the judge shall take account of the social
ends which it had in view and the interests of the community.

With regard to social insurance, I must mention the draft of an organic law for compulsory social insurance now in preparation. It will be a logical consequence of the consolidation of the social laws which are already in force. All these laws illustrate the maturity of our political experience in one of the most important national domains.

We must congratulate Mr. Phelan on having drawn the attention of Governments to the problem of the protection of young persons. Brazil has very modern legislation in this field, and has not failed to take into account the Havana resolution of 1939. Our legislation was brought into conformity with this resolution by a Legislative Decree of 1941, subsequently incorporated in the Consolidation of the Labour Laws. Recently, the Brazilian Government has set up a section in the Department of National Labour for assistance to women and children.

In concluding my statement, I must express my pride when I think of the ideas that have presided over the renovation of my country, and I render homage to the International Labour Office for its work in the domain of social policy. Thanks to the efforts of the Office and the collaboration that it has received from Governments and from all social classes of the Member States, we may feel confident that the day will come when we can inscribe the principles of social justice in the treaties which will establish the definitive victory of right and liberty. In this way, we shall be meeting the wish of Mr. Carter Goodrich, who hoped that we should find a satisfactory solution to the social problems which will come with peace, and should thus contribute to the reconstruction of the world.

This Conference is contributing to the welfare of all peoples. We are restoring the ruins of civilisation and providing a basis of reconstruction in human solidarity. It is in this communion with the people that we shall find agreement and win the "last chance of civilisation". If we oppose all the ideologies of hate and violence which have scarred the face of the earth with desolation and misery, we shall reaffirm the supremacy of justice which alone leads to peace.

(Mr. Nash takes the Chair.)

The PRESIDENT—It has been decided to hold over the Selection Committee meeting in an endeavour to finish this debate tonight. The Selection Committee will meet sometime after 6 p.m., if possible at 6.

Mr. AFTAB ALI (Workers' adviser, India)—On behalf of the Indian Workers' delegation, I wish to thank the Acting Director for this and for other valuable reports placed before this Conference.

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

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

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

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

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

I would also like to repeat the timely warning which the Director himself has given us in this connection and commend it to those who are today occupying the seats of authority, both within and outside this Organisation. In Report I, the Director says:

Powerful social forces have been set in motion, especially in China and India; the consequences of these forces are incalculable; their future course of development may well be the decisive factor in determining both the attainment of the objectives of the International Labour Organisation for one thousand million human beings and whether peace and prosperity for the whole world on the basis of rising standards everywhere or a future war of continents and races embittered by fantastic contrasts in living standards and the severest economic competition is to be the lot of the next generation.

An almost similar warning also came from a great man of this great land some time back, namely, that “you cannot have this world half free and half slave”.

These utterances are not only timely but historic as well, and I wish all concerned to profit by them, and in time, too.

Now I must refer to the Director’s remarks regarding the famines in India. Here the Director, although not intentionally, has done a great injustice to India and particularly to the Province of Bengal, which has suffered the worst and is still suffering. In his Report, on page 13, the Director has referred to local crop failures as the main factor and the shipping shortage as a secondary one.

I not only come from Bengal but I also happen to have been a member of the Bengal Legislative Assembly since its inception in 1937, and I say with a full sense of responsibility that the Bengal famine is not an outcome of any crop failure whatsoever. The Bengal famine is a pure and simple result of the war, and I challenge anyone to prove that I am wrong in saying so. Bengal’s staple food is rice, and once it was entirely rice growing. Bengal also used to export to the rest of India, and outside as well. But with the starting of the jute mills in Bengal, the situation started to change. Increasing poverty and uncheck exploitation by the landowners drove the peasantry from rice growing and more and more to jute growing, and this is how Bengal became fully dependent on the export of rice from Burma. And with the fall of Burma to the enemy, that door became and still remains completely closed.

Over and above the loss of this export, the Governor of Bengal started the so-called “denial policy”, which also included the removal of rice from Bengal so that it might not fall into the hands of the Japs in the event of their coming in.

These are the true and actual causes of that terrible famine which, according to official figures even, robbed Bengal of a million of its inhabitants, although we Bengalis claim that the total number of the dead must be much higher than that. I would not try to picture that famine before this Conference because I think that it is beyond any description that I am capable of giving, and all that I will say is that I have personally heard and seen cases in which young children and girls have been sold for less than a dime each. And it will be a great mistake to think that the famine is over. It is true that there is no longer the severity of the latter part of 1943, owing to the harvesting of new crops, but I am afraid that it may come back at any moment. In other words, until and unless Burma is retaken or proper supplies are secured from outside, the famine situation in Bengal will be as grave as it has been in the last year.

I am, however, gratified to note that in paragraph three of the proposed Recommendation to the United Nations, at page 6 of Report II, the Office has drawn attention to the duty incumbent on every nation and on the United Nations jointly to ensure that the masses in every country are provided with sufficient supplies of food. This elementary measure of protection, which would save the workers from starving to death, is the first duty of the International Labour Organisation. I hope this paragraph will not remain a dead letter so far as my country is concerned, like so many of the Conventions and the Recommendations passed by the International Labour Organisation.

I hope the Conference and the Office will be vigilant and see that this Recommendation is implemented and enforced. In this connection, I should like to call attention to the desirability of Bengal, and other areas in India which have been seriously affected during the present emergency as a direct result of this war, being included within the scope of the operations of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. You cannot keep out sixty million Bengalis—the people of a province which is industrially and militarily the principal base for the operations for the recovery of Burma—from the benefits of international action and then expect them to have faith in international institutions.

I hope no considerations based on political calculations will come in the way of the provision of relief and of showing the common considerations of humanity to the people of Bengal.

Interpretation: Dr. LÓPEZ ARTETA
(Government delegate, Ecuador)—Among the valuable reports prepared by the Office for this Conference, the Director’s Report holds a place of singular importance. It is of necessity limited to the period which has elapsed since the 1941
Conference, and it gives us a remarkable synthesis of the many and complex developments which have taken place since then in the economic and social fields, and an account of the Organisation's activities and of the part which it may and must take in these critical and difficult times.

In this discussion of the Report, there are many aspects which might be considered, and many schemes which might arrest our attention, but so far as I am concerned, I shall refer only to the very important topic of international co-operation in the development of social policy, and more especially to inter-American cooperation on one specific problem.

The necessity for international co-operation is one of the fundamental bases of the International Labour Organisation, and this has been well established in the solemn Preamble to Part XIII of the Peace Treaty, which declares that “the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labour is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries”. This declaration clearly means that in the solution of all social problems emphasis must be placed on their universal character and therefore on the necessity for the collaboration of all peoples.

It is a great pleasure for me to have this opportunity of recalling that one of the most eminent figures in the social movement of today, Mr. Edward Phelan, present Acting Director of the Office, in a valuable study published in the year 1926, showed the necessity of finding universal solutions for labour problems and emphasised that isolated national measures are inadequate because the rise in the cost of production resulting from such measures tends to reduce or destroy the possibility of legitimate competition on the international market.

We have been witnessing of late in the Americas a very great endeavour towards more realistic developments in the field of social policy, which will protect the workers against ignorance, sickness, and poverty, and a profound desire that such measures, while respecting the essential principles of sovereignty and equality amongst States, should none the less stress the necessity of social postulates which will afford the assurance that “all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want”, according to the words of the Atlantic Charter.

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

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

Mr. Altmeyer, Chairman of the Social Security Board and of the Inter-American Commission on Social Security, who is also present at this meeting, is one of those who attach the greatest importance to international collaboration. In a recent speech he emphasised the necessity of eliminating low standards of living and unfair competition based on the exploitation of human beings, and he has also suggested a system of “social security loans” between the insurance institutions of different countries.

In my capacity as delegate of a country which is itself faced with this great problem of indigenous populations, I feel that it is my duty to bring it before the Conference, and to hope that international co-operation in this field will be developed more and more. For I see in it one of the very bases of the activities of the International Labour Organisation.

Accordingly, the Government, employers' and workers' delegations of Ecuador have prepared and submitted a draft resolution recommending that the International Labour Office should continue the task, already begun, but interrupted, of investigating the conditions of life and work of the indigenous populations of America, as an initial step towards its improvement. The Inter-American Indian Institute and the Inter-American Conference on Social Security would collaborate in this important mission.

I should like to congratulate the Director on his extremely brilliant Report, and to thank the Office for all the help it has given my country in the reform of its social insurance system, in particular the
help which has been given us by Professor Shoebbaum.

In conclusion, may I express the hope that this very important meeting of the International Labour Conference will mark a further step towards 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.

Interpretation: Mr. DIAMANTOPOULOS (Government delegate, Greece)—In my turn, I wish to pay a warm tribute to the work done by the International Labour Office in this period of the life of the Office. It will doubtless prove to be the most difficult period of the life of the Office.

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

The Director's Report gives us a clear and succinct view of the economic and social situation, and pays due regard to the plight of occupied countries. I would like to say, however, that it does not sufficiently bring out the full extent of the economic and social chaos in which the European countries are struggling under the heel of the oppressors. More particularly as regards my country, I would like to say that, according to the information that I have, of our population of 7,500,000, those killed by war, famine and epidemical amount to nearly half a million, and that the persons who are in a pre-tuberculous condition owing to prolonged malnutrition must amount to another million. People who are homeless as a result of enemy persecution amount to another million, and without the assistance so admirably organised by the International Red Cross, with the help of Allied or friendly Governments and of private organisations such as the Swedish Red Cross and the Greek War Relief in the United States, Greece would today be a vast cemetery.

Before the war and the enemy occupation, which has had such terrible economic and social consequences, Greece was among the most advanced countries as regards social legislation, and it was among the first Members of the International Labour Organisation to ratify the Convention on the eight-hour day. This also holds for the sixteen other international labour Conventions that Greece has ratified and applied. Lastly, thanks to the technical assistance of the International Labour Office, we have adopted and applied one of the most complete and modern systems of compulsory social insurance. Even during its forced exile, the Greek Government has taken various steps inspired by its previous policy, and maintained the same democratic principles, more especially as regards the regulation of relations between shipowners and seamen, who represent two very important factors in the national economy. I must pay public tribute to both, but above all to our brave seamen for the invaluable services that they have rendered to the Allied cause from the beginning of the war, very often at the cost of their lives.

The collective agreement concluded in London in September last between the shipowners' and seamen's organisations represents a considerable improvement in the conditions of employment in the Greek merchant marine, and lays the foundation for modern regulations in this field that can compare with those of maritime countries much more prosperous than Greece.

Having in mind the spirit of the social legislation adopted in Greece, and the fact that Greece, owing to the composition of its population, has never known class struggles, I may express my conviction that she will recover from the miseries and innumerable wounds that the hateful presence of the enemy has inflicted on her, and will be in the forefront of those States which are resolutely marching along the roads of social and economic policy, both national and international.

Mr. de VRIES (Workers' delegate, Union of South Africa)—As a workers' delegate, I have pleasure in adding my praise of the work which the Director and his able staff are performing in efforts to improve the conditions of the underdog.

In South Africa, we are making the fullest use of I.L.O. data. The I.L.O. gives clear indications of how the provisions of many Conventions can be applied under varying sets of circumstances. Arising from our present deliberations, some declarations will be prepared, largely with the aid of the staff of the I.L.O., and the only respect in which I have criticism to offer—and I am taking my cue from Miss Perkins—is that any declaration should be specific and that simple phraseology should be used.

Now, with regard to the implementation of any Recommendations, I feel there is nothing wrong with the methods employed by the I.L.O. Recommendations are adopted and Governments are asked to ratify and carry them out. But it seems to me that the real trouble arises when employers and Government representatives, on their return to their countries, do not receive support from their colleagues, maybe because the Recommendations or Conventions have improved upon the original. But on the other hand, I have some criticism to offer here. I also know of some employers who do not practise what they preach. Now, employers—and this is especially so among the commercial group the world over—are often
as obstinate as mules in the matter of listening to the grievances of their employees, and not a few will have nothing whatsoever to do with trade unions, especially if the trade union official is a man who can hold his own.

Now, I attended the 1941 Conference, and on that occasion fine speeches, very similar to those that we are hearing now, were made, and we left that Conference with a feeling that something was going to be done, that the lofty aspirations of the delegates there would be implemented. In 1941, it is true the war situation was extremely grave, and it was then only natural that organised workers should have given up temporarily many of their ideals, and it was equally natural that the employers, especially the large international combines, should have come along with all kinds of promises of generous conditions when the war was over, provided, I presume, that there was to be a continuance of the old order.

Today, my colleagues and I can sense some depreciation in the attitude of some employers. There is less of that warm-heartedness which marked the 1941 Conference. I am of the opinion that if it is really the desire of Governments and employers to implement the promises made in the early years of the war, they have a very good opportunity of doing something right now. Stepping up of the wages and salaries of the very low-paid section of any country will be doubly rewarded. More purchasing power will create greater demand for better food, clothing and other amenities, which can no longer be looked upon as luxuries.

But we are seriously perturbed about the non-co-operation of some employers with the trade union organisations. We say that it needs the removal of the obstinacy of the employers, and then much of the apprehension that exists in the minds of the workers will disappear. Now, I appeal to all employers that they should, in their own spheres, show in a practical way, in collaboration with representatives of their workers, that they are really preparing for a better world.

The PRESIDENT—I should call attention of the delegates to the fact that the speakers are not called on in the order of registration. There are many in the Conference who have never spoken at any meeting, and on this occasion they get preference because they have not previously spoken. We have endeavoured to call the names from all three groups so as to get each form of expression in accordance with the I.L.O. procedure, and give each a chance to make his case.

(Mr. Bustos Lagos takes the chair.)

Mr. TAYLOR (Government delegate, New Zealand)—In accordance with the desire expressed by the President, I propose to make my remarks as brief as possible.

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

In the Report it is pointed out that most countries are developing, from the basis of their wartime training programmes, extensive facilities for the training and retraining of ex-service men and women and displaced workers from all industries. In this connection I would mention that the Rehabilitation Board which has been set up pursuant to the Rehabilitation Act of 1941 has established a number of full-time courses in Government training centres or technical colleges. Throughout the period of training, the service man is paid a wage ranging from five pounds five shillings a week to commence with, and increasing throughout the term until a wage of six pounds a week is received.

There is also provision for training with private employers, and the same total wage is paid in such cases. This is in addition to education courses, farm training, and the provision made for enabling discharged service men to purchase and equip farms. Certain lands also are being developed by a Small Farms Board, and these farms may be allotted to service men on a 33-year lease, with a perpetual right of renewal.

Towards the end of last year a conference, which was representative of employers and workers, passed a resolution that the Government be recommended to set up a commission to overhaul the whole of the apprenticeship rules of New Zealand, which, in the opinion of the conference, was a matter requiring urgent attention. This recommendation received the consideration of the Government, which decided that this important matter should not be left over for consideration after the war but should be dealt with forthwith.

Accordingly, a commission has been set up. The commission includes in its number representatives of employers and workers, together with officers of the Labour Department and Education Department and a vocational guidance officer. Briefly, the field of enquiry will be to investigate existing facilities of both pre-vocational and vocational character, to report on the changes necessary to meet the present and future needs of industry, so far as they can be perceived, and to examine existing legislation bearing upon the question of apprenticeship with a view to making recommendations as to the amending legislation that would be required to enable the reforms recommended by the commission to be carried into effect.
The New Zealand legislature has also passed an Annual Holidays Act, providing for a fortnight's holiday on full pay for all workers after twelve months' continuous service with the same employer. Apart from this, however, provision is made that in the event of a worker's employment being terminated either by the employer or of his own volition, he shall be paid a proportionate part of the annual holiday, if the period of employment has been three months or more. This provision is generally in line with the provision made in certain awards of the Court of Arbitration, and in industrial agreements made between the employers' and workers' organisations.

The greatest problem, however, was the case of those workers who may be employed on a more or less casual basis, and who ordinarily would never qualify for the fortnight's holiday. It was considered by the Government that some steps should be taken to protect these workers, and to ensure that they would actually receive the fortnight's holiday on pay. This was done by providing that where the employment lasts for less than three months—and it might be for only a day—the employer is required to affix to a holiday card for the worker, holiday stamps to the value of 1/25 of the worker's wages during the period of employment. These stamps are required to be affixed on the termination of each period of employment of less than three months; but the value of the stamps cannot be redeemed by the worker until the expiration of twelve months after the commencement of the first period of employment shown on the card.

This legislation is to come into effect on 1 August, so enabling regulations and the necessary forms to be prepared and issued; but for qualification purposes, retrospective provisions have been included.

**Interpretation:** Mr. FERNÁNDEZ R. *(Workers' delegate, Cuba)—* The Director's Report gives us an opportunity of appreciating, in the light of the international situation, the economic situation, social developments, and the work of the International Labour Organisation in the period since the New York Conference of 1941.

The Cuban delegates who have preceded me have already expressed some views on the Cuban situation and the social progress achieved in our country. But it will be convenient to deal more especially with a few important aspects mentioned in the Director's Report, so that you will better understand our situation and know the point of view of the Cuban labour movement and of the Cuban Workers' Confederation which I represent.

The fundamental task now is to win the war, because if we do not win the war, we shall not retain the social gains we have won or achieve social security. To this end, Cuba has placed all her resources at the service of the United Nations, the whole of its sugar production and agricultural products and other strategic materials, and has provided military facilities and many other things.

In spite of all the upheavals due to the war, the policy of our Government is characterised by its democratic quality and its profound humane and social content. Wages have been increased in industry, and an annual holiday of one month in twelve introduced for the first time in America for agricultural workers; we have a 44-hour week with pay for 48 hours, maternity insurance, unemployment allowances for dockers, educational improvements—and I must mention the work of the Superior Labour Council in the prevention of strikes. There is a pension scheme for all sugar workers. All these recent measures, supported by the Confederation of Cuban Workers, are enabling our country to collaborate in the triumph of the United Nations.

A vast social security programme is being studied, comprising a pension scheme for tobacco workers and industrial and commercial workers in general, and the development of sickness insurance.

Although the war has helped to diversify agriculture and to develop certain strategic industries, it is no less certain that there is a danger for us in the situation after the war. The maintenance of a high standard of living and of social security measures is intimately bound up with the economic relations of Cuba with other countries, especially the United States, and those who control the Cuban economy must not forget the sacrifices we have made for the war effort. If the International Labour Office wishes to see general social improvement after the war, particular attention must be paid to the economic situation of the weak and underdeveloped countries, because in those countries there can be no high standard of living, no social security, in a world dominated by economic oppression.

The principles of the Atlantic Charter must be implemented in all the countries of the world, so that we may carry out for all the peoples of the United Nations the same policy that we are promising to the occupied countries of Europe and Asia. The better world for which we are longing after the war must be constructed with facts—not words.

**Interpretation:** Dr. KÜHN TALAY *(Government delegate, Uruguay)—* Speaking in the general discussion on items I and II on the agenda, the Uruguayan delegation took the opportunity of presenting its Government's views on post-war problems and the possibilities of international collaboration, and at the same time of summarising the recent activities of my country in the social sphere. All these points are related to the chapters of the Director's Report and at this time, therefore, I wish simply to make a brief commentary on the Report as such.
This document that the Director of the I.L.O. has submitted to the Conference could not be brought in time to the attention of the Governments of many countries, including that of Uruguay. Nevertheless, this does not greatly affect the Conference. The reason is that this Report does not touch on such a wide field as the earlier ones. The Director makes certain comments on the events he describes, but does not try this time to outline a programme of action or to submit suggestions for the study of the Conference. This is explained by the relation between the international events which are described in the Report and the drafts which the I.L.O. has submitted to us; these drafts embody concrete suggestions, which are supplemented by the Director's Report and form the basis of this Conference at Philadelphia.

The economic background, social developments and the work of the International Labour Organisation are the three chapters of the Report. The first two summarise the course of world events in the last thirty months, and we can accept them as the basis on which the I.L.O. has founded its brilliant projects for social reconstruction which the Conference is now considering, and which should be approved with whatever amendments come forth after this exchange of ideas.

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

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

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

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

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

The Uruguayan delegation, in the name of its Government, gives its approval to the Report which is submitted for our consideration, and is glad to offer its warmest congratulations to the Director and his collaborators.

May I recall here the memory of the former Assistant Director, Dr. Osvald Stein, who gave so much of his talent and work to the realisation of the task which we are considering here, and who passed away just at the time when he was most needed to bring to fruition the great programme of social security for the American continent. Dr. Stein was a sincere friend of the peoples of America.

Interpretation: Dr. PALMIERI (Government delegate, Argentine Republic)—We are here to express our points of view on the Report prepared by the Director for the Twenty-sixth Session of the Conference.

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

The Argentine delegation would like to pay tribute to this work, and at the same time to make a contribution to it by submitting a brief account of our problems and of our achievements in the social field.

First of all, I will speak of the Secretariat of Labour and Social Welfare which was created in November 1943. It deals with the problems of capital and labour, which call for special attention from the Government, since they are directly related to the national welfare and economic development. Several existing welfare services were incorporated in the new Secretariat: the National Department of Labour, the Accident Section of the National Pension Fund, the National Low-Cost Housing Commission, the Rent
Board, the Advisory Housing Commission, the Immigration Department, and several others, including the various pension funds.

Now as regards social security, I am glad to say that yesterday I learned that a National Committee of Social Welfare has been set up which will study a new legal régime for co-ordinating all the bodies just mentioned, with a view to the creation of a National Institute of Social Welfare.

Regulations have also been adopted establishing a collective agreement for journalists, which provides for minimum wages, hours, and so forth, and covers the risk of unemployment.

As regards housing, we have set aside a sum of two thousand million pesos, spread over ten years, so as to provide the working population with cheap but adequate housing. This will solve one of the most important problems in Argentina's social life.

Public health is a problem which has always received great attention in the Argentine Republic. I think I can say in this respect that our country is very advanced as regards both preventive and curative methods. We have hospitals and sanatoria in the provinces, financed by the State, and they cover the whole population. There are also various private institutions subsidised by the State. For instance, the Government has provided a million pesos for the railway unions with a view to the construction of a polyclinic.

The preventive organisation is extremely complex. We have periodical medical examinations for the employees of the national administration, and various other medical examinations and certificates are provided for. There are also public dispensaries subsidised out of national, provincial and municipal funds which are for the whole population without any distinction. We are carrying on the fight against endemic and contagious diseases with all the means in our power. I may mention the recent creation of the National Directorate of Public Health and Social Assistance, which combines various previously existing bodies. In this way we have shown our desire to take account of international recommendations such as those of the Inter-American Conference on Social Security, Santiago, 1942.

I now come to the question of social security with which, too, we are closely concerned. We are trying to harmonise the various systems of social insurance, voluntary and compulsory, and so combine all desirable economic and financial soundness with fairness to the contributors. We hope to extend the field of application of social security legislation so that the whole population of the country will be covered. As regards social assistance, I think that we can agree that Argentina has a relatively high degree of solidarity. We have more than a thousand mutual aid societies and they give benefits in cash and kind to vast sectors of our population. They are adequately supported by the State. We have had compulsory maternity insurance since 1934, which covers all women between the ages of fifteen and forty-five employed in industry and commerce, and women in Government service also enjoy the same benefit.

The Director's Report deals with several aspects of social justice, a concept of recent origin. In the last century it was connected with the idea of class warfare, but there is now a wider conception, and social justice must be the basis for the building up of new organisations not only for the workers but for the whole population.

We must remember that the mere addition of the word "social" to "justice" has not perfected human conditions or achieved an equitable distribution of the material and immaterial goods to which man has a right.

In the international field, the concept of social justice should be easier to understand and more positive. It is vital to the conception of liberty. Every man should be able to live in any part of the world provided that he complies with the laws of the country that receives him. This implies the conception of the liberty of people to reside and work wherever they can find the greatest opportunities to improve their standards of living, and to practise their religion and live in accordance with local laws. Social justice implies that the laws of the country of origin shall be superseded by the laws of the new country of residence, since otherwise there must be an undesirable double jurisdiction. The principles of total employment must be considered in this light. The problem, like so many others, can be solved through a true conception of social justice, which in turn can be promoted only through the progressive improvement of democratic institutions.

Mr. KOSINA (Workers' delegate, Czechoslovakia)—We are meeting at a time of great expectations and also at a time when it is most imperative to draw conclusions from what happened in the last years and outline our plans for the future. I am speaking here in the name of the Czechoslovak workers' delegation, which represents all the important shades of the Czechoslovak trade unions, and I must tell you that we feel very strongly, especially about one thing, which is the unity of all progressive and democratic elements of the world.

We have come to the conclusion—and allow me to say it with all modesty—that Europe and the world can be saved only by a real and loyal collaboration among the United Nations, not only during the war but also when this terrible slaughter is over. We have suffered too much, and I hope it will not be improper to say that by "we" I mean not only us Czechoslavaks but all the suffering and oppressed nations of Europe, we have suffered too much to let the present opportunity pass; we must
try to start a new spirit in Europe and in­
deed in the whole world. We would like to
contribute our little share in this work. The
Netherlands were always faithful supporters of the I.L.O. and they will
do all they can to help it to become a powerful instrument of social progress, which is so badly wanted in this, at present, so chaotic world.

In this light we in the Czechoslovak workers' delegation regard the twenty­
year period of the United Nations Organisation, the U.S.S.R. as a solid foundation for a future peace. The Czechoslovak-Russian treaty of 1920 is, in our opinion, the practical recognition of this spirit by our country. We also fully recog­
nise that after this war democracy must be further developed, and that it will not be only a political democracy but a social democracy and economic democracy as well which we must build and develop.

A democratic nation has to do all we can on our side to ensure that all the people fight in this war, and that all who fight in this war are protected and helped to find a common basis on which we can erect the edifice of a future and durable peace. In saying this, it is our great ally, Soviet Russia, that I have in mind.

I feel sure that we must unite all peo­
ple of goodwill to help us in our delibera­
tions. We owe this to all who fight on bat­
tleground all over Europe, in the occupied territo­
ries.

Mrs. POLAK

Mrs. Polak (Government adviser, Netherlands)—The Acting Director, on page 97 of his Report, draws attention to the fact that:

Our desires to build a better world and we want to build it when the guns cease firing.

This war is not only a war of nations, but a great world war of ideas. It is a war of whole nations, in which all sections of the population fight, not only great armies. It will have great economic and social consequences, and it is here that this Organisation comes in. We must recog­
nise that after this war democracy must be further developed, and that it will not be only a political democracy but a social democracy and economic democracy as well which we must build and develop.

In this body it is our duty to do all we

common basis on which we can erect the
edifice of a future and durable peace.

who are dying in that most ruthless and cruel battle which is being fought under­
neath an evil influence for

In this light we in the Czechoslovak

We must realise the consequences of all

The problems of youth have been very

seriously aggravated by the war. The

If the financial economic structure of all

members is not sound and all are not

stabilisation for international trade, yet

for the occupied and destroyed countries

could not proceed without the invest­
ment credit institution has only a limited

value.

If the financial economic structure of all

members is not sound and all are not

able to meet the financial obligations, the

organisation itself will fail or will be

limited to a union of only the powerful

countries.

I feel more and more that although we

are fighting in a common cause, shading
counter-attacks. In addition billions for war

and losing billions through war destruc­
tion, the need with which we are faced is not yet rooted deep­

enough in our souls that the common

matter of fact must last longer than the

Whatever inter-allied organisation may

be formed in the post-war world, and while

the United Nations Organisation itself will fail or be

limited to a union of only the powerful

countries.

I feel more and more that although we

are fighting in a common cause, shading

counter-attacks. In addition billions for war

and losing billions through war destruc­
tion, the need with which we are faced is not yet rooted deep­

enough in our souls that the common

matter of fact must last longer than the

Whatever inter-allied organisation may

be formed in the post-war world, and while
Thirteenth Sitting

housing problems as touched upon in the Report of the Acting Director. Whereas in our country the social provision to meet the need for good housing of the labouring classes was generally quite satisfactory before the war, the invasion and the resulting occupation of a part of the available accommodation by the Germans have reversed this situation in an alarming manner. Just think of the damage caused by the bombing and the destruction of Rotterdam! But other cities and sections of the country have also been devastated. We know that the Nazis in the construction of defence works did not pay the slightest heed to the interests of the population, and have torn down many hundreds—yes, thousands of houses, hospitals, schools and other buildings. Large groups of Netherlanders have been driven like cattle from the western section of the country to the east, because the destructions had seriously reduced available housing space, to which must be added the disastrous consequences of the floods already put into operation. This is not the end, as we yet have to expect demolitions when the Germans begin their inevitable retreat. The difficulties in overcoming this

Mr. FALTER (Employers’ delegate, Poland)—The problem of overdevelopment of war industry in the European countries now under German occupation will not play an excessive role after their liberation, but the catastrophic destruction of the possibilities of production will be of primary importance. Factories were destroyed at first during military operations, then on purpose through sabotage, and finally the remains were razed by air bombing. If anything has been reconstructed it will again be destroyed during the retreat of the enemy armies. All supplies and raw materials have been looted and tools and machines worn out, not having been renewed, as well as through use of inadequate lubrication and over-intensive exploitation. The population is undernourished and lacks clothing; all means of communication are damaged and the rolling stock has diminished and been worn out.

Under these conditions we must restore the possibilities of employment in the European countries, especially in those

changed the Danes. Our outlook and our ideas are what you have known them to be when we were free. In Denmark, social progress has often been considered as much in the interest of the employers as in that of the workers. This attitude has resulted in a healthy and skilful working population, and to an important extent in unanimity of social purpose between workers and employers.

The statement, well expressed by Mr. Phelan in the Director’s Report, that a country’s future lies essentially in the ability of its working population, will be sincerely welcomed in Denmark as in other occupied countries. The Danes have demonstrated that no invader, however strong, will be able to destroy these essential values.

During the dark years under the foreign yoke, another value has been developed and strengthened—an unshakable confidence in the final outcome of the present struggle. This faith in ultimate victory for our common ideals is based not only on a feeling of unity but upon a fundamental rightness of purpose. Any agreement that this Conference reaches to advance living conditions, spiritual as well as material, to promote permanence of employment and freedom and happiness throughout the world, will be wholeheartedly accepted by my people. A free Denmark will not only welcome the opportunity to join in such an agreement. In the future, as in the past, it will gladly bear its share of the burden to make your resolution a living reality.

The PRESIDENT—We all thank Mr. Kaufmann for his courage in holding up the banner of the Danish people during these war years.

(The Conference adjourned at 7.05 p.m.)
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FOURTEENTH SITTING

Wednesday, 10 May 1944, 10.45 a.m.

President: Mr. Nash

SEVENTH REPORT OF THE SELECTION COMMITTEE

The PRESIDENT—I call upon Sir Samuel Runagandhan to present the seventh report of the Selection Committee.

Sir Samuel RUNGANADHAN (Government delegate, India), Chairman of the Selection Committee—I have the honour to present the seventh report of the Selection Committee.

The PRESIDENT—The motion is that the report as submitted by the Chairman of the Selection Committee be approved and adopted.

(The report is adopted.)

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE APPLICATION OF CONVENTIONS

The PRESIDENT—I call upon Mr. Prior to present the report of the Committee on the Application of Conventions.

Mr. PRIOR (Government delegate, India), Reporter of the Committee on the Application of Conventions—I present the report of the Committee on the Application of Conventions.

The Committee has asked me to mention that certain suggestions for improving the position as regards the ratification and application of Conventions were made in the course of a general discussion in the Committee. No mention of these suggestions has been made in the Committee's report, as they were considered by the Committee to be outside its terms of reference.

The suggestions were:

1. Establishment of a procedure that would enable a Government, after application to the International Labour Organisation, to ratify a Convention, even if its legislation did not conform to that embodied in the Convention, on condition that this legislation has been found to be of an equally high level from a social point of view by an appropriate organ of the International Labour Organisation;

2. The practicability of framing regional Conventions;

3. The possibility of allowing of ratification of a Convention by stages;

4. That before a country is permitted to ratify a Convention, its national law should be brought into conformity with it;

5. That these and other similar suggestions might suitably be considered by a special tripartite committee, or that they might be specifically considered by the Committee of Experts.

The PRESIDENT—The motion is that the report of the Committee on the Application of Conventions be approved and adopted.

(The report is adopted.)

SECOND AND THIRD REPORTS OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE: DISCUSSION

The PRESIDENT—I now call upon the Chairman of the Credentials Committee, Mr. van den Tempel, to present the second report of the Credentials Committee.

See Third Part, Appendix I.
Dr. van den TEMPEL (Government delegate, Netherlands), Chairman of the Credentials Committee—I have the honour to submit to the Conference the second report of the Credentials Committee. This report represents the unanimous opinion of the Credentials Committee.

Dr. SOUBBOTITCH (Government delegate, Yugoslavia)—I would like to ask the Chairman of the Credentials Committee whether I am correct in supposing that the reference in the report to the difficulties arising in the future is of general application and has no special reference to my country.

Dr. van den TEMPEL (Government delegate, Netherlands), Chairman of the Credentials Committee—I declare on behalf of the Credentials Committee that the supposition of Mr. Soubbotitch is correct.

The PRESIDENT—The motion is that the second report of the Credentials Committee be approved and adopted.

(The report is adopted.)

The PRESIDENT—Mr. van den Tem­pel will now present the third report of the Credentials Committee.

Dr. van den TEMPEL (Government delegate, Netherlands), Chairman of the Credentials Committee—I have the honour to submit to the Conference the third report of the Credentials Committee. This report represents the unanimous opinion of the Credentials Committee.

The PRESIDENT—The proposal is that the third report of the Credentials Committee be approved and adopted.

(The report is adopted.)

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL DRAFTING COMMITTEE ON THE PROPOSED DECLARATION CONCERNING THE AIMS AND PURPOSES OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

The PRESIDENT—I desire to submit myself as the Chairman of the Special Drafting Committee on the proposed Declaration concerning the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation.

The PRESIDENT, Chairman of the Special Drafting Committee—The report of the Special Drafting Committee on the proposed Declaration concerning the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation reads:

The Special Drafting Committee, appointed by the Conference on 29 April to examine the proposed Declaration concerning the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation, has held three meetings, in the course of which it has taken into account all the observations made on the Declaration during the general discussion in plenary session, and the further observations drawn to its attention by delegates.

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

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

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

The most important changes made by the Committee were the substitution in clause (d) of part II of the text as now proposed of the words “examine and consider” for the word “scrutinise”, which had been the subject of some division of opinion, and the rewording of the preamble of part III of the text as now proposed in the form: “The Conference recognises the solemn obligation of the International Labour Organisation to further among the nations of the world programmes which will achieve”. The Committee wishes to emphasise that the first part of the text, by reaffirming the fundamental principles on which the Organisation is based, underlines that the Declaration does not in any way sub­tract from the existing force of the provisions of the Constitution of the Organisation.

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

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

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

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

(The proposed Declaration is read.)

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

(The report is unanimously approved.)

REPLY OF THE ACTING DIRECTOR

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

The SECRETARY-GENERAL — This Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labour Conference has just adopted a solemn Declaration of the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation. It has taken a historic decision at a momentous period in the history of the Organisation and of the world, the full significance of which it is perhaps difficult for any of us to measure at this time. We can, however, measure that significance, at all events in part, if we look back at the beginnings of this Organisation and at its work during the twenty-five years of its existence. That system is the crown and confirmation of the efforts of those who drew up the Constitution twenty-five years ago. I like to believe that not all of those who voted this Declaration this morning were physically present in this hall. I believe that there voted with you in spirit Samuel Gompers and George Barnes, Vandervelde and Arthur Fontaine, Benes and Mahaim and Sokal and Shotwell; that Jules Carlier, who so long and ably led the Employers' group, was voting with Sir John Forbes Watson and his colleagues; and that the hand of Léon Jouhaux was lifted among those of the Workers' group. I believe, too, that Albert Thomas was watching with profound satisfaction, and I know that his two successors, Harold Butler and John Winant, will warmly welcome the decision taken.

I like to think, indeed, that all those who have devoted themselves to the cause for which this Organisation stands, those who have been leaders in previous conferences and in meetings of the Governing Body were with you in spirit today as you solemnly rededicated this Organisation to the great purpose of securing for men and women throughout the world the benefits of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity which are essential for the robust life of democratic peoples.

Perhaps, almost certainly, no one here would have worded the Declaration in exactly the terms in which it stands. But that detracts nothing from our unanimity and in no way weakens the result.

Let me recall to you, as it is fitting I should in this City of Philadelphia, one of the rare speeches of Benjamin Franklin on a not dissimilar occasion. He was the first American—he was a man of considerable repute in this community when George Washington and other great figures of the beginning of American independence were still boys or babes in arms—the first American who had a vision of what this great country might become and of how the torch of liberty, if not in his continent, would light the path of men throughout the world as they struggled upward to a higher destiny. But though he was the first American, his wisdom belongs to the world, and we may well invoke it now in this international gathering. He participated in this city in the drawing up of the Constitution of the United States. Three proposals to which he attached the greatest importance were not accepted, and yet at the end of the deliberations, he summed up the results in these words:

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

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

It has not been possible to review in the Director's Report all those questions. Many of them, as the Report states, have been dealt with in the reports on items I and II; and I have asked the permission of the President to deal if necessary with some of the points raised in the general discussion in this Conference. They are no more than brief notes, perhaps too brief; and for their imperfections I apologize. But it was necessary for me to give precedence to the preparation of the reports on the agenda of the Conference; and within the limits of time and energy available, my own report has suffered in consequence. I have, however, attempted to draw attention to the meetings in Washington, in Tehran, and in Cairo, which indicated that growing measure of political understanding between the great leaders of the United Nations which contains the promise that the world after this war may be able to set about securing for men and women the objectives for which this Organisation stands in what St. Augustine called the "tranquillity of order".

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

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

His wisdom, as I said, has become part of the wisdom of the world, and in this particular connection I think we can have confidence that it is now widely understood and definitely accepted. It is now necessary to some extent to keep alive those who think that the constitution of an Assembly may help to keep alive those who are rusty from lack of use.

In Algiers is an example of that intuitive knowledge of the feeling and desires of the work of the organs through which the governing body for good reasons imposed in these exceptional circumstances made any such prior consultation impossible. It therefore fell to the office to discover to be so far as possible the general opinion of the elements of which the Conference is composed. If that has not been done, it arises only from the fact that the limitations of time to which attention was drawn indirectly by a number of speakers in the discussion on Reports I and II. It was pointed out that the documentation which the International Labour Office supplies for discussion at a Conference lacks its essential value if it has not been prepared in consultation with the Governments and with the respective organs of the Organisation. I do not consider that as a criticism since it is no more than an affirmation of an indisputable principle to which the Office has again and again drawn attention. In my Report to the New York Conference I used these words:

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

And members of the Governing Body will confirm me when I say that I have underlined the same principle in discussions with them. The Office is not, and should not be allowed to become, an academic research institution. It must work in the closest possible continuous contact with the representative bodies of the Organisation, and in its task in connection with the Conference is to formulate for the basis of discussion at the Conference what it has discovered to be so far as possible the general opinion of the elements of which the Conference is composed. If that has not been done on this occasion, it arises only from the fact that the limitations of time which the Governing Body for good reasons imposed in these exceptional circumstances made any such prior consultation impossible. It therefore fell to the Office to put forward as a basis of discussion to this Conference such proposals as it could best prepare in the light of its general knowledge of the feeling and desires of
different Governments and of workers and employers. For these reports and proposals, of course, full responsibility. And I think that as the examination of them has progressed during the operation of this Conference, many of them have been found to be reasonable and moderate and practicable. But even if they had been found acceptable in their totality, I would still maintain that the exceptional procedure which it has been necessary to follow upon this occasion is not in itself a good procedure, and that the real cure for some of the difficulties which have been encountered is the return to the regular normal functioning of the whole machinery of the Organisation in which frequent meetings of the Governing Body will take from the shoulders of the Director a burden which he should not carry alone. Such frequent meetings, followed by regular meetings of the Conference, should once more bring the technical work of the Office into the closest harmony with the policies which the representative organs of the Organisation wish to pursue, and should allow time for Governments to consider proposals well in advance of their discussion by the Conference.

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

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

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

In view of this agreement among the forty-four nations united and associated in the war, the Office did not feel that it could make any useful proposals at this stage. It may indeed be that the special character of the problems of the occupied countries will render a regional conference in Europe necessary, and if at the appropriate time a decision to this effect is taken, the Office will certainly do everything in its power to bring such assistance to the European Governments in the solution of their problems as may be possible. The absence of any proposals at the present stage most certainly does not indicate any lack of interest or of sympathy on the part of the Office and its staff with the countries in question and their peoples. The Office can never forget the part which Europe played in the build-
ing up of this Organisation, nor the fact that until Europe is liberated and restored an essential element in world equilibrium is missing. The Office has endeavoured, through its publications, to make widely known the conditions in the occupied countries and its study on “The Displacement of Populations in Europe” was perhaps the first attempt to measure one aspect of the problem which the occupied countries will have to face. Apart from questions of general policy, there are innumerable personal and family reasons why members of the staff of the Office cannot be either uninterested in or indifferent to the sufferings of the peoples in the occupied territories and they may be depended upon to be heart and soul with any effort to alleviate the lot of those peoples whenever the International Labour Organisation can be used effectively for that purpose.

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

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

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

I am particularly glad that, in spite of the limited resources at the disposal of the Office, we have been successful in our efforts to make good the promise which I made at the New York Conference to produce more of our publications in Spanish, and we will continue our efforts in that direction. I wish also to draw the attention of the Conference to the Inter-American Conference on Social Security. This important agency had its origin in conversations begun in Peru, at which Mr. Winant assisted; and its statute was worked out in detail at the subsequent Conference which convened in Santiago de Chile on the hospitable initiative of the Chilean Government. In all the negotiations which led up to the final result Oswald Stein played a leading part, and I would like to say how much I appreciate the reference which has been made to his services in the speeches by delegates from Latin American countries. He was indeed a great ambassador of social justice, and I hope that the Inter-American Social Security Conference will long stand as a monument to his unique gifts and to the friendships which he created in Latin America. The statute of the Conference has been approved by the Governing Body, and it provides a most satisfactory liaison between the new agency and the International Labour Organisation. The Office will be glad to do everything in its power to help this agency to perform the important regional tasks which lie within its field, and it should prove most valuable in stimulating and aiding the wider and more effective application of social security principles in the Latin American countries. The time, I believe, is rapidly approaching when we should resume our American regional conferences. The first was held in Santiago-de-Chile in 1936, the second in Havana in 1939, and it was the intention to continue them at frequent intervals. The war has interrupted their sequence, but as soon as resources and transportation facilities will permit, I am convinced that a third American regional conference will be held in the near future. The Latin American countries have difficult and special problems which need to be discussed on a regional basis. But they have also vast natural resources and great gifts of intelligence and vision which make it certain that those difficulties can be overcome, and that while each and every country will have its own contribution to
make in the progress of this continent, they may all hope to enter upon a future of steady economic development leading to greater prosperity for their peoples, and thereby make an important contribution to the prosperity of the world as a whole.

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

We are sent here to consult and not to contend with each other; and declarations of a fixed opinion, and of a determined resolution never to change it, neither enlighten nor convince us. Positiveness and warmth on one side naturally beget their like on the other; and tend to create and augment discord and division in a great concern wherein harmony and union are extremely necessary to give weight to our councils and render them effectual in promoting and securing the common good.

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

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

This brings me to the question of the place of the International Labour Organisation in the new world organisation which is progressively taking shape. Certain functional bodies have already been created or are in process of being brought into being. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is already at work; the Food and Agriculture Organisation will, we hope, soon be finally constituted and begin its task; other functional bodies are the subject of negotiation or are being planned. It is evident that there must be some general international framework within which these different agencies must find their place and some authority which will be responsible for the maintenance of peace and security, for such general political decisions as may from time to time be required, and the co-ordination of the activities of functional agencies.

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

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

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

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

I am grateful to the Canadian Delegation for their resolution, which will result in transmitting to the Governing Body for further study certain detailed proposals concerning the facilities which the International Labour Office must have for carrying out its task. I am confident that it will be found that there is nothing exaggerated in the suggestions that have been made. On the contrary, they arise out of real practical difficulties, of which, if time permitted, I could give the Conference many striking examples. The fact is that international agencies of the scope of the I.L.O. and of other agencies now in process of creation are, relatively speaking, a very new thing in the world. They are governmental in character since they are the instruments of the Governments collectively. But the rules and regulations which have enabled Governments to conduct business among themselves are not automatically applicable when they wish to conduct the same or similar business collectively. The suggestions made have already received unanimous governmental approval in the discussions at the first meeting of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration Council, and I hope that as a result of the Canadian proposal it will be possible to secure the necessary agreement to bring them into operation for the I.L.O. and other international agencies, thereby facilitating greatly their effective working.

There remains one subject on which little has been said in the Conference, namely, finance. But it is an essential subject, since unless the I.L.O. is assured of sufficient financial support all the resolutions taken at this Conference will be in vain. That is a point which Mr. Hallsworth underlined in his address, and it cannot be too strongly emphasised. Sir John Forbes Watson suggested that it would be a good thing if in future the annual Conference were given information about the financial position of the Organisation, and that is a suggestion which I will readily follow. If I do not do so on this occasion it was because, as explained in Report No. 1, I thought the question should first be discussed with the Governing Body. The Governing Body has discussed the question at considerable length, but it felt, in view of the future general international organisation to which we can look forward, it would be premature to make any considerable change in the existing system. The budget for our activities in 1945 will be laid before the Governing Body when it meets at the end of the Conference. I cannot therefore inform you today as to what that budget will be. I think I should, however, say that it must be very substantially greater than our present budget if this Organisation is to swing into full activity as soon as circumstances permit. Our pre-war budget was something over ten million Swiss francs. I remember, as some delegates here, too, will remember, Mr. Winant declaring in the International Labour Conference in Geneva that to perform fully its task this Organisation should have a budget not of ten million Swiss francs but of ten million American dollars. Our
present budget is only a little over five million Swiss francs, or one million American dollars, and we unfortunately do not succeed in obtaining a hundred per cent. collection. I want to appeal to all delegates when they go back to their countries to impress upon their Governments the essential importance of prompt and regular payment of the contributions due. Whatever the figure of the budget may be, the Office, as Mr. Hallsworth said, can neither plan nor perform its tasks unless it can count with certainty on full collection. I think it would also be well if delegates would warn their Governments that a substantial increase in the budget must be expected. The decision of course lies with the Governing Body, but the Governing Body is aware that the present level of the budget is only enough to enable the Office to continue the very limited tasks which it has been performing in the interval between the New York Conference and the present Conference, and that, in order that the Organisation may begin to return to its normal functioning and be in a position even to prepare for the calls which will be made upon it in the future, a budget of something of the order of more than twice the present figure will certainly be required.

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

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

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

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

ArgentinaRepublic:
- Mr. Garcia Arias
- Mr. Aberastury (substitute for Mr. Palmieri)

Australia:
- Mr. Beasley
- Mr. Barnard
- Mr. Clarey

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

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

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

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

Chile:
- Mr. Bustos Lagos
- Mr. Diaz Salas
- Mr. Velásquez Quiroga

China:
- Mr. Li Ping-heng
- Mr. Hsieh Cheng-fu
- Mr. Li Ming
- Mr. Chu Hsueh-fan

Colombia:
- Mr. Nannetti

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

Dominican Republic:
- Mr. Garrido Cestero (substitute for Mr. Cocco)
- Mr. de Marchena
- Dujarric
- Mr. Morales

Ecuador:
- Mr. López Arteta
- Mr. Torres Vera

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

France:
- Mr. Tixier
- Mr. Deléèse-Desloge
- Mr. Antoine
- Mr. Laurent

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

Haiti:
- Mr. Dartigue

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

Iran:
- Mr. Daftary

Iraq:
- Mr. Haidari
- Mr. Jawdat

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

Luxembourg:
- Mr. Krier
- Mr. Le Gallais

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

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

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

Norway:
- Mr. Schjodt (substitute for Mr. Hambro)

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

Poland:
- Mr. Stanczyk
- Mr. Falter

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

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

Switzerland:
- Mr. Bruggmann

Turkey:
- Mr. Gülek
- Mr. Esmer

Uruguay:
- Mr. Kähn Talay
- Mr. Fontaina

Venezuela:
- Mr. Tinoco Rodil
- Mr. Pérez Guerrero

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

Also present at the Sitting:
- Mr. Asgeirsson (Iceland)
- Mr. Acosta (Paraguay)
FIFTEENTH SITTING

Wednesday, 10 May 1944, 3.15 p. m.

President: Mr. Nash

FIRST REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL SECURITY: DISCUSSION

The PRESIDENT—The first business on the agenda is the first report of the Committee on Social Security. May I call the attention of the delegates to the fact that their speeches are confined to the period of fifteen minutes, unless the Conference decides otherwise. Professor Shoenbaum will now present the report on Income Security.

Interpretation: Prof. SHOENBAUM (Government delegate, Czechoslovakia), Reporter of the Committee on Social Security—There is a sociological theory which maintains that human history and especially human progress advances in waves. I do not want to discuss the truth of this theory. But it is true that the history of social insurance during the sixty years of its existence has developed in great waves, followed by stages of comparative quiet. After the great impetus with which social insurance began in Central Europe in the 'eighties of the last century, there was another decisive forward movement in 1910 with the introduction of national health insurance and compulsory unemployment insurance in Great Britain—for the first time in the world. As a result of the world war there was a fresh impetus in the years following it, and yet another wave, after the economic depression of the 'thirties, led to the development of the insurance system in the United States and reforms in all other countries.

Today, we are witnessing a new impetus, described in masterly fashion in the publications of the International Labour Office and the most recent achievements of which are noted in the Report of the Director to this Conference. The ever-growing flood of new laws or amendments already applied or in preparation during the past three years in the United States, in Ecuador, Paraguay, Venezuela, Mexico, Costa Rica, New Zealand, Chile, Australia, Colombia, Bolivia and Canada, the Beveridge Plan, the Wagner-Murray Bill, the Marsh Plan in Canada, and so on, are enough to show that this chaotic world which specialises in the destruction of men and goods has a common reaction in a general desire for political, economic and social security.

This is, therefore, a propitious moment for the International Labour Organisation to embody in Recommendations the ideas which have been tested by experience or which are contained in the new laws and bills, and thus to orient and prepare for the victorious march of social security in the new world which is growing out of the wreck of the old. This is not a completely new venture. In the Recommendations and Conventions of 1927, 1933 and 1935, the main ideas of the Recommendations which the Committee is submitting to the Conference are already to be found. The common purpose of all the new laws, reforms and bills was well described in the Declaration of Santiago in 1942, which said that "each country must create, conserve and build up the intellectual, moral and physical vigour of its active generation, prepare the way for its future generations, and support the generation that has been discharged from productive life".

This is the object of social security—a true and rational economy of human resources and values. This policy should be carried out through measures which respect the freedom and dignity of the indi-
I am not concerned here with the economic aspect, with productive efficiency and rising levels of employment and output, but with the maintenance of purchasing power, nor yet with the psychological and moral aspects of a well-organised and well-administered social insurance law. I will confine myself to saying that in my own country, Czechoslovakia, social insurance was one of the pillars of the State, but it in no way hindered the favourable economic development of the country, and was one of the causes of that social peace which we enjoyed for so long. I firmly believe that the principles of the Recommendations and suggestions we are presenting to the Conference will facilitate the reconstruction of social security, not only for ourselves, but also for all the countries whose social security systems have been destroyed by the invader.

I will refer you to the printed report which you have before you, and confine myself to emphasising that the majority of the Committee decided that the basic principles of the draft should be presented to the Conference for its approval in the form of a Recommendation, and the other parts of the text as suggestions for application by Governments. We think that this procedure will facilitate the approval of the Recommendation. The Recommendations and suggestions are in no way revolutionary, but they do tend, like all modern legislation and plans for social security, to include the rural population and the self-employed and those persons who are dependent on income other than wages. They lay down more generous conditions for the right to and the enjoyment of benefits, without neglecting the financial stability which is one of the characteristics of social security. In the Recommendation concerning social security for persons discharged from the armed forces, the principles recognise the ideas which already exist in Czechoslovak legislation concerning recognition of the time spent on service with the armed forces as a contribution period.

It is important that this opportunity should be taken to pay due attention to the administration of social security. Experience has proved that a good law badly administered is worse and more injurious than a bad law well administered; and that a new law is easier to introduce than an amendment to an existing law, because administrative organs share the tendency of all living organisms to resist change.

I should like to refer again to the reports before you, and to thank the Social Insurance Section of the International Labour Office for the almost superhuman effort it has made in the short time of two months, in preparing the draft Recommendations and commentaries, the technical value of which was highly appreciated by all the members of the Committee, and for maintaining in this way the tradition created by its great chief, my dear friend and compatriot, Osvald Stein.

In asking the Conference to approve the Recommendations, I should like to say that the two great catastrophes of the past decade, the economic depression and the war, have a common origin in the lack of preparation and in the isolation of individuals and nations. Both have taught us the same lesson—the need for co-operation to forestall common dangers. This lesson has been learned and must lead to the creation of social security and of good understanding, each of which needs the other, and both of which have as their foundation social justice.

For all these reasons, I hope that the Conference will approve the Recommendations which I have the honour to submit as reporter.

The PRESIDENT—The motion before the Conference is that the first report of the Committee on Social Security, as presented by Professor Shoenbaum, shall be adopted.

Mr. TOMLINSON (Government delegate, British Empire)—I propose that the first report of the Committee on Social Security shall be sent to Governments for their observations, and that the whole subject shall be placed on the agenda of the next Conference, with a view to the adoption of a draft Convention. It is my intention, also, to move the same amendment with regard to the third report; but as the first report is the only one before the Conference, I cannot do that at this stage. What I do promise is that the same speech will not be made twice and is intended to cover both reports.

May I in the first place say that we draw a distinction between the draft Recommendations on this item and those on items III and V, on which our attitude will be different.

I think I can already hear the remarks delegates are making to themselves as they listen to that motion. Those remarks are not complimentary. I don't mind that in the least. I have become accustomed to abuse, and I don't seek bouquets.... But what I do mind—and I mind this precisely because I and the country I represent have at heart the question of social progress, and, as an invaluable means to that end, the prestige and the influence of the I.L.O. —what I do mind, I repeat, is that there should be any misunderstanding. I am led to believe that my motion and the reasons for it may be misunderstood, and I do hope delegates will be patient while I try to make my case.

The subject dealt with in this report, which was item IV on the agenda, is social security, and the discussion in committee has covered the three main branches of social security—namely, sickness, unemployment and old age. These questions, of course, are far from new to
the International Labour Conference, as the Chairman of the Committee has indicated. They have in the past formed the subject of a number of Conventions and Recommendations which are still in force. All the Conventions, I am proud to say, have been ratified by Great Britain, and Great Britain has the distinction of being the one State which has ratified the 1933 Convention, which dealt with survivors' rights.

Much good work has indeed been accomplished since 1927, when the first Sickness Insurance Convention was passed at Geneva, and the Office is to be congratulated on the obvious success which has attended its steady work in this field over a series of years. One after another, various representatives have in the course of the discussions presented interesting pictures of the developments which have taken place in their countries, and it is clear that the idea of providing, through the instrument of social insurance, against the chief risks that threaten the security of the working population, is making steady progress.

The necessity for such provision will be of special importance in the period succeeding our victory in this war.

Let me not be misunderstood. I do not for one moment mean that we must anticipate in that period a repetition of the circumstances which followed the last war, when large numbers of those who had worked and fought found it difficult to achieve the security which they had earned. In my own country and, I am confident, in other countries, too, we hope to do better this time. Full employment and the prevention of sickness is our aim. Nevertheless, some measure of unemployment is a risk that cannot be disregarded; we can none of us expect to go through life without experiencing sickness; we all look forward, after a useful life of work, to an old age of retirement. It is, therefore, essential that provision should be made for those contingencies. Some countries will need to extend existing systems, or even to initiate new ones; some will find that their previous systems have been disrupted and will need to re-establish them. For these reasons it is all to the good that the present opportunity has been taken by the Governing Body of calling attention once again to the general guiding principles which experience has shown to be the best foundation for social insurance.

So far, I am sure we are all agreed. "But", I hear someone say, "if you think like that, why on earth are you suggesting reference to Governments, instead of getting on with the job?" Well, I'll tell you. We in Great Britain have worked and fought and are now living on with the job for the last thirty years or more; we are getting on with it today. The aim of my motion is to help other countries to get on with it too.

First, let me substantiate that claim about what we have done and are doing. I speak with the greatest pleasure and confidence on this point because, as everyone knows, my own country has a long history of steady advance in social provision. It was as long ago as 1909 when we first started old-age pensions. It was a modest start, I admit, but it was a start. In 1911, we initiated sickness insurance and unemployment insurance, again, somewhat experimentally. But we have never looked back — on the contrary, we have developed. The last thirty years have seen a continuous growth in all three systems, and today our provision for sickness, unemployment, old age, and widowhood, is, I believe, second to none.

And we are not standing still today. Circumstances change. Social insurance schemes must fit circumstances. It is common knowledge that we in Great Britain are at the moment engaged in taking stock of the position. Provisional proposals with regard to a national medical service have already been made public, and I anticipate that they will shortly be followed by proposals with regard to cash benefits.

Having made that clear, let me go on to explain why I have moved as I have. Perhaps I can do that most effectively by answering possible objections.

The chief objection which will be urged will be that Great Britain is holding up progress. It will be said that the Office text, put forward in the form of Recommendations, is progressive, dynamic, alive, that the Conference generally is in sympathy, and that, while all the rest are up and doing, Great Britain merely turns over in her sleep and murmurs, "Don't pull up the blind just yet".

Now, I want to suggest that that is a superficial and ill-considered, objection. I have already shown how long and for what purpose we have been up and doing. Now I propose to show that my motion not only does all, and more than all, that the adoption of Recommendations now could do, but that it avoids a danger which the suggested Recommendation would involve.

The purpose of the supporters of Recommendations at this stage is to hold up to countries which are either starting social insurance or re-establishing it a shining example of how they ought to proceed. That, I believe, is a laudable purpose. Well, it is fulfilled by what I propose. What binding force has a Recommendation? The original Office report supplies the answer, and the answer is, "None". "Members", says that report, "even if they approve them, are not rigidly bound to apply each and all of their provisions". The procedure, it is said, "leaves this flexibility of application". So a Recommendation, at best, holds up the light for those who are willing to walk by it. Well, so does my motion for sending to Governments those very reports which are all that the other procedure has to offer. What good the other procedure does mine does. But mine does more. Send out this year a collection of pious Recommendations, and I want to
suggested the thing is ended. I much fear that many of them will be pigeon-holed. Adopt my motion and you will achieve much more. Governments will have to study the documents in order to frame their reply. If I may use a homely metaphor: Governments will have their noses rubbed in it, and every dog lover knows that that is a salutary and very necessary process. What is more, I put the matter on the next agenda with a view to the adoption of a draft Convention. That is my specific suggestion—surely a far more practical, alive, dynamic way of setting about the affair than the adoption of Recommendations of which the Office report can say no more than that they "should prepare the way for changes". Finally, Governments can report what they have actually done. Yes, actions speak louder than words. Thus, my proposal does actually more good and will result in more good than the passing of the Recommendation at this stage.

But I want to suggest that it does less harm. I have already said that social insurance forms the subject of existing Conventions. Is there no danger, while these Conventions are still in force, in recapitulating them, and, at least by implication, extending them, by Recommendations and suggestions for application? In my view, there is real danger. The Office report itself recognises the risk of acting "in the absence of an adequate survey of practice and opinion". No-one can pretend that the survey has been adequate. I have been amazed at the way in which it has been suggested that all the suggestions that are contained in the report should be swallowed without detailed examination. In my ordinary everyday life, I happen to be secretary of an approved society. I know something of what sickness insurance means from the standpoint of the applicant, I know something of what it means from the standpoint of practical, everyday experience, and I want to say, after discussing social insurance for the last twelve months, going into all the details, that it is an utter impossibility for this Conference to have considered with anything like the thoroughness it ought to have done the details that enter into this Recommendation.

And let me remind you that the International Labour Conference does not use or ought not to use words idly. If it sends out a Recommendation and suggestions for application, it means seriously that Governments should act upon them. Now, not one of the points covered in the document before us open to question, but I put it to you that so far as the document implies going beyond existing Conventions, it is a highly questionable proceeding which may well prove a two-edged weapon. You will not serve the best interests of peoples and of the International Labour Office itself by trying to remake the world at one stroke—as it has been put, to "shatter it to bits and then remould it nearer to the heart's desire". If countries want light and if you think they need light, they have the light of existing Conventions and the report I am proposing should be sent to them for their observations. There will be plenty of time next year for a new Convention, as I suggest, without hamstringing the people who are doing the job and doing it to the best of their ability now, and there will be plenty of guidance to go on in the meanwhile.

I have dealt, I believe, with the main objection which can be urged against what I have proposed. Great Britain is not hindering; she is helping. Are there any other objections?

Countries want guidance now. Well, I think I have covered that point; there is ample guidance. When they have all attained the goal, surely by serious answer. I pass over the fact that social insurance constitutes only one part of a very full agenda, and that there are results to be shown on other items. But I submit there are substantial results on social insurance. Is it nothing to have had this useful interchange of views at this stage? Is it nothing that a summary of that interchange was recorded, without being used in its entirety? Governments should act upon them. Now, is it not that such interchange shall go to Governments, not to pigeon-hole but to study carefully with a view to action next year? Is it nothing that a review of current Conventions should be specifically envisaged?

I have tried to show that my proposal is definitely a more constructive one than the other. I believe it is. My country believes in the I.L.O. as an instrument of social progress in its appointed field, and feels that by adopting my motion that Organisation will be able to give the maximum effective service at this critical period. On every hand we see a stirring, an awakening; in all the United Nations there is a determination that, when the war has been won, the peace shall bring to everyone that security against the normal risks of life which is the very minimum due to all those who have taken part in the struggle and to their children and their children's children. It is my earnest hope, it
is my confident belief, that what this Conference has accomplished will prove an inspiration which cannot fail to encourage and to strengthen all States Members in the tasks which lie before them, and it is only because I believe that by referring to Governments in order that we can consider a draft Convention next year, only because I believe that is the most satisfactory way of making progress, that I ask you to vote for it this afternoon.

The President—The motion is that the report submitted by Professor Shoembaum as a Recommendation be approved. The amendment moved by the British Government delegation is that the report shall be sent to Governments for their observations and that the whole subject shall be placed on the agenda of the next Conference, with a view to the adoption of a draft Convention.

Mr. Harriman, the employers' delegate for the United States, proposes to second the amendment.

Mr. Harriman ( Employers' delegate, United States of America) —I shall make no extended speech. Mr. Tomlinson has presented to you in very forceful and eloquent language the reason for his motion, and if I were to make an extended speech it would be largely a repetition of what he has said.

Let me say that I favour, and I think most of the employers of the United States favour, proper social security, both along the lines of income security and along the lines of health security. We have not moved as fast in this country as in some other countries. We did not begin our career in social security until 1935. Now, the reasons that I favour social security are two: in the first place, I think it does justice to the worker, and in the second place, I believe that it sustains the purchasing power of the country and thus keeps business active. Those are two good reasons, and I think we sometimes fail to see the importance of the second reason.

Again, I favour this motion made by Mr. Tomlinson because I believe it will bring prompt action in a great many nations throughout the world, whereas a Recommendation will lie on the desks and receive little consideration.

It is of infinite importance, before we act on a matter as complicated as this, that we hear from the Governments of the world, that we get their criticisms and suggestions, that we see where this and that and the other application will fit into the needs of each nation. And finally, I am extremely anxious that the employers of the United States should have a right to review these Recommendations, and that after full consideration, they will send me or somebody else in my place back to the next Conference, instructed to support a strong programme of this nature.

But I know that if you approve this broad action without full consideration, without hearing from the Governments and without hearing from labour and industry in the various countries, you are not going to get much response, at least in the United States. Therefore, I am urging this action, not to delay matters but to expedite matters, and to get effective action of which we shall all be proud.

I take pleasure in seconding that motion.

The President—The motion and the amendment are now before the Conference. However, before placing either before you for discussion, I would like to call the delegates' attention to the fact that in the report, there is at the end a resolution with regard to a conference in Asia. I think it would not be in accordance with the desire of the Conference if that resolution were also covered by the amendment. With the consent of the Conference, I propose to put the first report without the last three paragraphs to the vote, and then to put the last three paragraphs separately because they form another subject altogether. In this way, if the amendment is carried, this does not necessarily mean that that resolution with regard to a conference in Asia is also put on one side.

Mr. Bhole (Workers' adviser, India) —I have come here to oppose the amendment which has just been moved by my friend Mr. Tomlinson of the British Government, and I do it with all the emphasis at my command—and when I say this, I know that definitely with me today stand solidly all the workers' delegates and some of the rest of the groups here—and to say also that behind me and behind the workers' delegates stand the workers of the democratic world.

I want again to remind the various Governments that try these delaying tactics, as I have done in the subcommittee, that the world of 1939 has been bombed and has been blitzed to ashes, and out of those ashes has sprung a new world, and from that new world has sprung a new world order. And that new world order demands from the workers' representatives, from the Governments, from the employers, that the workers' health, their everything, ought to be safeguarded, that there should not be any delay in the matter of translating into action any social security principles that are adopted that have the backing of the workers.

We have gathered here in circumstances when in the history of mankind a startling number of men have gathered and marched to die so that freedom may live. They are dying so that a new world order may spring up. Friends, we have gathered here today to deliberate and decide social objectives and measures required to be taken nationally and internationally to ensure income maintenance and medical care not only for industrial communities but also for agricultural communi-
ties, and then to extend the facility to their dependants. We are to adopt a social insurance scheme affording the security of a modest basic income in all contingencies involving inability to work or to obtain work. We are also here to decide, in addition to this, another matter of more immediate importance for post-war reconstruction. We have made this morning a solemn Declaration by announcing to the world the essential aims and purposes of the I.L.O. and the principles which should guide its policies.

The proposal before this Conference is not to my mind altogether a new one. In the Preamble to the Constitution of the I.L.O., it was recognised that conditions of labour that exist "involve such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled". Therefore, provision was made in the Preamble for measures to improve these conditions urgently. These were not limiting but merely guiding principles of policy, laid down in 1919. What happened afterwards? Did this Organisation grapple adequately with the social and economic problems that followed the victory in 1919? To a certain extent, yes. But it failed to a greater extent. If it failed, why did it fail? What are the tests?

It is simple, to my mind. To find out the answer, we must look to the object of the I.L.O. The object of the I.L.O. was to improve urgently the conditions of labour, conditions involving injustice, hardship and privation to a large number of people, and thereby establish universal peace based on social justice. Did it succeed? Definitely, no.

My country and other Asiatic countries like China, not to exclude the African continent, have not gained anything. The millions in Asia and Africa are still in a slough of despondency and poverty. They have not yet seen the light of social security.

The proposals before this Conference presume that there are social insurance schemes in the Member States. They also presume that some steps have been taken towards the attainment of income security. The proposals therefore formulate certain general principles to be followed by the Member States to develop their security schemes pending the unification and amplification of their insurance schemes for further development. They are intended to cover not only the industrial population but also agricultural labour.

Today, in the I.L.O., there are fifty-two members. Among them are Afghanistan, China and other countries of Asia. There are many other European and American countries. The American and European countries are in every way different from these Asiatic countries. Industrial development in those countries is far advanced. The economic and the financial policy in those countries is sound. The standard of living is better. In many Western countries, social insurance schemes are a fact. What is the position in Asiatic countries—in India, Iraq, Turkey, North Africa, in Egypt? What is the progress in China? There is very little progress. Industrial development is not considerable. The industrial population is less. Agriculture is the main source of income. There are millions of agricultural workers in these countries. What is the condition of these workers?

How does an Indian worker compare with the worker of the Western world? India has a vast population of about four hundred million. The condition of life and work is miserable. Labour works under the worst conditions. The health and diet of the people are neglected. The wages are the lowest in the world. The condition of living is very low. There is no record of any social security policies. Up to now, the Government of India's labour policy was directed by people who had no living contact with the grim realities of the workers' conditions. This is now remedied, as the present Labour Member, Dr. Ambedkar, is not only a representative of the working classes, but also a deep scholar in economics and sociology. He is struggling today to do some good. But this is only a beginning. It is necessary to secure improved standards of labour. There must be economic advancement of social security schemes, to improve the social conditions of these backward countries.

If we take the population of India and China, it is over eight hundred million. These two great countries have had very congenial agricultural relations for centuries. A very valuable contribution could be made by these two great countries to the reconstruction of the world. The I.L.O. has done nothing in the matter of bringing true hope to these countries. I regret to say that the Members always think in terms of the advanced and industrial countries. They forget the presence of our country and other Asiatic peoples.

It is true that many countries are today prostrate under the heel of fascism. It is also true that those countries have lost everything except their honour and patriotism. Vast problems of reconstruction are to be thought out and planned. Social security schemes are to be planned and carried out first. Perhaps elections may be fought on the Beveridge Plan or some plan of that type. You are thinking of planning all these steps of social reconstruction indeed, but for whom? It is not for the benefit of my country; it is not for the benefit of the Asiatic countries; it is not for Egypt. It is all in terms of Western and industrially advanced countries. All the proposals are for the benefit of people and countries who already have these social security schemes. They are for countries whose standard of living is higher, and for countries who, from our point of view, have not yet seen the light of social security.
view, can rightly be said to be "haves", whereas we are "have-nots". You cannot build up a sound and lasting international economy if you only look after your own house. By caring more for your progressive countries and shunning other backward countries, you will be sowing seeds of discord. We want a just and secure world. This war is fought for that great purpose.

I want, therefore, to impress upon this Conference that no country can afford to be blinded by its own limited interests. No country can contribute to the future progress of the world if it is not prepared to look at the problems of the world as a whole, if it is not prepared to look at the problems of the backward countries. Even from the humanitarian point of view, the advanced countries must effectively cooperate to get rid of the miseries of insecurity in the backward countries. They will be doing a great act in the cause of peace by advancing the course of human progress in our country.

From the economic point of view, our poverty and low standard of living will be a weak link in the international economy of the world. The stability of the world economy will be a mere illusion if we remain in a slough of despond and poverty. How, after all, could there be peace if we starve and you have plenty? We have enough for our need, but we have not enough for others' greed. Our problem is not exactly tackled by the International Labour Conference, yet. Today, our problem is very different and much larger. Our problem of reconstruction and social security is not the same as that of Europe and the Western Hemisphere. Our cause is lost in an international conference of this type. If there is to be any use in our coming here and taking part in the deliberations of this Conference, we will, I hope, not be excluded from the benefits of the proposed measures. Otherwise, our coming here and co-operating with this Conference for a full quarter of a century would be for all practical purposes worth nothing.

What is the way? Regional action is necessary for this purpose. And this could be done by holding an Asiatic regional conference as early as possible. It is with this hope that I have proposed the resolution to hold an Asiatic regional conference as soon as possible. I trust you will adopt it.

In the proposed Recommendation concerning income security, it is maintained that the I.L.O. has promoted the development of income security by the adoption of Conventions and Recommendations at the I.L.O. Conference. It is true that the Government of India has now under consideration a very modest and restricted scheme of social insurance, but I am very apprehensive about its final fate. The lot of the agriculturists and agricultural labour is worst. Our standard of living is miserably low. This is the alarming state of our people in India. Is this the result of our twenty-five years of association with this I.L.O.? Yes, it is. Then there must be something wrong somewhere. The problem before the I.L.O. in respect of our country is not to take further steps—because no steps were taken at all in my country—towards the attainment of income security by unification, but to take the first step to crush ruthlessly the schemes of the capitalists and employers and to rouse the slumbering Governments to reality. I am glad my amendments to the Preamble to the Income Security and Medical Care Recommendations are accepted to bring in this idea. The responsibility of the I.L.O. towards the backward countries is manifold. If any nation needs income security, social security and medical care urgently, it is mine. If there is any weak link in the international economy, it is the link of India's poverty. If there are any sands in the foundation and stability of the world economy, it is in India. The oppressive and unjust condition in backward India—and for that matter, Asia—will have to be realised by the concerted forces aiming at economic development and social justice.

The PRESIDENT—The speaker's time is up. We must keep the Conference to the time. I propose, with your permission, to give Mr. Bhole another half minute to conclude, but we cannot allow speakers to go on beyond the regulated time, and I carefully and thoroughly explained that to Mr. Bhole before he started. I suggest, with your concurrence, to give him another half minute to finish.

Mr. BHOLE—Sir, I will end now. We have another proposal before us concerning demobilised persons. Friends, our soldiers and our home front and our workers and our women are all aspiring today towards a peaceful and secure world. India and the people of India want the future world to be just. How shall we have that peace? The world will not be safe if only war is won. The peace also should be won, and that is done by adopting today this solemn proposal before this house. It is not enough to pass the proposal and rest. Remember the soldiers who laid down their lives, remember the tale of our sweat, blood and toil; remember the horrors and destruction of the war. If we want to avoid another and greater catastrophe, if we want the next generation to live happily and peacefully, we must all work for it and we must practise this gospel. I trust the Governments and the employers will co-operate with the aspirations of the workers and the people. If some do not, let the workers of the world unite and march on in spite of them.

Friends, I commend the proposals as well as my resolution on a regional conference to this Conference.
Dr. van RHijn (Government adviser and substitute delegate, Netherlands)—Many representatives of occupied countries have already drawn the attention of the Conference to the abominable economic and social state of affairs which the enemy has created in our countries. This is not surprising. When the heart is full, the mouth will speak.

Committee IV has debated the ideal of social security for several days. This ideal is applauded by everyone. But one is inclined to ask: will not the economy of the occupied countries be such, after their liberation, that new social measures will not be feasible for some time? To this question I may give the following answers: without doubt, we must be careful not to put the cart of security before the horse of prosperity. Caution, as well as realism are needed. But, on the other hand, we must not forget that democracy in the twentieth century needs fire in its belly. It is an internal combustion engine which cannot run on one cylinder only.

An important Conference dedicated to social progress, such as the present one, is a fitting place to point out the ground for a sober optimism. Occasionally, I receive the impression from others that they think social measures always have a less favourable effect in an economic sense. Many consider the introduction of social security only possible in times of economic prosperity. They are opposed to social security when the economy is under strain. It is therefore worth noting that measures of social security can have an excellent effect on the economy, due to the fact that they may raise the production capacity of the workers. For a simple example, I may point to the prevention of sickness by social security, which has a favourable effect on the productivity of the workers.

The economic result of the application of social security is to reduce the difference between the higher and the lower incomes. The purchasing power of those in the higher income brackets is reduced, while the purchasing power of those in lower income brackets is raised. The result is a shift in the type of goods which are in demand. The demand for goods produced by mass production will be increased. Now, mass products can be produced more cheaply because their production offers greater scope for mechanisation. Again, an economic advantage!

There is another advantage connected with the more equitable distribution of purchasing power caused by social security. It contributes to the reduction of the chances for depression and thus combats unemployment. It is more universally acknowledged every day that slumps are caused by investments having been made rather too recklessly, which entails an inevitable reaction. By enlarging the quantity of consumer goods produced, the investment in facilities for the production of capital goods will be correspondingly reduced. This broadening of the demand for consumer goods is conducive to the prevention and mitigation of slumps.

I believe that these few observations make it clear that the introduction of social measures does not always place a burden on industry, but, rather, quite frequently stimulates industry and economy in general. The question as to what extent social measures can be introduced depends, in the last resort, upon the state of the national income. When this income flows liberally and shows a tendency to rise, then a great deal can be accomplished in the field of social security.

The problem, therefore, resolves itself primarily into attaining the highest possible level of production. During the years of war, the United States and Great Britain have achieved impressive results. Production output in the United States in three years increased by fifty per cent.; in four years the production of Great Britain rose twenty per cent. In this connection one should bear in mind that the normal rate of growth is estimated by an English author at only one and a half per cent. per annum. This brilliant result has been achieved to a very large extent because the forces of society have not been given an entirely free rein, but rather were organised by the Governments in a certain manner. Governmental supervision of this kind cannot be dispensed with, even when peace production becomes the concern. I use the term "supervision" or "control", with some hesitancy. It sounds restrictive, repressive, dampening; but given the right man and the right methods, it will be constructive, enlivening, and animating.

Great perspectives are opened, not only by a sound economic organisation of production, but also by the enormous technological progress made in recent years, the effects of which are felt everywhere. During the war numerous technical inventions have been made, while existing methods have become obsolete, due to the pressure of circumstances. To prophesy that the production facilities after the war will be stupendous can hardly be characterised as foolhardy.

I repeat that plenty of reasons exist for a sober optimism. Of great interest are the calculations of the proportion of the national income to be devoted to social security. R. W. B. Clarke has arrived at the conclusion that before the war Great Britain spent seven per cent. of the national income for this purpose, which percentage is to be raised to a little over ten per cent. in the event of the Beveridge Plan being put into effect. The Canadian expert, R. A. Marsh, foresees the need of ten per cent. to twelve and a half per cent. of the national income for the application of his plan in Canada, twelve and a half per cent. for the application of a plan in the United States, and eight to eleven per cent. for a plan in New Zealand. Of course, one should not lose sight of the fact that
in these countries a not inconsiderable percentage of the national income is at present already being spent on social security. Consequently, there is only a question of raising this percentage by a number of per cent.

I do not believe I am too optimistic in stating that in the occupied countries far-reaching measures of social security are being counted upon. In the Netherlands, one of the prominent periodicals last year devoted an entire issue to this question. The Netherlands underground press has also great interest in the subject. Economic recklessness is naturally to be condemned. But it would be no less deplorable if the people of the occupied countries who are desirous of obtaining a substantial degree of social progress were to hear from us on our return no more than a message of caution. This would be very poor compensation for their admirable display of national, spiritual resistance and heroism. Instead we should bring them as the message from the I.L.O. this excellent report, as a guiding light for the ultimate achievement of social security.

Mr. HEDGES (Workers' adviser, United States of America)—At the outset I am forced to make an indictment. I indict the representative of the British Government and the representative of the employers for an effort to confuse this important body. These reports from the Committee represent two weeks of deliberations. They do not come to you unweighed. They have come to you with the backing of a large majority of labour and Government delegates. In the case of income security, the vote was 46 to 18 in favour of the Recommendation. In the case of medical care, the vote was 56 to 25. Now, it is not true that the Office report was a poor report to this Committee; and it is not true that this Committee did not give due consideration to all the technical details of these reports. I point out to you that we had in this Committee of 72, the best experts in the world on social security, and that they have voted this line of action.

I support the Recommendations brought in by the Committee on Social Security. These Recommendations had, and now have, the whole support of the 18 labour members of the Social Security Committee. At no time in our discussions and debate, was there a difference of opinion as to the value given to the text or on any matter concerning policies. The membership of the labour representation on the Social Security Committee was well distributed throughout the industrial countries of the world, and can well be said to represent fully possibly 20 or 25 million members of trade unions.

Throughout the long gruelling debate and discussion, a thread of hope rose clearly and vividly to the effect that an enhanced social security programme in the United Nations would implement practically and inescapably the emotions of the populations in occupied countries as well as in the free countries.

The opposition that developed against Recommendations at this session was largerly based upon caution, rather than upon reluctance to fulfil the terms of the Atlantic Charter which deal with freedom from want. Social security is inescapably tied up with all other economic problems which this Conference bravely faces. To make itself effective, any social security programme must operate in a full-employment economy. Some economists believe that no modern social security programme can operate when unemployment reaches a figure beyond eight and one half per cent. of the population. Certainly, full employment is necessary if debt-ridden nations are ever to recover from costly wars and protect their assets fully from bankruptcy. National income in every country must be raised far beyond pre-war levels if debts are to be liquidated and if a standard of living worthy of our modern technology is to be achieved. A social security programme is not only a buttress against temporary unemployment, but is a dynamic stimulus to an economy which must be constantly moving in order to produce the goods that well-paid workers can buy. If this Conference in its unwisdom should decide that the social security programme herein outlined is not necessary, it would be nullifying any other action taken by this Conference because social security is inescapably knit up with the economics of a workable social system.

The rather full suggestions on health and medical care also had the ardent support of the labour representatives of the Social Security Committee. Figures presented by experts to this Committee pointed out rightly that the health of individual citizens and of the whole nation depends upon our ability to secure proper medical attention in the way of prevention of disease and in the way of curing disease. In other words, the blessings of science are now only for those in the upper middle income brackets or for the wealthy—for those who can pay for them. The welfare of children and the well-being of the nation can be secured only if funds are placed in the hands of all citizens, so that they may secure medical attention and proper hospitalisation. Strictly speaking, the health insurance plan before you is nothing more than a method of financing beneficiaries so that they can buy the blessings of medical science. Certainly the programme in no wise injures the advancement of science or the medical profession as a whole.

Persons have repeatedly said to me that reason has not directed our action or controlled our emotions during this session. It would be misleading short of miraculous if, in this era of swift changes and vast confusion, all of us thought as clearly as
the Governing Body in London last December. There was no vote taken. There was no suggestion of a vote being taken, and, therefore, in fact, under the Constitution, this subject is on the agenda for double discussion. But this Conference is free to suspend its Standing Orders. This Conference is mistress of its own procedure. I do not propose to test the question by a vote on the procedure issue. All I want to make clear to the delegates is this: that if they should decide that this Recommendation shall be adopted by a single reading discussion at this Conference instead of by a double discussion at the next Conference they will, in fact, thereby have suspended the Standing Orders of this Conference.

Having made that clear, I come now to what are more real reasons why I should support the amendment. There are two such reasons. The first is that there has not been, for delegates and their advisers, sufficient time to study the question that faces us. The second is that in the circumstances in which we are living today—and I am not blaming anyone—we are here without having had the chance of knowing what our constituents' views on the question are.

May I take, first of all, the question of the time for study of the Office's proposals? Wherever we may disagree, everyone will recognise that the agenda of this Conference is overcrowded. The reason why it is overcrowded is just like this: when the Governing Body met in London, I was one of those who thought that we must have a Conference, though I thought it should be held later this year. The time had come, I felt, when this Conference should meet and tell the world what place it thought ought to hold in the post-war set-up of things. I also agreed that when we came here, we might be able to send some message forward about what the future policy of the Organisation might be. I didn't think we should describe it as Recommendations to the United Nations, because all the United Nations wouldn't be here. But I did agree to the first item, the second item, and the third item on the agenda of employment in the transition from war to peace. And I then said "I think that is good enough for any Conference".

But there were others—and compromise is the essence of international life—others who thought other things should be put on to give some more body to the Conference, and ultimately, it was agreed that two other questions be put on—namely, the one we are discussing now, and one about dependent territories.

We were then within four months of holding this Conference; and I foresaw that we could not have the old procedure. We could not have the old checks and balances that we used to have. What were these? The checks and balances we had in this Organisation to keep things straight were those that when a question was put on the agenda, the first thing done was that the Office prepared a statement showing the

Sir John FORBES WATSON (Employers' delegate, British Empire)—I have come to this platform to support the amendment moved by Mr. Tomlinson, the British Government delegate, and Mr. Harriman, the delegate of the employers of the U. S. A. I shall try to speak to the point at issue. I shall also try to be brief.

The last speaker, the United States workers' representative, referred to the votes that took place in the Committee. He is quite entitled to do so. But I am sure there is no member of that Committee who would deny to the delegates of this Conference the right to come to a considered and possibly different view.

I want to give the reasons why I support the amendment. My first reason is one dealing with procedure. Knowing, as I do, how irritating these procedure questions are in international bodies, I do not propose to make a great point of it. But everything in international bodies, I think, standing orders are of some importance. My point on procedure is that this question was put on the agenda of this Conference by the Governing Body and I direct your attention to Article 8 of the Standing Orders of the Governing Body, which is as follows:

Unless the Governing Body has otherwise decided, a question placed on the agenda of the Conference shall be regarded as having been referred to the Conference with a view to a double discussion. In cases of special urgency, or where other special circumstances exist, the Governing Body may, by a majority of three fifths of the votes cast, decide to refer a question to the Conference, with a view to a single discussion.

This question was put on the agenda by the Governing Body in London last December. There was no vote taken. There was no suggestion of a vote being taken, and, therefore, in fact, under the Constitution, this subject is on the agenda for double discussion. But this Conference is free to suspend its Standing Orders. This Conference is mistress of its own procedure. I do not propose to test the question by a vote on the procedure issue. All I want to make clear to the delegates is this: that if they should decide that this Recommendation shall be adopted by a single reading discussion at this Conference instead of by a double discussion at the next Conference they will, in fact, thereby have suspended the Standing Orders of this Conference.

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law and practice on the subject throughout the world, and then prepared a questionnaire which was sent to Governments, who sent back their views. Then after the Conference had met, the Office prepared a draft Recommendation which again went to the Governments, for their views and then we came back to a second discussion at the next Conference and decided the matter. The Governments always had three or six months in which to make up their minds; and in these three to six months they always gave employers and workers the chance of saying what they thought. It therefore took about two or three years before a subject was put on the agenda and finally dealt with. We are trying to do it all in four months. Well, I don't think that gives you sufficient time for study and preparation on five subjects including the whole of the social services internationally.

I confess that when these Office books began to arrive in my country, I found myself faced with 750 pages—apart from the Director's Report—of which 150 pages were actual texts of proposed Recommendations and Conventions. On this specific subject of Social Security I am talking of, there were 200 pages with 25 pages of Recommendations proposed by the Office. I felt rather surprised and, I am afraid, I felt rather impatient, because it so happened I had the good or bad fortune to be in the ship which puts forward for final adoption the paragraphs which puts forward for final adoption the paragraphs. The report says that the paragraphs called principles begin and end in this matter, but what I do know is that I cannot accept all the paragraphs in the Recommendation what it calls principles on income security and on medical care. The report says that the paragraphs printed in heavy type are principles and the others printed in other type are something different. To me they are all just the same. I don't know where the so-called principles begin and end in this matter, but what I do know is that I cannot accept all the paragraphs in the Recommendation. It may be that if the employers of Great Britain are given a chance of looking at this, they may say “Well, go back and say yes next year”, or they may say, “Go back and say no even more forcibly than you said it last time!”. But in a democratic institution, is it fair that I should be asked here, here and now, without even having had the chance of getting the view of my constituents, either to vote for this Recommendation or to be exposed to being accused, as some people here have been accusing previous speak-
ers, of being retrograde and unprogressive.

Well, now, that being so, I am not going to go into the merits of the report at all. I ask you to accept it from me that this report goes beyond even the Beveridge Report and therefore far beyond anything that exists in any country. I am not one of those who accept the Beveridge Report hook, line and sinker, but I recognise that the Report of Sir William Beveridge has had and will have a profound influence on the trend of development of the social services. The Beveridge Report suffers from one handicap, and that is, that in the making of that Report, the British tripartite system of the Government, employers and workers, sitting on the committees together was unfortunately not given effect to in this case. Why was that? That was because the Committee when appointed consisted only of Sir William Beveridge and Government officials, and it was only when the Report came out in January 1943 that we found prefixed to the Report a letter dated a year before, saying that those on the Committee other than Sir William Beveridge had in January 1942 ceased to be members of the Committee and would in future only be advisers and that Sir William would therefore be the author and sole author of the Report. Sir William has loyally made that clear to the world.

But the point I wish to make is this, that if that letter had been made known to Parliament a year before, I have no doubt whatever that the Government would have been asked by the employers and workers if they couldn't have the right of serving on the Committee with Sir William, and possibly you might have had a report with more influence behind it than that which the report of any one man can have.

I will finish now by dealing with some of the arguments that have been put to me as to why I should vote for the amendment. The first is, that they say, "But don't you see the Recommendation says it is only to be put into effect progressively"? I am quite willing to keep walking all the time but I want to know always where I am walking to—

The PRESIDENT—The fifteen minutes are up, Sir John. It is for the Conference to decide if Sir John is to go on. Fifteen minutes as required by the Standing Orders are completed.

Sir John FORBES WATSON—Well, Mr. Chairman, I have travelled a long way to come here and I don't think in half a minute I can do justice to the matter. I think there have been speakers who have stood on this platform and have spoken, by my watch, half an hour. If I am going to be exposed to different treatment, of course I shall accept your ruling.

The PRESIDENT—There is no differ-
their expectations should get first consid- 
eration. I am not so sure we should think like this, passing Recommendations on social security, which don’t lead to any­
tention to organise the world socially and econom­
ally. In these exceptional times we have deve­
loped in the other way with a means test. New Zealand has de­
defined by the American employers’ dele­
ces; Germany has now no unemploy­
surance benefits played an important role in the life of a nation. I want to say this:
they have done some good work—but it will take some time. The world is looking for a lead from the United Nations, fighting for the preser­
their relatives or friends, connected with the their aim should be to look after their social services by them­
Next there are four countries—Co­
continue working on a point by point basis. I feel that we must give them their social services by them­
ments were adopted. But I would have pre­
emendations you are now being asked to vote for the adoption of the Recommenda­
by using exceptional procedure to allow us to a means test. New Zealand has de­
We want to get on with the job, if we don’t we will waste money. I feel that Europe after this war, and the man­
prove in post-war Europe and the whole world. If we here are going to make a con­
Dame Anne LOUGHLIN

Convention next year? Otherwise it may not have much doubt of what the British Government would have done in the way of taxation on certain people with high incomes, that would have been studied and is well known by the majority of us. I hand you, Mr. President, the necessary mensur­
mation subjects. He says this at page 287:

I feel that Europe after this war, and the man­
Of the six Conventions on social security, five have been ratified by the American employers’ dele­
there won’t be any expectation of the future. I feel that we must give them their social services by them­
the other Conventions or only one or two of them. Of the six Conventions, my country alone has ratified all; the five remain­ing Conventions were ratified by the American employers’ dele­

tion towards securing a quicker vic­

I beg to remind you of one thing again. After five years of war I, personally, 

We, in our country, are trying to get rid of unjustice, and there has been a 

Dame Anne LOUGHLIN (Worker ad­ 

Vriftten Sitting 311

To speeches, however eloquent and how­

Many young children die in every coun­

I think that a nation’s health is its
Imagine—that this generous effort on the part of the nations which co-operate with them of the British workers who are suffering, even though they are not directly in the countries of the American continent; that is to say, the countries of the American continent; that is to say, it is to us a question of the first importance that health insurance should be adopted as quickly as possible. The peoples of Latin America, and also of North America have followed this teaching and are eager to apply these principles. The peoples of Latin America, and also of North America have followed this teaching and are eager to apply these

...
damentally, a far more conservative attitude than the British delegation.

We do not wish a Convention at the next Conference; we want a decision at this Conference. We wish to see what effect this decision would have on our own legislations, and later on, on the basis of these results, if necessary, we shall sign Conventions. It seems to me that in this way we are putting ourselves on absolutely logical, firm ground. We are in a position which is absolutely positive. We are not being idealistic, but consciously conscientious people, who know what they are doing and exactly where they are going. I hope fervently that after the long labours of the Social Security Committee, over which I had the honour to preside, we shall reject the proposal made by the British Government delegate, because this would mean for us the negation of the work which has been done, the negation of the efforts which the Office has made, with patience and wisdom which we must all recognise.

We have, I must repeat, the duty to take back to our countries the conviction that we came here to arrive at positive results for modern social legislation, and to show them that all the nations of the world in the crucial period in which we live are seeking positively the welfare of their people and are not hiding behind procedure so as to avoid realising the legitimate ambitions of the peoples.

**Interpretation:** Mr. FERNÁNDEZ R. (Workers' delegate, Cuba)—I asked to speak as the representative of the workers of Cuba, to express my approval, not only in the name of the Cuban workers but also of all Latin American workers and of the whole Workers' group, of the report which has been presented to us by the Social Security Committee, and to express our most energetic disapproval of the amendment which has been offered by the British Government delegation.

To try to put off to the next Conference the discussion of this important matter would be tantamount to putting this Conference, met here in Philadelphia, in a ridiculous position before international public opinion. It is not enough to make a general abstract declaration; this Conference must adopt concrete measures and decisions which can help to meet the desires and the needs of our peoples. To postpone discussion of this problem of social security to a new Conference would be tantamount to denying to workers of the various countries the rights for which they are fighting this war.

I have heard expressed from this platform, especially from the representatives of the Employers' group, some anxiety as to where the funds to carry out this social security programme would be found. I ask myself this: If thousands and millions of dollars and thousands and millions of pounds are found to maintain the apparatus of destruction needed to bring about the victory of democracy in all the continents of the world, if there is enough money to kill and to destroy, then after the enormous sacrifices which this war has demanded from the democratic countries which are involved in it, why do we find this opposition, why this negative attitude to the discussion of measures of social security, and why such attention to economic problems just at a time when it is even more necessary to find the necessary funds to achieve the constructive ends that social security represents for all peoples?

I wish, in conclusion, to express our resolute approval of the report presented by the Social Security Committee, and our rejection of the counter-amendment proposed by the British Government delegation, as a negation of the aims which have inspired this Conference.

**Interpretation:** Mr. LUNA (Workers' delegate, Peru)—I think the debate is over, and the opinion of the majority of the delegates here present has made itself clear. Therefore, I am going to limit myself to saying a few words to express the approval of the workers of Peru of the report which has been submitted by the Social Security Committee, and our opposition to the amendment which has been submitted by the British Government delegation and supported by Sir John Forbes Watson

We have listened with great attention to the arguments which have been put forward by the proposers of the amendment to postpone the next Conference the adoption of this Recommendation as a draft Convention. In our minds for an instant we felt some doubt regarding the motives behind the amendment but this has been completely cleared up by Sir John Forbes Watson's statement that his opinions did not necessarily represent the views of the other British employers. His speech once again restored our faith in the heroism of the British people in resisting the attacks of reactionary totalitarianism and in the hopes of humanity for the coming of a better world.

I am certain that if the British employers could give their views, they would, in absolute majority, including Sir John, give their approval to the Recommendation proposed by the Social Security Committee. Dame Anne Loughlin in her eloquent speech here proved the same thing. We brought to this Conference great faith that its resolutions would meet the desires of the workers, and we did not come without consulting them; we brought here with us their opinions and in voting for this Recommendation we are giving it with the full backing of our constituents.

Therefore, speaking for the workers of my country, I believe I am expressing the feeling of my whole country when I say that in that country there is a feeling of approval for the measures which are before us now, because already, at the time of the meeting in Santiago de Chile, the
Peruvian people gave their complete approval to those principles.

One thing more: when the employers ask us where we are going to find the money for the solution of the problems under consideration here, I can say to them and to the Government delegates that we workers take full responsibility for the decisions that we take, and we know very well that when we take a decision which implies spending money we must contribute with our endeavours to find the necessary means.

Therefore, the employer and Government delegates can feel sure that the workers the world over will know how to co-operate with them in solving these problems, and also in helping to stabilise their own undertakings.

In conclusion, I reaffirm our approval of the Recommendation as submitted to us by the Social Security Committee, for approval by this Conference. The Chilean workers, who do not wish to lengthen the debate because their views have already been expressed by other speakers, have authorised me to say on their behalf that they warmly approve the words said by the Government delegate of Chile, Dr. Bustos, and by the workers' delegate from Great Britain, in support of the report.

Mr. TOMLINSON (Government delegate, British Empire)—I have listened with a great deal of interest and with all my attention to every speech but one that has been made on the motions which are before the Conference. There are just one or two points, and only one or two, that I would wish to make in reply.

Someone suggested that this Conference needed to send a message of hope to the men who were fighting our battle and to the women who are also fighting our battle in the respective countries that are represented at this Conference. I want to say unhesitatingly from this platform that the British Government stands second to none in this or any other assembly in the world in wishing not only to give hope and encouragement but justice to the men and women who have been bearing the burden of the day in these difficult times, and I resent the suggestion that a motion put down at this Conference by the representative of the British Government should be construed as seeking to do other than simply attempt to translate into action that which we believe to be an essential.

This question as to the turning of a Recommendation into a report to Governments with a view to a draft Convention next year is not understood by the members of the Conference if they imagine that it will lead to delay. What about the Recommendations that are already on the books, that have not been fulfilled? What about the Conventions that have been made to put into practice? If the Governments that are represented at this Conference today are in deadly earnest about the Recommendations, very well. If we can take a vote for the Recommendation as being a question of putting those Recommendations into action at the first opportunity, then it means something. But up to now, Recommendations have not meant that, and it is because they have not meant that that I have been anxious that we should get realism into this Conference, and that we should mean what we say, and I repeat that the method we suggested of compelling Governments to report in order that we could turn these Recommendations into a draft Convention next year would be far more effective and far more progressive than simply passing a Recommendation and going home and forgetting all about it until you come to the next Conference.

I know that you want to do something. We all want to do something. When a person is sick, it is the desire of every heart to do something. But the intelligent person diagnoses through the medical man what is wrong with the patient before he begins to prescribe. All I am asking is that the diagnosis should be made, and should be made, by the people who are aware, that is, the Governments who are represented here, in order that this action that you want to take may be made effective at the earliest opportunity.

I suggest that you would be realists, that you would be doing something of real value to the men and women you are wanting to help, in spite of misrepresentation and in spite of being misunderstood, if, in the spirit in which this amendment has been moved, it were carried by the Conference.

The PRESIDENT—I now call upon Prof. Shoenbaum, the Reporter for the Committee, to reply to the discussion.

Prof. SHOENBAUM (Government delegate, Czechoslovakia)—Mr. President, I believe that I can be very short, because the speakers before me have supported all the relevant arguments. For this reason, I will limit myself only to what I think is the essential issue.

This issue, as has been stated by Mr. Kosina and Dame Anne Loughlin, is just this: there is no reason why we should not adopt at this time the Recommendations about income security proposed by the Committee, which are based, as has been very well emphasised by Mr. Bustos, on the resolution of Santiago de Chile, and convert them, after sufficient time has passed, into Conventions based on actual experience of past world-wide work.

I recommend you for this reason to approve the draft Recommendations concerning income security, and social security for persons discharged from the armed forces.

The PRESIDENT—The subject before the Conference is the Recommendation of the Social Security Committee contained...
in its first report, but does not include the resolution relative to a conference for the Asiatic countries. The Recommendation is moved by Professor Shoenbaum. And as an amendment to the Recommendation, there is a resolution moved by Mr. Tomlinson and seconded by Mr. Harriman. The resolution by way of amendment reads that the first report of the Committee on Social Security shall be sent to Governments for their observations, and that the whole subject shall be placed on the agenda of the next Conference with a view to the adoption of a draft Convention.

In accordance with the Constitution, there is, as Sir John Forbes Watson mentioned, provision for a record vote being taken when it is called for by twenty delegates. That request has been made. We shall therefore take a record vote on Mr. Tomlinson’s amendment.

Record vote on Mr. Tomlinson’s amendment to the first report of the Committee on Social Security

For (14)

United States of America:
Mr. Harriman (E)
Mr. Watt (W)
Miss Perkins (G)
Mr. Thomas (G)
Mr. Martin (G)
Mr. Bengough (W)

Argentina:
Mr. Lamuraglia (E)
Mr. Tomlinson (G)
Sir Frederick Leggett (G)

France:
Mr. Tixier (G)
Mr. Deléé-Denloges (G)
Mr. Antoine (E)
Mr. Laurent (W)

Belgium:
Mr. van Zeeland (G)
Mr. Wauters (G)
Mr. Barnard (G)
Mr. Rabett (W)

Czechoslovakia:
Mr. Morawetz (E)
Mr. Shoenbaum (G)
Mr. Kosina (W)

Ecuador:
Mr. López Arteta (G)
Mr. Torres Vera (W)

Chile:
Mr. Díaz Salas (E)
Mr. Li Ming (E)

Costa Rica:
Mr. Padilla
Castro (G)

Colombia:
Mr. Nannetti (G)
Mr. Fernandez R. (W)

Canada:
Mr. Coulter (E)
Mr. Morin (W)
Mr. Butland (E)

United Kingdom:
Mr. Hallsworth (W)
Mr. Reddon (G)
Mr. Andrews (G)
Mr. Brennan (G)
Mr. de Vries (W)

Mr. Steven (G)
Mr. Marson (W)

Australia:
Mr. Beasley (G)
Mr. Barnard (G)
Mr. Clarey (W)
Mr. Martin (G)
Mr. Bengough (W)

Brazil:
Mr. Fontes (G)
Mr. de Rege
Monteiro (G)
Mr. Vidal Leite
Ribeiro (E)
Mr. de Mattos Lima (W)
Mr. de Figueiredo (G)
Mr. da Silva (W)

Mr. Diamantopoulos (G)
Mr. Zarras (G)
Mr. Mehta (W)
Mr. Thebaud (G)

Mr. Krier (G)
Mr. Le Gallais (G)
Mr. Van den Tempel (G)
Mr. de Vries (G)

Mr. Oldenbroek (W)
Mr. Oldenbroek (W)

Cuba:
Mr. Fernández R.
Riquiera (W)

Mexico:
Mr. Santos
Guajardo (G)
Mr. Chapa (E)
Mr. Lombardo
Toledano (W)

New Zealand:
Mr. Nash (G)
Mr. Taylor (G)
Mr. Butler (E)
Mr. Oford (G)
Mr. Nordahl (W)

Peru:
Mr. Vidal (E)
Mr. Luna (W)

Union of South Africa:
Mr. Andrews (G)
Mr. Brennan (G)
Mr. de Vries (W)

Sweden:
Mr. Ohlin (G)
Mr. Thorsson (G)
Mr. Andersson (W)

Mr. Kühn Talay (G)

Venezuela:
Mr. Tinoco Rodil (G)
Mr. Pérez
Guerrero (G)

Yugoslavia:
Mr. Milos (W)
Mr. Oldenbroek (W)
The PRESIDENT—The voting on the amendment moved by Mr. Tomlinson is: for, 14; against, 68; abstentions, 4. The amendment is lost, and the Recommendation as submitted by Professor Shoenbaum is now before the Conference and is submitted for your approval.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The draft Recommendation is adopted by 74 votes to 3.)

The PRESIDENT—I now propose to put the resolution with regard to the Conference on social security in Asiatic countries, at the end of the first report of the Social Security Committee.

(The resolution is approved.)
Delegates present at the Sitting

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

Argentina:
Mr. García Arias
Mr. Palmieri
Mr. Lamuraglia

Australia:
Mr. Beasley
Mr. Barnard
Mr. Clarey

Belgium:
Mr. van Zeeland
Mr. Gottschalk (substitute for Mr. Wauters)
Mr. Joassart
Mr. Rens

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

British Empire:
Mr. Tomlinson
Sir Frederick Leggett
Sir John Forbes Watson
Mr. Hallsworth

Canada:
Mr. Martin
Mr. Rive (substitute for Mr. Claxton)
Mr. Coulter
Mr. Carlin (substitute for Mr. Bengough)

Chile:
Mr. Bustos Lagos
Mr. Escobar Mandiola (substitute for Mr. Gajardo Villarroel)
Mr. Díaz Salas
Mr. Velásquez Quiroga

China:
Mr. Li Ping-heng
Mr. Hsiieh Cheng-fu
Mr. Li Ming
Mr. Chu Hseuh-fan

Colombia:
Mr. Nannetti

Costa Rica:
Mr. Padilla Castro

Cuba:
Mr. Fernández R.

Czechoslovakia:
Mr. Stolz (substitute for Mr. Masaryk)
Mr. Martinek (substitute for Mr. Shenbaum)
Mr. Hexner (substitute for Mr. Morawetz)
Mr. Kosina

Ecuador:
Mr. López Arteta

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

Ethiopia:
Mr. Tesemma

France:
Mr. Tixier
Mr. Deléèse-Desloges
Mr. Gentili (substitute for Mr. Antoine)
Mr. Laurent

Greece:
Mr. Diamantopoulos
Mr. Zarras
Mr. Kulukundis
Mr. Spyridacos

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

Ireland:
Mr. Hearne

Luxembourg:
Mr. Krier
Mr. Le Gallais

Mexico:
Mr. Cossio y Cosio (substitute for Mr. Santos Guajardo)

Mr. Chapa
Mr. Lombardo
Toledano

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

New Zealand:
Mr. Taylor
Mr. Butland
Mr. Allerby

Norway:
Mr. Skaug (substitute for Mr. Hambro)

Mr. Ording
Mr. Hagerup-Larsen (substitute for Mr. Dahl)
Mr. Nordahl

Peru:
Mr. Elguera
Mr. Vidal
Mr. Luna

Poland:
Mr. Staniszyk
Mr. Strakacz
Mr. Falter
Mr. Gross (substitute for Mr. Adamczyk)

Sweden:
Mr. Ohlin
Mr. Thorsson
Mr. Wahlström (substitute for Mr. von Heidenstam)
Mr. Osvold (substitute for Mr. Andersson)

Turkey:
Mr. Gılek
Mr. Esmer

Uruguay:
Mr. Kühn Talay

Venezuela:
Mr. Tinoco Rodil
Mr. Pérez Guerrero

Yugoslavia:
Mr. Bruer (substitute for Mr. Banac)
Mr. Miloš

Also present at the Sitting:
Mr. Asgeirsson (Iceland)
FOURTH REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL SECURITY

The PRESIDENT—I call upon Mr. Fischlowitz to present the fourth report of the Committee on Social Security, on provisions concerning social insurance and related questions in the peace settlement.

Dr. FISCHLOWITZ (Government adviser, Poland), Reporter of the Committee on Social Security—The texts which you have before you form a major contribution, although one rather limited and moderate in scope, of this Conference to the tremendous task of the social and, indirectly, economic reconstruction of the European continent. Covering in some of their aspects the specific problems of Asiatic and other countries, the provisions suggested apply, nevertheless, in the first place to the European continent, to nearly fifteen occupied countries, with a population of some hundred and fifty million. To achieve full effect, these provisions should, of course, be accompanied by other broader constructive economic measures.

Allow me to illustrate the present situation of Europe by some concrete examples regarding the Reporter’s own country—Poland. This country, the first to oppose Hitler, which does not possess any Quisling government, any Quisling party, and on which therefore Germany declared ruthless physiological war, suffered losses which can hardly be overestimated. Among nearly ten million “white slaves” who have been subjected to forced labour in the service of the Axis war economy, the first place—a rather sad priority, indeed—is occupied by two million Polish workers. According to an estimate based on concrete data referring to the last year, 1,600,000 persons among the civilian population have been murdered under the German occupation. The Polish institutions of social progress, built up during twenty years of our independence, have been completely destroyed by Germany. According to a recent German Decree, which I have here before me, the Polish workers continue to be subject to social insurance without acquiring the right to any benefits in return for their contributions, having only the right to insignificant welfare allowances, entirely dependent on the discretionary decision of German authorities. Can you imagine a more infamous caricature of the institutions of social justice?

Why did I think it desirable to submit to you these factual data? Not to stir your sentiments of sympathy for the victims of the régime of occupation. Not to lay stress on the heroism of our people and people of other occupied countries. I did it simply to give you an exact idea of the real situation which we will face after the war and which we must take into account while elaborating all our plans for post-war reconstruction.

The conclusions which we draw from this situation are simple and clear. Justice must be done to the countries of occupied Europe. Germany, which ravaged Europe, which destroyed its achievements of social progress, must reconstruct it after the war. The claims to be presented to the Axis and associated countries do not take the form of demands inspired by this spirit of revenge. They are based on technically impeccable foundations, being in full accord with the axioms of social policy on the one hand and international legal and economic possibilities on the
other. At the same time they take into consideration all the experience acquired through the application of the Peace Treaty of Versailles, so unsatisfactory and so insufficient as regards the solution of international social problems created by the first world war.

The contributions paid to the German social insurance institutions by and on behalf of the nationals of the United Nations employed in the service, of the German war economy (or contributions which should have been paid) must be reimbursed to the respective institutions of their countries of origin to ensure the necessary social protection of these workers when repatriated; this special technical arrangement is for obvious reasons independent of the approach to the situation at the war's end of the displaced workers dealt with in connection with another item on the agenda of our Conference. All other individual and collective claims based on inequitable and illegal treatment in the occupied countries of the nationals of the United Nations in the matter of labour protection and social policy, in the widest sense of these terms, should be provided for in the future instrument of peace. The priority of all these claims over others must be guaranteed in accordance with the guiding principles of our Organisation. Any solutions must be on the basis of the peace settlement and involving transfers of populations in various forms must take into account the necessity of securing just and equitable treatment for the working population affected by these measures.

As regards the form of the solutions suggested, we thought it advisable to lay down certain principles, neither complete nor exhaustive, which should later be transformed by the Social Security Committee into specific clauses to be inserted in the text of the future peace instrument. On this committee, the countries most interested, great and small, should be represented, even those which have not taken part in this preparatory stage.

The diplomatic form of the final solution suggested is a unilateral one of obligations to be imposed on Axis and associated countries. We gave preference to this form of solution for one simple reason. The problems to be settled are of unilateral origin from the side of the Axis, and require, therefore, a unilateral solution from the United Nations. In these circumstances, would it not be rather paradoxical to adopt a draft Convention implying reciprocal engagements?

All these arrangements have been worked out in close collaboration with representatives of many countries lucky enough not to have been invaded, and I wish to take this opportunity of thanking them for the interest they have taken in this matter.

Thus initiating, in matters strictly within the competence of our Organisa-

tion, the preparation of the framework of the future peace, we hope that we have done useful work towards winning the peace when we have won the war.

Finally, do not underestimate the moral effect on the oppressed populations of occupied European countries produced by the news, which will reach them through the channels of the underground organisations of resistance, that the Conference in laying down the foundations of a better world did not forget their sacrifices, made in the common cause of humanity.

The PRESIDENT—The motion before the Conference is the approval and the adoption of the report on provisions concerning social insurance and related questions in the peace settlement. Unless there are any further persons who desire to speak, I shall put the report to the vote.

(The report is adopted.)

FIFTH REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL SECURITY

The PRESIDENT—I call upon Mr. López Arteta, Reporter, to submit the fifth report of the Committee on Social Security, dealing with international administrative collaboration to promote social security.

Interpretation: Dr. López ARTETA (Government delegate, Ecuador), Reporter of the Committee on Social Security—

I have the honour to submit to the Conference for its approval in this Plenary Session the resolution concerning international administration to promote social security, which the Social Security Committee has prepared on the basis of the draft framed by the Office in Section II of Report No. IV (2).

You have before you the report as approved by the Committee, and I have very little to add to what is said in that report. But in order that the Conference may realise fully the nature and scope of the resolution, I will outline the situation here. Administration is so important an aspect of social insurance that in many countries it determines the success or failure of the system. Efficiency of administration is linked with such interesting points as full affiliation of insured persons, the collection of funds, the proper service of benefits, the knowledge of the incidence of risks, and many other points which are essential factors in the efficient working of security plans.

The complexity of the administration of social insurance and the notorious scarcity of properly trained staff for the various functions often handicaps national schemes, and cases could be cited of legislation which it has not been possible to

1 See Third Part, Appendix VII.
put into force because of administrative difficulties.

This gives rise to the need for international collaboration, which has already been worked out to some extent, very largely thanks to the initiative of the International Labour Organisation, but requires considerable extension now.

The resolution which we are considering here deals with three primary aspects of collaboration: first, the interchange of experts on the basis of agreements between the parties; second, regular interchange of information, publications, and so forth, concerning administrative problems, especially: (1) statistics of social security services and consideration of the possibility of standardising them; (2) large-scale investment; (3) measures to simplify administration; (4) relations between social assistance and social insurance; (5) prevention of the risks covered by insurance; and (6) organisation of courses of higher study for the training of administrative staff for social insurance institutions.

Finally, the resolution suggests that the I.L.O. should study the expediency of international agreements to set up bodies responsible for common tasks within the financial or administrative field.

The Committee, accordingly, taking into account the amendments proposed by various members, has framed this important resolution, which, on behalf of the Committee, I have the honour to present, and to ask the Conference to approve.

The PRESIDENT—The motion before the Conference is the adoption of the fifth report of the Committee on Social Security, dealing with international administrative collaboration to promote social security. If there are no speakers, I propose to put the report to the vote.

(The report is adopted.)

MOTION REGARDING SUSPENSION OF THE STANDING ORDERS

The PRESIDENT—I want to draw the attention of the Conference to an important point of procedure. During yesterday's debate, a motion was carried to adopt the first report of the Committee on Social Security. The Constitution of the Organisation and its Standing Orders provide that there must be what is called a "double discussion". That means that the motion that was carried yesterday will not be in order if the Standing Orders remain as they are now.

If it is desired by the Conference, according to the vote that was given yesterday that, in effect, the first and third reports of the Committee should be taken on a single-discussion basis, then it will be necessary to suspend the Standing Orders to enable that to be done. Is it the will of the Conference that the Standing Orders be so suspended?

Mr. HALLSWORTH (Workers' delegate, British Empire)—I move that the suspension of the Standing Orders be agreed to by the Conference.

Mr. KOSINA (Workers' delegate, Czechoslovakia)—I second the motion.

The PRESIDENT—It has been proposed and seconded that the Standing Orders be suspended for the purpose of making the Recommendations in the first and third reports on social security the subject of single discussion instead of double discussion.

It is to be clearly understood by delegates that if they desire the amendment that was carried on the record vote yesterday to be maintained and acted upon, they must vote for the suspension of the Standing Orders.

The debate now is on the motion by Mr. Hallsworth that the Standing Orders be so suspended.

Mr. ASHURST (Employers' adviser, British Empire)—In order to remind the Conference of the position created by the proposed Recommendation, I will read Article 8, clause 4, of the Standing Orders of the Governing Body, which reads:

Unless the Governing Body has otherwise decided, a question placed on the agenda of the Conference shall be regarded as having been referred to the Conference with a view to a double discussion.

As there is no amendment to this Recommendation, I move that the Standing Orders be not suspended. And I will ask for a record vote.

The PRESIDENT—I am afraid that I would have to rule that out of order. We cannot have two motions under consideration at the same time. Those who desire to follow the suggestion made by Mr. Ashurst may vote against the proposal that the Standing Orders be suspended. Those who desire that the Standing Orders shall not be suspended will vote against Mr. Hallsworth's motion. I think a vote by a show of hands will express the will of the Conference.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The motion is adopted by 65 votes to 3.)

The PRESIDENT—To keep the whole matter in order with regard to the record vote of yesterday, I would suggest that, the Standing Orders having been suspended, a vote by show of hands be taken on the first report of the Committee on Social Security.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The report is adopted.)
THIRD REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL SECURITY: DISCUSSION

The PRESIDENT — The next item is the third report of the Committee on Social Security, on medical care services, and I want to advise the Conference of the position.

The British Government delegate gave notice of a motion at the beginning of the debate on social security reports that he desired to have them referred to Governments with a view to the adoption of Conventions. That was the purport of his amendment yesterday. This notice applied to the first and the third reports. Does Mr. Tomlinson desire to repeat his amendment now?

Mr. TOMLINSON (Government delegate, British Empire)—No.

The PRESIDENT — Mr. Tomlinson withdraws his amendment with regard to the third report. I now call upon the Reporter to present the report on medical care.

Interpretation: Mr. XAVIER LOPES (Government adviser, Brazil), Reporter of the Committee on Social Security—As one of the reporters of the Committee on Social Security especially responsible for the question of medical care, I have the honour to ask for your approval of the Recommendation concerning medical care, which completes the draft Recommendations on income security adopted by the Conference yesterday.

The International Labour Conference adopted in 1927 two Conventions concerning sickness insurance, one for industry and one for agriculture. Since then social insurance and medical care services have developed to such a point that the time appears to have come to adopt a new text, which, while it has no binding force, lays down for Governments the lines for the extension and generalisation of measures to protect the health of the people.

Both the young countries of the Western Hemisphere and the European nations ravaged by the war, by enemy occupation and its disastrous consequences, will have to pay more attention than ever, the former to improving the standard of health, and the latter to building up again the human forces which constitute the foundation of national wealth and moral and material progress.

The texts which have been laid before you are flexible enough to take account of the special features of national circumstances. They provide principles both for the development of the new countries on this continent and for the reconstruction of European countries, and in no way prejudice the work already undertaken by Governments in this field.

In view of the fact that the Recommendation contains only general principles and suggestions for their application, it is essential that concerted action on an international scale should be undertaken and that the International Labour Office should continue to deal with the questions related to the protection of the health of the workers. The Recommendation will provide the basis for this work, and to some extent will mark a new jumping-off place for the action of Governments. As regards my own country at least I am certain that the Brazilian Government, whose present policy is to pay particular attention to problems of public health, will duly take into account the provisions laid down in the Recommendation.

Mr. TOMLINSON (Government delegate, British Empire)—In view of the fact that I did not give notice yesterday to move an amendment with regard to the third report in similar terms to those that were moved to the draft Recommendation in the first report, I think the Conference is entitled to an explanation.

I hope the Conference will not misunderstand when I say that the reason for this action and this attitude is purely fear of being misunderstood. Yesterday, at some length, I attempted on behalf of my country to get the procedure which we thought would lead to action quickly. It is not my fault if I did not convince the Conference that the method we suggested might be the most effective. But I just can’t afford to risk the reputation of the British Empire by conducting a second day’s experiment in teaching you technique. Therefore I hope that the withdrawal of this amendment will be taken as an indication that so far as the general principle of the application of the above-mentioned principles of social security are concerned, whether in the realm of income security or in the realm of medical care and attention, there is not a country in the world behind which the British Government is prepared to march. We claim to be in front, we are going to remain in front, and we hope that you will follow speedily.

Mr. BARNARD (Government delegate, Australia)—When I indicated that I desired to speak on this subject, I expected that I would be speaking against an amendment which the British Government delegate intimated that he proposed to move. Since he has withdrawn that amendment, I feel that I have very little that I need say in support of the adoption of the report, particularly in relation to the medical care section.

I believe that this Conference of the I.L.O. wants to make positive recommendations to the nations that it represents. It wants to get on with the job of giving a lead to the nations and to the world in uplifting the social conditions of mankind. For that reason, I am very pleased to see that the amendment that was forecast has now been withdrawn.
I believe that it is a matter of principle that we as a Conference, after giving such careful consideration to the items that have been placed on the agenda for our consideration, should make positive recommendations to the Governments in that regard. I believe that this Conference is composed of a body of people who are realists, facing up to the realities of the situation that confronts the democracies which we are representing. That being the case, it is up to us as realists to make these positive recommendations to the people we represent. I believe that if there is one thing above all others today that the world is looking for, it is a lead in regard to these particular questions.

Too long have we neglected the care of the less fortunate in the community. Too long have we been apathetic in regard to the full employment of our people. We cannot afford in the post-war world to run the risk of having wholesale unemployment, having the death rate of our mothers and our children, particularly those under the age of one year, which compose a tremendous proportion of the deaths, increased. No longer can we afford to run the risk of neglecting this section of the community.

The Committee of which I have the honour to be a member gave very full consideration to these questions and it has made its recommendations almost unanimously to the Conference for their acceptances.

I believe, after spending so much time, so much thought and care in the preparation of this report, under the capable chairmanship of my friend from Costa Rica, that this Conference will accept, I hope unanimously, that report and the Recommendation that accompanies it. It is our job, as I suggested, to look forward to a more adequate medical care.

We take second place to none in the desire for proper health care. In addition to all the reasons which have been advanced before the Conference in regard to this report, we can mention the question of the productivity that is involved. We are taking the position that a high rate of productivity on the part of the workers, on the part of industry, and the encouragement thereof on the part of Government is essential to the maintenance of full employment and to the maintenance of an economic status and an economic advancement which we all desire, following the situation in which we find ourselves now; so there is every reason to support programmes that look forward to a more healthy condition of affairs and more adequate medical care.

It has been said that we are dominated by an attitude of caution in this respect, and I subscribe to that; in fact, that is what governs my attitude on this matter. I do not believe that the nature of these Recommendations is calculated to do what is promised. These Recommendations are a blueprint of the way to do this job. They take no recognition of other ways that might be advisable or might be helpful or are in existence in many parts of the world today, and I submit that the sending out of this categorical text as a Recommendation from the I.L.O. jeopardises the
prestige of the I.L.O. and its usefulness in the advancement of this work.

The purpose that we had in mind in supporting the usual procedure of the Conference was that we might get, in addition to the proposals advanced in the text, various other methods that were in use, happily in use, usefully in use, that might give us a broad picture of the base on which this health care could be promoted by the International Labour Organisation.

I do not believe that the only methods of promoting the situation are those designated in paragraph 5 of the text, where they are limited to social insurance and public medical care service. I believe that there are other methods that can be promoted in countries in accordance with their customs and their cultures, and that they will provide just as much forward going in this matter of public health and health care as the methods to which the text of the Recommendation is confined.

To send these out as Recommendations, with the dignity and the prestige of the I.L.O. behind them, as the blueprint—that is a position that we cannot subscribe to. We felt that if this matter were subjected to the examination of Governments, employers' organisations and workers' organisations, to add to them other devices that might be used, the interests of the promotion of the health care and productivity of the world would be immeasurably improved. And that, let me state, is the position that we take with regard to these Recommendations: that they do not represent what should go out from this Conference as the recommendations of principles to be followed, and that they should be supplemented by measures which would be brought to the attention of the Conference by more adequate examination.

I am well aware of the distinguished character of the experts who have advised us on this subject, and I would not detract from the work they have done by one jot or tittle. But I have had experience with experts in my own business, and I find that in very many cases their recommendations have to be judged in the light of situations which exist, which may vary from the true scientific light that they throw from their particular point of view. It occurred to us, and I myself am persuaded, that the interests of this programme would have been served by more adequate information to the Conference, which would have come from the procedure that was suggested.

The PRESIDENT—The motion before the Conference is the report of the Social Security Committee on medical care services.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The report is adopted by 55 votes to 5.)

The PRESIDENT—The report will now go to the Drafting Committee, which consists of the President and other members of the Conference, plus all the members of the drafting committee on social insurance.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON DEPENDENT TERRITORIES: DISCUSSION

The PRESIDENT—The next report is the one on minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories. I call on Mr. Wauters to present the report.

I would call the delegates' attention also to the fact that an amendment has been proposed to this report by Mr. Mehta, the Indian workers' delegate.

Interpretation: Mr. WAUTERS (Government delegate, Belgium)—The proposals which we are submitting for the approval of the Conference in regard to minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories were drawn up on the basis of the texts of the International Labour Office.

They are divided into two large sections: the first takes the form of a draft Recommendation; the second groups all the points on which the Committee requests a second discussion because it considers that they call for further investigation.

The motion to transpose a part of the amended texts of the International Labour Office into a Recommendation was passed by 25 votes and 13 abstentions. The text of the Recommendation, as well as the final report, with the reserve that each member of the Committee retained his freedom of action at the plenary session, was adopted unanimously.

The drafts which I have the honour to submit were drawn up by men and women of countries having had long years of experience in the administration of dependent territories, and also by leading personalities who came directly from those dependent territories. Their representatives are among the three groups—Government, Employers and Workers. Never before has an International Labour Conference assembled so many men from distant countries who are directly interested in the problems under discussion. Their lively testimony and the experience they have had on the spot have been of most valuable assistance to the Committee.

Furthermore, the delegates of countries who have no dependent territory took an active and vigilant part in our work. They have perhaps brought us more objective opinions because they were less directly concerned. In their persistent effort to study these all-absorbing problems with us, they have perhaps been inspired by the legitimate desire to raise the standard of living in other regions of the world. By its very nature, this could constitute a distressing element of competition for

1 See Third Part, Appendix VIII.

2 Idem.
their own economy. But we have found in them that ardent idealism which excites the young democracies which are building up their political and social systems on the basis of the most enlightened and generous traditions of human progress.

The draft Recommendation lists a few general and basic principles. The first is that the primary object of the policy applied to dependent territories must be the well-being and the development of the people of these territories.

It is not enough, however, to state this principle; the means of carrying it out must be suggested. And that is what the draft Recommendation does when it asks that the physical means be placed at the disposal of the authorities whose aim has been the emancipation of the people with whom we are concerned and who represent a group of 250 million human beings.

The draft Recommendation also makes a point of associating those who live in these dependent territories with the achievement of this clear-sighted and noble aim, associating them with it continually and in so far as the evolution of the autochthonous institutions permits.

The draft Recommendation could not ignore such questions as slavery and opium. It also recalls four international labour Conventions passed some time ago and applying specifically to these same dependent territories: one on forced labour, one on the recruiting of workers, one on labour contracts, and one on punitive sanctions.

The draft also contains provisions for the protection of child, youth and woman labour. One of the sections of the draft Recommendation is devoted to the remuneration of workers; another to public welfare, dwellings, and social security; and still another to professional organisation and co-operative organisations.

There is one provision in the Recommendation which we would like to stress vigorously. It is under Article 41 and prohibits any discrimination between workers on grounds of race, colour, religion or tribe. By embodying it in the draft Recommendation, we wanted to proclaim again one of the principles of action of the International Labour Organisation.

The latter has always vigorously opposed all racial, religious and national prejudices which encourage violent conflicts among men. Thus, as in the past, our institution contributes to the establishment of an international system based on actual human solidarity.

It is necessary thoroughly to understand the scope of the second proposal which we make. It excludes from the Recommendation certain points submitted for examination to the Committee. I take the liberty of citing a passage from my report which clearly explains our intentions. We hope they will be shared by the plenary sitting. Here is the passage:

Certain Articles, therefore, which were referred to the Committee have received either no consideration or no full consideration by the Committee. It should, however, be noted that, as was repeatedly made clear in the Committee, these Articles were in no sense regarded as of subsidiary importance or of minor urgency. They included some provisions which were recognised to be of fundamental importance. They included many questions of detail on which the issue of guiding principles by the International Labour Conference would be of high value. On the other hand, they also included some questions of detail which might not be appropriate to the Committee. Lastly, there were some Articles which the Committee might have adopted readily but which, being closely connected with more difficult points, seemed to require deferment in the interests of establishing a later text of a coherent character.

Among the points thus submitted for more careful study and a second discussion are some provisions regarding the remuneration of workers, the problem of land policy, that of certain conditions for the payment of accident compensation, that of the system of compulsory social insurance, employment, working hours, and holidays.

To its regret—to its very great regret—the Committee, for want of time, has been unable to include in the text of its recommendations the provisions concerning the organisation of labour inspection and safety.

The proposals which we are submitting to you are not all original ideas. They certainly are not new for most of the States responsible for dependent territories, which have made such conscientious and steady efforts to work them out. Countries like Holland have always given a magnificent example of what can be achieved in the direction in which we would like to launch all the peoples concerned in our discussions.

England, anxious to practise outside its home territory the bold social policy which has been its constant preoccupation in the British Isles, has taken more than five hundred legislative measures concerning the populations under her protection during the war.

As for France, it is very moving to think that she has not allowed herself to be bowed down by her unjust misfortunes. In the midst of constantly recurring trials, she has thought of the men and women of her empire and she has received a just and prompt compensation. When the victorious Allied armies gave back her sovereignty over her North African territories, she found there, as in Central Africa, the same complete and loyal attachment to the great democracy which is being reborn amidst the obstacles it overcomes with admirable firmness.
Of course, I shall not speak of my own country.

By adopting the text of the Recommendation which we are submitting, the Twenty-sixth International Labour Conference will give evidence to the whole world of its will to put into effect the Atlantic Charter. It will fulfil the wish expressed by Mr. Anthony Eden, who declared, a few months ago, that the responsibility for putting into effect Part V of this Charter lay with the International Labour Office.

Everybody in this Committee, without exception, was inspired with the desire to achieve something concrete. Indeed, in the course of our work, conflicting tendencies and disagreement on certain techniques arose. It is my opinion as Reporter that they were beneficial. The employers themselves, who often supported amendments introduced by the workers, while asserting their uncontested right to express freely their opinion, nevertheless declared that if the draft Recommendation were adopted, they knew that their respective Governments would conscientiously endeavour to transpose it into law and that they were ready to collaborate with the authorities of their countries.

Everyone is convinced that a gigantic transformation is under way throughout the world, even among the most remote people. The latter have experienced shocks of unprecedented violence during the past four years. Their territory has been and still is the theatre of a bloody struggle between armies of different nationalities. They themselves are taking part in that struggle because they know today, from experience and by comparison, that they have everything to lose by the triumph of the dictators and everything to gain by the victory of the United Nations.

That is why, I say, they have co-operated unrestrainedly, fighting in our armies, exposing their lives on our ships, and supplying the arsenal of the democracies with those precious raw materials which are an indispensable factor in a war in which technique has taken an unusual place.

By adopting the draft Recommendation, the Conference will achieve another objective whose significance is evident to every person of common sense today. This text is likely to raise the standard of living of people in places where it is often lower than in other parts of the world. These latter parts of the world would be tempted to protect themselves from competition on the international market by resorting to the baleful methods of protectionism— forerunners of bloody conflicts amongst peoples. By raising this standard of living, we increase at the same time the purchasing power of 250 million persons. We are not only generous but also clear-sighted, because in this manner we increase the marketing possibilities for products manufactured in the metropolitan areas.

In fact, in the text we are proposing, generosity is intermingled with clear-sightedness. The two ideas are not conflicting. They are complementary. With much wisdom, moderation and restraint, and after faithfully interpreting the impelling messages which are growing in number and which demand a better social future, we bring more than one hope. What we are asking you to vote for is a substantial, tangible reality based on the great principles of international solidarity dominated by the desire to bring peace among people—great human peace, supreme and triumphant.

Dr. HONIG (Government adviser, Netherlands), Chairman of the Committee on Minimum Standards of Social Policy in Dependent Territories—The report of Committee V has been presented to this meeting in eloquent terms by the Reporter. I hope that you will permit me to answer beforehand some questions which I know will be raised in your minds. The first one is whether the guiding principles for dependent territories, as presented in the form of recommendations, do not surpass the standards contained in the labour legislation of a great number of independent countries. In the first place, it must not be thought that the Governments responsible for such dependent territories are in any way backward in the development of their social institutions and the introduction of fair labour conditions. It has to be admitted that the norms as they have been formulated by our Committee may be useful as guiding principles for a number of politically independent countries as well. Even for some of the highly industrialised countries the proposed standards for the protection of women and young people deserve serious consideration from the standpoint of their incorporation in the existing labour legislation.

The reason why our Committee has been able to recommend these principles to you is that in many cases these minimum standards have already found practical application in many territories. Moreover, we recognise the fact that the world is entering into a period of reconstruction, not only rebuilding what has been destroyed by the war, but introducing the inevitable industrialisation of dependent countries, until now mainly agrarian in civilisation.

No Government should in times like these encourage industrialisation unless it is fully convinced and willing to have this industrialisation accompanied by fair social conditions. We demand the recognition of this fundamental factor for dependent territories. We express in our recommendations the duty of the responsible Governments and the desire of this I.L.O. Conference to prevent the serious social abuses found in the introduction of
industrialisation which we have known in the occidental countries in the last century and even at the beginning of this century. We have confirmed what we consider to be the duty of community and government, and we are asking the Conference to direct the I.L.O. to request the Governments concerned to report periodically on the progress made.

The second question to be raised is whether our Committee in a number of articles has not specified details, whereas the Conference has asked us to consider the application of guiding principles. On this question we can answer that undoubtedly in our Recommendations principle and detail have been put together. It is essential that we realise with regard to certain principles what they mean in exact wording.

The transition from childhood to manhood, to take especially the employment of young people, is a critical period; not only are ideals formed, but health may be broken and mental ability lowered. We have therefore stressed the necessity for a good education, without entailing labour at the same time, which prevents youth from securing the full advantages of the educational facilities available. We proclaim the high value for youth of growing up under these conditions and not having to concern themselves with earning money for their families in order to ensure a high standard of living.

Time will show the way the different Governments have applied the principles laid down in our Recommendations. We are fully aware that these principles will have economic consequences for the Governments themselves, as well as in the field of production for the groups of workers employed. We believe that we have to accept these consequences in order to achieve the higher ideal, that every human being can be raised in freedom and dignity.

In presenting to you the results of our deliberations, we are fully aware of the imperfections of this report. We know, however, that what has been achieved has been done in a spirit of serious consideration and devotion. Our Committee has been guided by what is at once desirable and practicable. We are confident that our work will be accepted by you in this spirit and approved. We trust that your adoption of this report will prove a great contribution to the creation of a better world.

Mr. TAUSSIG (Government adviser, United States of America)—On behalf of my Government I will speak briefly in support of the Proposed Recommendation concerning Minimum Standards of Social Policy in Dependent Territories.

First, I would like to say a few words about the Committee on Dependent Territories, on which I had the honour to represent the Government of the United States. It was an expert committee, a representative committee, a committee with a single purpose—that of raising the standards of the workers of dependent areas.

Idealism and realism were so well balanced in the deliberations of the Committee that it has produced a document for your approval that can be translated into action in a relatively short time. The integrity of the Committee is attested by the report itself, which is notable for the absence of ambiguity, vagueness and empty words. Its high purpose, practicality and preventive measures, and, on the other hand, to eliminate progressively those existing practices and abuses which may be regarded as impediments to human progress. Particularly worthy of note is the emphasis which the report puts on the association of the dependent peoples themselves in the framing and execution of measures of social progress. Such participation is to be effected where appropriate and possible through their own elected representatives. This is, of course, the most certain road to progress and freedom. Through such participation in measures directly affecting their own welfare, the dependent peoples will gain that experience, understanding, self-reliance and leadership which are essential for self-government. It is imperative that the fullest opportunity for self-improvement be afforded the dependent peoples, in order that they may through their own effort assume their place as free and self-governing members of the world community.

This is consistent with the affirmations and actions of the progressive colonial powers represented at this Conference, who have in recent years been broadening the franchise and extending political participation in dependent territories. Liberalisation of the political régime usually leads to improved conditions for labour.

The sound principles contained in this report provide a basis for what might well become a charter for dependent peoples. They have been carefully weighed in terms of their applicability to depen-
dent territories and their peoples, their practicality and their reasonableness. It is of great significance that they have found ready acceptance among the diverse interests represented on the Committee.

These principles are of most vital concern to the future welfare of many scores of millions of dependent peoples who have borne the burdens and the scourge of war with loyalty and fortitude. It is to be hoped that they may be accepted by this Conference in the form of a Recommendation.

Let it be remembered that thousands of young men from the colonies and territories are fighting and dying in this war, not as mercenaries, but as willing participants in a war against enslavement. They must be assured that they too will taste the sweet fruit of victory.

Mr. MURRAY (Employers' adviser, British Empire)—I have to say that I am surprised at the way in which it is proposed to deal with a matter that affects the people of the dependent territories. These people have every right to know what is proposed, however excellent it may be, before a decision is taken and the proposal finalised in a Recommendation.

By adopting the Recommendation after a single discussion, we are in effect denying a fundamental principle of the I.L.O.—the principle which stands for self-government in the dependent territories.

My second objection to the procedure is the fact that the report has been hastily drawn up, and that it therefore lacks balance. On examining the Office's report, the Committee found that it had not time to deal with all the articles completely. At first they were fully examined; then as time got away, it was found necessary to curtail the examination; and, finally, some had to be put back for double discussion. The result is that we have before us an incomplete and somewhat ill-balanced document. I cannot agree that speed is a matter of urgency. Many speakers have paid tribute to the increased tempo of progress in the dependent territories. That is an indisputable fact, and is instanced by the recent international conferences on questions affecting dependent territories, in Barbados, in the West Indies, and in Brazzaville. I feel that I must here and now register my view that the peoples of the dependent territories must be consulted before recommendations are finalised.

I have helped to the best of my ability in drawing up the report which is now before you. My view is that this report should go before the Governments and representatives of the people in dependent territories before it is finalised. Part of it is going back for second discussion. My view is that we should send what we have done, together with such part of it as we have put in front of Governments, and asking them to give the closest attention to the recommendations enclosed in it—using the word “recommendations” in its generally accepted sense, and not in the sense used in the I.L.O.—with a view to finalising the whole thing quite definitely at the next general session of the Conference; so that we will have, when that is done, a properly balanced, fully considered charter on social welfare in the dependent territories.

I have to say that I am not prepared to be a party to putting the thing through in this way, without having given the peoples of the dependent territories any opportunity of looking into resolutions and expressing their views. If it is proceeded with as it is, I must on principle abstain from voting.

Mr. MEHTA (Workers' delegate, India)—I rise to support the Recommendation which has been placed before you by the Committee on Social Policy in Dependent Territories. I have given notice of an amendment which is not in any sense hostile to the Recommendation, but only supplementing it. I shall move that amendment in due course.

Just now, I am only speaking generally on this report, and in doing so I shall point out that these dependent territories have a more vital significance than as understood in the I.L.O. Before doing so, I wish to join Mr. Taussig in paying my tribute to the Committee, its Chairman, and its Reporter. They have done splendid work, and we could not have had a better Chairman or a better Reporter for a committee. The Committee itself, composed of diverse elements, on a matter which it was difficult to dissociate from politics, did its work in splendid goodwill. At the end of it we have achieved something. Whatever has been done was worth doing. That does not mean that much does not remain to be done. In fact, much more remains to be done—very much more than was done in the twenty sittings that the Committee held.

My feeling is that by separating the dependent territories from the world in general, we are accepting a double standard for humanity—one standard for free countries and a lower standard for countries which may not be free. That is, in itself, a stereotyping of imperialism; it is a perpetuation of a double standard for humanity. It is, in a sense, a condemnation of the imperialist countries.

But I am not speaking on that point just now. I am inviting your attention to the resolutions of which I have given notice. For want of time, we could not dispose of those resolutions and therefore it is recommended that they should be sent to Governments in the form of questionnaires in due course.

One of those resolutions of which I have given notice, and which could not be discussed, refers to closer association between the International Labour Organisation and the dependent territories. It suggests that even while we are accepting
this Recommendation on the dependent territories, something further remains to be done, even in form. That is, there should be delegates of Governments, employers and workers from those territories themselves, coming here and joining in the deliberation, in free discussion, enlightening us on the questions which are today exercising their minds in those territories. Today, out of a 70 million colonial population of the British Empire, there is only one adviser, my friend, Mr. Eesa, who was very valuable to us in the Committee. It would be much better if the Governments of those dependent territories could send a tripartite delegation consisting of representatives of their local Governments, local industrialists, and local working class organisations.

That was one of the resolutions which I brought, but for want of time it could not be discussed and could not be disposed of. I have no objection to its being further considered, and I do hope that when it is considered by the Governments concerned they will accede to the request made in my resolution.

The second resolution goes much further. It will astonish you when I tell you that since the inauguration of the International Labour Office, we have left out of account 93 million human beings existing on the surface of this world. They will simply never come here, never be represented here. Nobody has thought of them. You do not even know that they exist. And yet, they are more numerous, by 22 million, than the whole of the colonial population of the British Empire. Seventy-one million is the population of the colonial empire of Great Britain, but the group to which I am referring is 93 million. They are not represented here. You do not even know that there is a place where their voice could be represented. I refer to the Indian population in the Indian States, which are in India, but not part of British India.

Perhaps you know for the first time that we have two Indias—one which is called British India, and the other which is called Indian India. That Indian India is not here. It comprises one third of the surface of India, and a little less than one fourth of the population. That population is 93 millions.

The British Indian delegation consisting of my friend Sir Samuel Rungenadhan, my friend Mr. Prior, my friend Mr. Mulherkar, and my friend myself—we do not represent them. We are a British Indian delegation. The delegation from those 93 million has never come; it has no right to come. I am pleading for them.

They are under Indian Princes who are the feudatories of the British Crown. They are not under the Government of India. I am pleading for you to note this constitutional distinction. Those 93 million are not under the British Indian Government; the Government of India do not represent them. They do not even claim to represent them. They would be brushed aside if they ever tried to represent them. These people are not represented here. The British Crown and not the Government of India are in control of nearly 600 Princes. In this Recommendation, those who are in power in dependent territories are described as competent authorities. But these 600 princes are not even competent. Most of them spend their time largely in hunting, playing polo, going to England, having their pleasures; and the British Crown never disturbs them, so long as they confine their activities to these limitations. For the rest, they can be called to account for misrule by the authority of the Crown.

Now, in order that there will be no feeling that I am saying something which is exaggerated, I shall quote a few lines from one of the highest authorities:

We have also to take account (referring to India) of another large political section of India in the shape of the Ruling Princes. They are the rulers of the 562 Indian States which do not form part of British India. These Indian States cover one third of the surface and one fifth of the people of India. Their subjects number 92,000,000, and their peoples are not British subjects, but their rulers acknowledge the general overlordship of the British Crown, with which their relations are fixed by a series of individual treaties.

Who says this? Not any political agitator; not any workers' demagogue; but Lord Halifax, the British Ambassador to the United States. He admits that these people are not represented here. I am pleading for them. I have come to say that with these dependent territories you might consider the fate of these 93 million. Today they are international orphans, so far as their working conditions are concerned. You ought to bring them within this scope, in order that they may know for the first time what is condemned in this Recommendation as forced labour—forced labour is there among the 93 million, and they don't know it.

I hope, therefore, that this question will be considered very sympathetically when the matter comes up in due course; and I have allowed and agree that this matter should go for questionnaire to Governments, in order that all of you and the Governments should know what the constitutional position is, and that there should be no undue hurry to rush a proposition which comes to you for the first time.

This much I say, that today India is not strongly against the Nazis. The reason is that these populations have nothing to lose, nothing to gain; they are absolutely passive, because they don't know who are their masters. The tax-gatherer is the only person whom they know; it does not
matter whether the tax-gatherer wears a European hat or an Indian hat. They don’t know whose servant he is.

These 93 million people claim your sympathetic attention. I do hope by the time we meet again in this Conference, they will have been brought under some kind or other of international control by the combined and unanimous vote of this Organisation.

With these reservations, and with the amendment I shall presently move, I recommend this for your approval.

The PRESIDENT—I would still like some advice. I think we ought to determine some procedure with regard to the moving of amendments.

Could I point out one other thing, too? This Recommendation is in part like the one we discussed on the first and second reports of the Committee on Social Security. It is not in order, as far as the Standing Orders are concerned. You can put it in order, if you so desire. You can put this resolution and Recommendation in order by someone moving that, in so far as the Standing Orders are concerned. You can comply with the Standing Orders, the Standing Orders shall be suspended.

Mr. HALLSWORTH (Workers’ delegate, British Empire)—I will move it.

Mr. MEHTA (Workers’ delegate, India)—I second the motion.

The PRESIDENT—It is proposed and seconded that in so far as the Standing Orders of the Conference are not complied with in the adoption of the report, the Standing Orders shall be suspended to enable the report to be considered and voted on.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The proposal is adopted by 57 to 6.)

Mr. HALLSWORTH (Workers’ delegate, British Empire)—Mr. President, I have very great pleasure as the British workers’ delegate in supporting the report now before you on dependent territories, and in so doing, I wish briefly to make one or two observations on what Mr. Murray said.

He said that to proceed at this Conference with the making of a Recommendation denied the principle upon which the Organisation worked and also denied the principle of self-government in the dependent territories. He said the Committee had not time to deal with all the articles completely; that some had to be put back for a double-discussion procedure; and that the result was an ill-balanced document, winding up with the suggestion that the whole of it should go to the next session of the Conference.

Well, I would say that after the very patient work done in that Committee, it would be wrong to say that the document which has now come before us is an ill-balanced document. It is quite true that some of the things that have been referred for a second discussion could not be properly handled at this Conference, but that is no reason to deny the right to the people assembled here, who have come from all over the world to do a real duty at this time, to see some of the results of the Committee secured in this Conference. But as to denying the principle of self-government, I fail to see the validity of Mr. Murray’s argument. If we had real self-government on the part of peoples in dependent territories, we would not be discussing the question of dependent territories, because the people would be governing themselves. Therefore, until that time of real self-government has been reached, we have got to assist those peoples in the dependent territories to attain the goal of self-government, and we cannot do better in that direction than to support what is now before us.

But I have a very good reason for supporting the Recommendation and the other texts now before the Conference. The British Trades Union Congress has for some years taken a deepening interest in the welfare of colonial peoples. It has shown that interest by setting up a special advisory committee to its General Council, entitled the Colonial Labour Advisory Committee. That Committee’s job is to see that there shall be continued watchfulness on colonial affairs, and to advise from time to time on the course of action likely to help the peoples in the colonies increasingly to progress towards real self-government. It has shown its interest in colonial affairs in another way, because it is represented by myself and another member of the British trade union movement on the Colonial Labour Advisory Committee of the Government Colonial Office, and, in fact, Mr. Murray serves on that Committee; so does Sir John Forbes Watson, so does Sir Frederick Leggett. And I have not discovered so far that we have had any greater differences of opinion there. So when Mr. Murray comes to this rostrum and asks you to pause before you do anything effective, he is really belying the work he has done on the Colonial Advisory Committee for the British Empire.

We have shown our interest in another way. We have as one of my advisers to this Conference a direct representative of colonial peoples—Mr. Esua, and we have made a further contribution representing British workers, because, in the person of Mr. George Thomson, we have made our fullest contribution to the work that has been done on the Committee, and I have it on all hands that the work that Mr. Thomson has done on this Committee that was set up by this Conference has been of outstanding benefit and has shown
real devotion to the cause of peoples of colonial territories.

But I want to support the Recommendation now before us in the accompanying text, because I believe that if our words expressed in declarations and resolutions are to have any real meaning to peoples in the colonial territories we have got to show that they are not mere words. I could not go back to Great Britain and say that we had neglected any possible step for helping the colonial peoples.

There are about forty-five million people in Great Britain, but there are sixty million people in the British colonial empire, and those people are looking to this International Labour Conference as they are looking to the British Trades Union Congress to give them every possible help day by day and not to delay the progress towards that real self-government of which I have been speaking.

Now I come to Mr. Mehta's amendment. I quite realise, with Mr. Mehta, that the Recommendation ought to have some support by way of inspection, but there are differences of opinion as to whether the text of the amendment proposed by Mr. Mehta would have real value. It is not definitive; it is not complete. And I would like to suggest, as an alternative to Mr. Mehta's amendment, that the original text of Article 44, in the Office's text, on page 100 of the report, paragraphs 1, 2 and 3, should be reinserted in the amendment, that paragraph 4 would be among the matters referred for the second-discussion procedure. Mr. Mehta, on the occasion of the second-discussion procedure, can also discuss the relevance of his own amendment, if in the meantime he is satisfied that the other proposals that may be made during the next twelve months really do not give him that satisfaction. It ought to be laid down in the Recommendation that the principles of labour inspection shall be laid down and established in the territories where they do not already exist, and that provision should be made for routine inspection, that the inspectors should be independent of the undertakings which are subject to their supervision and, above all, that the workers and their representatives should be afforded every facility for communicating freely with the inspectors.

I think that arising out of the deliberations in the Committee we ought to accept the text of the Recommendation, but I would like to ask the acceptance of my point that paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 of the original Article 44 should be reinstated, in order to give substance and direction to the terms of the Recommendation.

If I am allowed, I will move that the original text of Article 44, paragraphs 1, 2 and 3, be reinstated in the Recommendation.

The PRESIDENT—I would suggest that we cannot consider two amendments at the same time, but we will have to dis-

pose of Mr. Mehta's amendment, and Mr. Hallsworth may give notice that he proposes to move the amendment that he has just referred to, after Mr. Mehta's amendment has been dealt with.

Mr. HALLSWORTH (Workers' delegate, British Empire)—I give notice accordingly.

Interpretation: Mr. DELÉLE-DESLOGES (Government delegate, France)—Before dealing with the subject on which I have requested to speak, I should like to emphasise here publicly how much the Committee on Dependent Territories owes to our Chairman, Mr. Honig, and to the competence and authority with which he conducted our proceedings. He contributed very largely to maintaining the community of views and the desire to reach an agreement which characterised our proceedings. I am sure that I interpret the views of the whole Committee in paying a tribute to him here and expressing our gratitude, and in particular, the gratitude of the French delegation for the sympathy and the goodwill which he showed towards them.

May I say, too, that I am also glad to pay tribute on behalf of my own Government and of the Belgian Government to our Reporter, Mr. Wauters, and to thank him for his valuable contributions to the work of the Committee.

The general principles which the Atlantic Charter expresses with such force and appreciation of the needs of the world were reaffirmed during the proceedings of our Committee when the Office's proposals were under discussion. To these principles, which no free man would think of denying, France naturally gives her full-hearted adherence. Of course I do not claim this as a special merit for us. On the contrary, I have great pleasure in acknowledging the great help they gave to the Committee, with a lively sense of practical possibilities and experience.

Finally, I would also like to say how valuable were the suggestions of the representatives of the Latin American countries. It was thanks to the general goodwill and a general endeavour to reach mutual understanding that we managed to reach so great a unanimity of view on the proposals, which seems to me to be a happy augury for the resurrection of a renewed and more fraternal world. This agreement was especially noteworthy between countries like Great Britain, Belgium, France and the Netherlands, which have a responsibility for dependent territories. It gives particular force to our text, because international opinion thus stated is nothing more nor less than an expression of the universal conscience.

I have just said that France adheres un-
reservedly to these principles; I should rather have said that we were in fact fully attached to them even before they were formulated. Although this has been stressed already from this platform, I think it is not unnecessary for me to emphasise here that my country had already advanced far along the path of progress without waiting for decisions by the Conference. With regard to what I will call social hygiene, France entirely supports the principle of the total suppression of opium eating in all French Territories in the Far East, and I should like to point to the Declaration of my Government of 2 December 1943 concerning social progress in Indo-China, a declaration which is in the same sense as that made by Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands with regard to the Netherlands Indies.

With regard to labour organisation our position is equally clear. Conscious of the importance of this question and of the need of making all protective measures as effective as possible, the French Committee of Liberation has already set up in Algiers, in accordance with the recommendations of the Brazzaville Conference, a committee which is at present at work and which is reorganising labour inspection on a broad basis in order to provide more effective permanent supervision and a body of qualified officers with wide powers in accordance with the final texts which this Philadelphia Conference is expected to produce. The development of vocational training and trade union organisation are also among its functions.

I cannot better show the complete agreement between my own Government's views and intentions and the proposals of the International Labour Organisation than by informing you of the principles adopted at Brazzaville. But as I wish to be as brief as possible, I will confine myself to the essential points which suffice to illustrate the French colonial doctrine and programme of action.

The first point in the programme asserts that social aims must prevail over economic aims. France intends to subordinate her colonial activities to the development of the colonial peoples, and makes it a point of honour as well as interest to secure genuine colonial prosperity. The aim of our colonial economic policy must be to develop possibilities of production and enrich our overseas territories with a view to providing a better life for the Natives by raising their standard of living.

With regard to labour standards, the Brazzaville Conference affirmed that although the war effort may temporarily require the maintenance of forced labour, freedom of work must be re-established within a maximum of five years. It stated further that the re-establishment of a free labour market must be accompanied by an appreciable improvement in the material and moral conditions of the workers, who will find in increased wages, the
organisation of apprenticeship and the development of vocational training, with the attendant education in responsibility, the incentive to work as a means of satisfying his dignity and his needs.

Nothing could be more positive than this, and I think you will agree that we have gone farther than this present Conference, if not in substance, at least in the form of expression.

In connection with social hygiene and the need for collective prophylaxis which our Committee so rightly stressed in Article 37, the Brazzaville Conference recommended the fullest possible exchange of views between French and foreign medical authorities in Africa, and that the setting up in common of a permanent health office to facilitate the rapid transmission of epidemiological information and the working out of common sanitary and prophylactic methods for the whole of Africa should be proposed to the Governments concerned. You will note that both sets of proposals advocate international co-operation and preventive measures on a community scale, the only difference between them being that the Brazzaville Conference, consisting as it did of representatives of a single Government, was able to express itself in more direct and imperative terms.

With regard to the protection of women, the Brazzaville Conference pointed out that although the Native family is a factor of social stability with which it would be dangerous to interfere, it is possible and desirable to begin now to introduce the notion of freedom of marriage, which is essentially the freedom of woman. The prohibition of dowry and of fraudulent marriages or the trade in successive marriages should therefore receive the special personal attention of administrative officers, who should intervene with the object of shaping custom to conform with the freedom and dignity of woman. Polygamy should be combated by the administrative authorities in all possible ways, and monogamy should be encouraged, with a duly registered contract in every case including a clause providing for damages which would be operative in case of a divorce.

I could give many more examples to show France's determination to introduce all possible measures to improve the living conditions of the Native populations and of the workers in particular. But I have said enough to show that France is determined to do everything she can to ensure security for man, of whatever race, religion and colour, and to bestow on him the dignity which is his right. And I know that other colonial powers can boast of similar reforms.

In the presence of such a great measure of agreement, such sincerity, and such desire to achieve results, knowing that the enemy is on the alert to exploit our slightest weakness, and knowing also that we may disappoint the peoples of the dependent territories very bitterly if we neglect their problems, have we the right here to take up a waiting attitude? Can we consent to give only timid support to a resolution which will have no immediate effect? I do not think so, and I think you do not think so either.

Therefore ask you to approve the report which has been presented to you, and to support the adoption of the Recommendation.

Most Rev. HAAS (Workers' adviser, United States of America)—I have the honour to support the motion of Mr. Wauters, and, as a citizen of the United States, I do so with full consciousness of certain embarrassing facts. First, we in the United States have within our boundaries, and mind you, not in distant colonial lands, a tenth of our whole population to whom the other nine tenths of us deny in varying degrees the exercise of their full rights as human beings. The vast majority of us subject some 18,000,000 Negroes, endowed by Almighty God with an origin and destiny no less sacred than our own, to various forms of discrimination, all ending in the same result—that these oppressed people are treated as less than men and women.

I beg your indulgence to digress for only one moment to say that one indicated remedy for this intolerable condition within our country is Congressional action, establishing an agency which would assure, as a minimum, economic equality. Further, I am happy to say that growing sentiment manifests itself for the creation of such an agency—that is, a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee. To be sure, this is not a matter for I.L.O. action, and I mention it only to illustrate the awkward position in which a citizen of the United States finds himself when he supports any measure urging other nations than the United States to abolish such evils as forced labour in their territorial possessions.

Having said this, I feel free to rise to support the report of the Committee of which I am a member. In all frankness, the 46 Articles of the report affect primarily the nations with colonial possessions, or what are popularly called "the imperialist nations". I am not one of those who hold that imperialism has brought no benefits whatsoever to mankind. Nevertheless, however one may feel about imperialism, it cannot be denied that imperialism is endeavouring to put its house in order. Whether it is doing so because death is staring it in the face is something that need not be debated now. It is the fact that the countries with empires are making more and more effort to take the peoples of their dependencies into partnership with themselves, and to accord to them a greater and greater measure of their God-given prerogatives.

The 46 Articles of the Committee's re-
port fail considerably short of the ideal, notably in their failure to provide for inspection. I for one should like to see the Articles and the other paragraphs of the report much more forthright than they are. But while holding to the ideal, we must also be reasonably practical. And without saying any more I second the motion made by Mr. Wauters.

(The Conference adjourned at 1.10 p.m.)
### Delegates present at the Sitting

**United States of America:**
- Mr. Thomas
- Mr. McDavitt (substitute for Mr. Harriman)
- Mr. Watt

**Argentina Republic:**
- Mr. García Arias
- Mr. Palmieri

**Australia:**
- Mr. Beasley
- Mr. Barnard
- Mr. Clarey
- Mr. Beasley
- Mr. Barnard
- Mr. Clarey

**Belgium:**
- Mr. van Zeeland
- Mr. Wauters
- Mr. Joassart
- Mr. Rens

**Brazil:**
- Mr. Fontes
- Mr. de Regó Monteiro
- Mr. de Mattos Lima

**British Empire:**
- Mr. Tomlinson
- Mr. Lloyd (substitute for Sir Frederick Loggett)
- Mr. Ashurst (substitute for Sir John Forbes Watson)
- Mr. Hallsworth

**Canada:**
- Mr. Martin
- Mrs. Casselman (substitute for Mr. Clayton)
- Mr. Cygler
- Mr. Carlin (substitute for Mr. Bengough)

**Chile:**
- Mr. Bustos Lagos
- Mr. Velásquez Quiroga

**China:**
- Mr. Li Ping-heng
- Mr. Haich Cheng-fu
- Mr. Chu Hsu-eh-fan

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

**Czechoslovakia:**
- Mr. Stolz (substitute for Mr. Masaryk)
- Mr. Chenebaum
- Mr. Kosa

**Dominican Republic:**
- Mr. Pérez Guerrero

**Ecuador:**
- Mr. López Arévalo
- Mr. Torres Vera

**Egypt:**
- Mr. Radl
- Mr. El Sherif
- Mr. Hamada
- Mr. Soliman

**Ethiopia:**
- Mr. Tessema

**France:**
- Mr. Tixier
- Mr. Delèche-Desloges
- Mr. Antoine
- Mr. Laurent

**Greece:**
- Mr. Diamantopoulos
- Mr. Zarras
- Mr. Kulukundis

**Haiti:**
- Mr. Dartigue
- Mr. Thebaud

**India:**
- Sir Samuel Rungamadan
- Mr. Prior
- Mr. Mulherkar (substitute for Mr. Mahindra)
- Mr. Mehta

**Ireland:**
- Mr. Hughes (substitute for Mr. Brennan)

**Israel:**
- Mr. Krier
- Mr. Le Gallais

**Luxembourg:**
- Mr. Trujillo Guerra
- Mr. Cosio y Cosio (substitute for Mr. Santos Guajardo)
- Mr. Chapa
- Mr. Lombardo Telledo

**Mexico:**
- Mr. van den Tempel
- Mr. van Rhijn (substitute for Mr. Loudon)
- Mr. Warning
- Mr. Oldenbroek

**Netherlands:**
- Mr. Turner (substitute for Mr. Nash)
- Mr. Taylor
- Mr. Butland
- Mr. Allerby

**Norway:**
- Mr. Skaug (substitute for Mr. Hambro)
- Mr. Ordling
- Mr. Hagerup-Larsen (substitute for Mr. Dahl)
- Mr. Nordahl

**Peru:**
- Mr. Elguera
- Mr. Vidal
- Mr. Sabroso (substitute for Mr. Luna)

**Poland:**
- Mr. Stanczyk
- Mr. Faler
- Mr. Adamczyk

**Union of South Africa:**
- Mr. Andrews
- Mr. Brennan
- Mr. de Vries

**Sweden:**
- Mr. Ohlin
- Mr. Thorsen
- Mr. Wahlström (substitute for Mr. von Heidenstam)
- Mr. Osvald (substitute for Mr. Andersson)

**Switzerland:**
- Mr. Feer (substitute for Mr. Bruggmann)

**Turkey:**
- Mr. Gülek
- Mr. Esmer

**Uruguay:**
- Mr. Kühn Talay
- Mr. Fontains

**Venezuela:**
- Mr. Tinoos Rodil
- Mr. Pérez Guerrero

**Yugoslavia:**
- Mr. Soubotitch
- Mr. Bruer (substitute for Mr. Banac)
- Mr. Miloš

### Also present at the Sitting:
- Mr. Acosta (Paraguay)
SEVENTEENTH SITTING

Thursday, 11 May 1944, 3.05 p.m.

President: Mr. Nash

ADDRESS BY THE PARAGUAYAN OBSERVER

The PRESIDENT—With the permission of the Conference, I propose to ask the representative of the Government of Paraguay, Mr. Acosta, to address the Conference.

Interpretation: Dr. ACOSTA (President of the Department of Labour of Paraguay)—Before we leave this hall, the scene of so historic a meeting, both because of the matters discussed and of the persons who have taken part in the discussion, I want to thank the International Labour Organisation on behalf of my country for having so cordially invited me to attend the Conference, and also to take this opportunity of paying tribute to Dr. Shoenbaum for the assistance he gave my country in 1943 in organising the Institute for Social Security. At the same time, I would like to give you my impressions of this Conference, which I am attending for the first time, and on which so many men and peoples have set their hopes, not in official phraseology but in the simple, clear language of the people who are fighting for their prosperity and their liberty.

In the most remote parts of the world, this meeting of the States Members of the International Labour Organisation has rightly aroused unusual interest because the problems under consideration are the burning social and economic problems which most vitally affect nations and peoples in this stage of transition from war to peace, and in the even more difficult post-war period.

I believe that that interest and that faith have not been disappointed. Twenty-three days of fruitful work by highly qualified representatives of the United Nations and their associates have given proof of the unanimous desire to make effective the principles of social justice.

A common endeavour to find the most practical methods of bringing about better and juster conditions has been the inspiration of every speech and every committee and subcommittee of this Conference. I trust that these same sentiments will govern the action of men in the field of practical achievement, and that principles and declarations will not be divorced from the actual lives of the toilers. As a representative of a young generation, determined to bring the legislation of Paraguay up to modern standards, I shall take back to my country the views of this Conference expressing the supreme aspiration towards political freedom and economic democracy of the peoples represented here.

The PRESIDENT—I am sure that the Conference appreciates Dr. Acosta's statement and that I am expressing the sentiment of the Organisation and the Conference when I say that we have listened to what he has to say with pleasure, and that we hope that at another session we may welcome him as a delegate to the Conference, as a representative from Paraguay.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON DEPENDENT TERRITORIES: DISCUSSION (concluded)

The PRESIDENT—The discussion on the report on social policy in dependent territories will now continue.

Mr. TOMLINSON (Government delegate, British Empire)—At the opening of this Conference, the Chairman of the Governing Body, Mr. Carter Goodrich,
said that it gave us the opportunity of making a substantial contribution towards the improvement of the material and social condition of the peoples of dependent territories. That purpose has been kept steadily in view is clear, I think, from the documents which we are now considering.

We have, in the form of a Recommendation, a collection of guiding principles which, if they are adopted by the responsible Governments and effectively applied in their territories, will show the colonial peoples that we are not merely concerned to prevent abuses, but are anxious to make further positive contributions to their welfare and to give them the opportunity of that better life and those improved conditions for which they can rightly look.

Their expectations must not be disappointed, and they will not be disappointed if everyone plays an appropriate part in the tasks which lie ahead. Progress does not depend on Government alone. As I will attempt to show later, my Government has done a good deal and intends to do much more. But it is imperative, if dependent territories are to achieve new standards, that the efforts of Governments should be assisted energetically and steadily by active co-operation from employers and workers alike. Only by such joint efforts will it be possible to arrive at an accurate appreciation of the social and economic problems of the dependent territories, and, having appraised those problems, to devise programmes of future action to bring about improved conditions and improved standards of living.

The principle that dependent territories may often have to be provided with services that they cannot afford to maintain out of their own resources was recognised by the Government of the United Kingdom in 1939. The last word was marked by the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. It is worth recalling, if only as a mark of the faith which endured through those dark days, that that Act was passed in the summer of 1940, at what to us was the most critical stage of the war.

Shortages of expert advice, of labour, and, above all, of materials, have so far prevented the expenditure of more than a fraction of the moneys which Parliament then undertook to provide. In spite of these handicaps, the schemes of betterment already approved involved a total expenditure of about eight million pounds. I have no doubt at all that this figure will increase very rapidly indeed when men and materials become more readily available, and as soon as the colonies can relax their own great war effort, which has diverted much energy from constructive work.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies has made it clear that when the time comes for Parliament to review the figures of maximum expenditure under the Act of 1940 the possibility of increasing them will not be excluded.

Meanwhile, we are getting ahead everywhere as quickly as the handicaps of war permit, not only with the planning of an expanding policy, but with other activity in every social field in the dependent territories. In that planning, we are being aided, as Mr. Hallsworth said at the sixth sitting of this Conference and again this morning, by the best expert advice available to the United Kingdom Government. And there is no reason whatever to doubt the achievement, as conditions return to normal, of that rapid and substantial progress which is the avowed aim of our policy. Although under war conditions progress has been impeded, there are many directions in which a good deal has been accomplished. In the field of labour, for example, His Majesty's Government have ratified, and are giving effect to, the four major Conventions applicable to dependent territories. Over 500 labour laws have been passed since September 1939. Labour boards and committees, generally of a tripartite character, have been established in over twenty territories, and more than 500 trade unions are now recognised and being developed along sound lines, often with advice and assistance from officers who have been sent out from trade unions in the United Kingdom.

I hope I have said enough to show that the principles stated in the document now before us are exactly those by which the policy of His Majesty's Government in dependent territories is guided. And now that the right time has come to state the attitude of my Government towards a Recommendation on this subject, I am glad to be able to say that their vote will be given in favour of the adoption of the text that is before the Conference. The fact that we have reserved our position until this meeting of the Plenary Conference has been undertaken does not mean that we have remembered that we have the responsibility, once we approve a Recommendation, of persuading the competent authorities in more than forty dependent territories to take action to apply its provisions. It is and has been our invariable rule not to accept, without formal reservation clearly stated at the time, any Recommendation of which the practical application cannot be foreseen in at least a large number of British dependent territories, and it was the merest precaution on our part to make certain, by careful examination of the text, before we entered into a partial commitment of those territories, that its provisions were appropriate—appropriate to existing circumstances, in most if not all of the countries for which we are responsible.

Most of the matters covered by the Recommendation before you are within the jurisdiction and control of colonial Governments. If this Recommendation is approved—as I hope it will be at this Conference, it will be the immediate purpose of His Majesty's Government to invite those Governments to give effect to the
principles and standards embodied in the Recommendation and I have no doubt that in those few cases where the existing law or practice falls short of the new requirements, local Governments will be willing to re-examine the position carefully, and to adopt the new ideas with such slight modification or adaptation as may be needed in the light of local conditions.

I see from the minutes of the Committee which considered this question that its Chairman has stressed the view that these standards ought not to be regarded merely as 'recommendations', but as marking a spirit of increasing interest in the welfare of the people of dependent territories. With that view I entirely agree. This Recommendation is an objective statement of policy, not a piece of propaganda. In devising it no-one has had even remotely in view the effect it may have in countries now occupied by the Japanese. The Recommendation is, and should be treated as, a broad directive—a charter, if you wish—on colonial policy affecting all dependent territories everywhere and covering all matters with which the I.L.O. is concerned. We hope, of course, that news of this charter will reach our peoples now under Japanese oppression, and will be a great encouragement to them in its clear indication of the lines of labour and social policy that we intend to follow when we resume administration in those countries. But that is only an incidental advantage and should not be regarded as part of our purpose.

The Committee has noted with pleasure the inclusion among its members of several persons from the dependent territories. The direct association of the peoples of those territories in the work of the I.L.O. is certainly an important and most welcome development. It is one which, in my view, is the first point that I would like to make is that this Committee was more representative than one might think, because there were persons from dependent territories among its members. Another principle of fair play and of international relations that was very closely observed in this Committee was the usefulness of having people who are impartial, who can act, not as partisans, but as people who can form an independent judgment as they don't represent any of the parties concerned. I think that if I can tell you that the Governments—most of which were Governments with responsibility for dependent territories—chose the Government representatives of one of the countries that has no dependent territories as their member of the Drafting Committee, you will see that very democratic provision was made for a Committee that would represent every kind of point of view.

I would like to add, in the words that were used by one of our members in one of our sittings, that we are willing to abide by our record.

I would like to tell you something of the way our work went. In the first place, there was a remarkable sense of co-operation among the representatives of Governments, employers and workers in this Committee, which made it much easier for those like myself who represent dependent countries to work well with them for what we think were quite good results.

As our Chairman pointed out to you in his speech, if you will read the documents which we presented to you, the Recommendation that has come from this Committee, I think you will realise that our intentions were good and that we have made a beginning with a code of social welfare that, as our Chairman says, can be applied not only to dependent territories, but in some measure could be well applied to independent countries as well.

If you will look through our preamble, you will see that three points are emphasised in it. The points are: what has already been done for dependent terri-
tories by the countries responsible for them; what has been done by the I.L.O. for this purpose; and what has been set forth in the Atlantic Charter in the way of social welfare for all sorts of people.

One of the most remarkable and, to me, most interesting aspects of the Committee was the spontaneous and eloquent tribute that was paid to the countries that are responsible for dependent territories by workers' representatives who came from these territories.

Having drawn up the recommendations, we did more; we left an open door by which further developments and more measures of interest to the social welfare of people can be introduced later when the first have already been put into action. I do not see that we could have done much more than that. There is only one aspect of social welfare which we left uncovered, and we could not very well go into this, because it was outside our terms of reference. I refer to such progress as comes from technical development and from scientific progress. I would say that personally I am convinced that the more scientific progress there is and the more applied science, the more welfare there will be among people of dependent and also independent territories. Very often a new instrument like the aeroplane brings much more for the welfare of people than all theoretical discussions. We are in the habit, in the women's movement, of saying that the typewriter did more for women than all the eloquent speeches that women made themselves; and there is some truth in it.

I would like to conclude by saying that I heartily endorse the words with which our Chairman finished our deliberations, when he said that the day was soon coming when we should not be able to talk in terms of dependent territories and countries responsible for them and independent countries; but when we should have to talk of a group of interdependent countries in a free and happier world.

Mr. MEHTA (Workers' delegate, India)—Mr. President, I am sorry to occupy your time again, but I shall be as brief as possible. I had given notice of an amendment. Since Mr. Hallsworth declared his intention of moving the restoration of the Office text on this point of the draft Recommendation in this report, up to paragraph 3 thereof, I am quite content if this Conference approves his amendment. So far as the rest of my amendment and of the original text are concerned, I take it that this is covered by the appendix to the report, and will be included for consideration by Governments as would have been the case if I had not moved an amendment.

As I understand the position now, I hope that Mr. Hallsworth's amendment will be adopted by this Conference. The rest will go under paragraph 5 of the appendix. Subject to that, I think I should rest contented at this Conference, at least, and I propose to withdraw the rest of the amendment.

The PRESIDENT—May I state the position with regard to the report and the declared amendment, as I see them. The report is submitted by Dr. Wauters on behalf of the Committee on Dependent Territories. There was an amendment proposed by the workers' delegate from India, Mr. Mehta, and that amendment would have had the effect of introducing between Articles 44 and 45 of the report part of the original Recommendation as submitted in Report V. But in addition to the introduction of that Article 44 of Report V, Mr. Mehta proposed to insert two further paragraphs by his amendment. He now asks to withdraw his amendment. If you consent to this proposal, will be so withdrawn.

(The proposal is adopted.)

The PRESIDENT—Mr. Hallsworth's amendment is now before the meeting. It proposes that Clauses 1, 2 and 3 of Section 14, "Inspection and Safety", on page 65 of Report V shall be added to the Recommendation in the report on social policy in dependent territories.

Mr. HALLSWORTH (Workers' delegate, British Empire)—I do not wish to take up time by further remarks, but I merely wish to move that these particular paragraphs be inserted in the Recommendation at the appropriate place, and, secondly, to refer to the fact that Clause 4 in the original Article 44 will go to be considered along with the other matters in connection with the second discussion at the next Conference. You did not mention that, Mr. President, so I wanted to make it quite clear.

I therefore formally move the reinstatement of these three paragraphs, with the fourth paragraph going for further discussion.

The PRESIDENT—The Chairman of the Committee, having consulted other members, is quite willing to accept that addition to the report. Are you willing that that shall be added to the report?

(The proposal is approved.)

The PRESIDENT—Those words are added, without opposition. Now I will take the full report. I call on Mr. Wauters to reply to the discussion before putting the report to the vote.

Interpretation: Mr. WAUTERS (Government delegate, Belgium). Reporter of the Committee on Social Policy in Dependent Territories—I wish to reply very
rapidly to the Indian workers' delegate, to the members of the Committee, and to those who opposed the proposed Recommendation.

First, I would like to say to Mr. Murray how much we appreciated his intelligent co-operation in the course of our deliberations in the Committee. Mr. Murray expressed some anxiety concerning the unusual procedure which the Office used in preparing the reports that were submitted for our deliberations. I wish to assure him that this anxiety was shared by all of us, but Mr. Murray has too much experience not to know that we are in very exceptional circumstances and that in every realm ordinary procedure has been upset. If it had not been upset, God knows whether we would have been able to make so much progress on the road towards victory.

But in addition to this anxiety regarding procedure, which honours him and which we share with him, we have other things on our conscience. We must keep our promises, the many, many promises that we have made not only to white populations but also to other populations. When Mr. Murray says to us that we are not properly documented, I would like to appeal to his good sense and his judgment and again go through with him the text of this Recommendation, which sets forth general principles on which even he could not disagree, restates Conventions which have been specifically voted for the populations of dependent territories—Conventions which had been the object of the most careful examination and investigation—and includes the International Conventions concerning slavery and opium. When they realise all this, surely those who were against our Recommendation will change their minds.

In our Recommendation we have also incorporated provisions concerning the employment of children, young persons and women and concerning remuneration and health; and if those provisions have not been studied specifically with respect to dependent territories, they were abundantly studied in connection with Conventions for the protection of populations of metropolitan countries.

Mr. Murray used an argument some time ago which disturbed me considerably, when he said that we have not consulted the populations of the dependent territories. But the British workers' delegate answered him when he said that if these populations were not dependent we would not have to consider them today; if they had enough autonomy to decide their own social legislation, they would not be the subject of our discussion now. We ourselves in the Committee postponed discussion of those texts about which we were doubtful.

He also mentioned the Conferences of Barbados and Brazzaville. I do not know whether those who were in Barbados made a public statement on it, but I would be surprised, knowing those who took part in those Conferences, if their decisions did not go far beyond our present recommendations. As for the Brazzaville Conference, we have full documents concerning what was achieved there, and I know that our French friends went beyond what we are proposing now.

Finally, I would like to say to those who still hesitate to vote in favour of this generous and clear-sighted text: let those people think that good measures are no longer good if they are not taken in time. Good measures can become ineffective if they arrive too late. We must not let the legend that the democracies cannot act quickly and promptly go any further. Let us act well and act quickly!

The PRESIDENT—We will take a vote on the report with the inclusion of the amendment proposed by Mr. Hallsworth, and that means voting on the suspension of the Standing Orders to enable the vote to be taken on the report.

(A vote is taken by show of hands.)

The PRESIDENT—I am in great difficulty because I am told that it requires half the votes of the Conference to secure the adoption of a motion. I have not got half the votes of the members of the Conference. Does that mean that the delegates that are not voting—there are many more than half here—do not want the report adopted? That is for them to decide. The position is that I have 60 votes, and it requires 65 votes to be cast, either for or against. Unless there is further action by the Conference, it means that the report is not adopted. In accordance with the power conferred on me by Article 17 of the Standing Orders, which states that in case of doubt as to the result, the President may cause a record vote to be taken, I propose that a record vote be taken, so that we may know the will of the Conference.

Whilst we are waiting for the record vote to be taken, there are two parts of the report that can be considered now. They are references or orders, really, to the Conference to put certain items on the agenda for the next Conference.

I propose that the Committee's Report, you will find two resolutions. The first definitely orders the I.L.O. to put on the agenda for the next Conference the question of minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories. I propose to put that resolution to the meeting now.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The resolution is adopted by 72 votes to 0.)

The PRESIDENT—The next resolution is contained in the same report on the

1 See Third Part, Appendix VII.
same page. I shall now put this resolution to the vote.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The resolution is adopted by 77 votes to 0.)

The PRESIDENT—We shall now take the record vote on the whole report. In effect, the motion is for the suspension of the Standing Orders and the approval or otherwise of the report.

Record vote on the Report of the Committee on Dependent Territories

For (81).

United States of America:
Miss Perkins (G).
Mr. Thomas (G).
Mr. Harriman (E).
Mr. Watt (W).

Australia:
Mr. Beasley (G).
Mr. Barnard (G).
Mr. Clarey (W).

Belgium:
Mr. van Zeeland (G).
Mr. Wauters (G).
Mr. Rens (W).

Brazil:
Mr. Fontes (G).
Mr. de Rego Monteiro (G).
Mr. Vidal Leite Ribeiro (E).
Mr. de Mattos de Lima (W).

British Empire:
Mr. Tomlinson (G).
Sir Frederick Leggett (G).
Mr. Hallsworth (W).

Canada:
Mr. Martin (G).
Mr. Claxton (G).
Mr. Bengough (W).

Chile:
Mr. Bustos Lagos (G).
Mr. Gajardo Villarreal (G).
Mr. Díaz Salas (E).
Mr. Velásquez Quiroga (W).

China:
Mr. Li Ping-heng (G).
Mr. Hsieh Cheng-fu (G).
Mr. Chu Huieh-fan (W).

Cuba:
Mr. Silverio y Sainz (G).

Czechoslovakia:
Mr. Shoenbaum (G).

Dominican Republic:
Mr. Cocco (G).

Ecuador:
Mr. Hidalgo Gonzáles (G).
Mr. Torres Vera (W).

Egypt:
Mr. Radi (G).
Mr. El Sherif (G).
Mr. Hamada (E).
Mr. Soliman (W).

Ethiopia:
Mr. Tessema (G).

France:
Mr. Tixier (G).
Mr. Delédée-Desaloges (G).

Germany:
Mr. Thébaud (G).

Greece:
Mr. Diamantopoulos (G).
Mr. Zarras (G).
Mr. Kulukundis (E).

Haiti:
Mr. Chapa (E).

India:
Mr. Mahendra (E).
Mr. Mehta (W).

Indonesia:
Mr. Thébaud (G).

Ireland:
Mr. de Vries (W).

Luxembourg:
Mr. Krier (G).
Mr. Le Gallais (G).

Mexico:
Mr. Trujillo Gurria (G).
Mr. Santos Guajardo (G).
Mr. Chapa (E).

Netherlands:
Mr. van den Tempel (G).
Mr. Loudon (G).
Mr. Oldenbroek (W).

New Zealand:
Mr. Taylor (G).
Mr. Butland (E).
Mr. Allerby (W).

Peru:
Mr. Elguera (G).
Mr. Vidal (E).

Poland:
Mr. Stanieczyk (G).
Mr. Strukas (G).
Mr. Falter (E).
Mr. Adamczyk (W).

Portugal:
Mr. Bruggmann (G).

Russia:
Mr. Giilek (G).
Mr. Esmer (G).

Spain:
Mr. Pérez Guerrero (G).

Sweden:
Mr. Ohlin (G).
Mr. Thorson (G).
Mr. Anderson (W).

Turkey:
Mr. Gálej (G).
Mr. Esmer (G).

Uganda:
Mr. Kühn Talay (G).
Mr. Fontaine (G).

Union of South Africa:
Mr. de Vries (W).

Venezuela:
Mr. Pérez Guerrero (G).

Yougoslavia:
Mr. Soubbotitch (G).
Mr. Banata (E).
Mr. Milos (W).

Against (0).

The PRESIDENT—the suspension of the Standing Orders, the Report as submitted by Dr. Wauters including the amendment moved by Mr. Hallsworth, have been voted on, and the record vote shows 81 for, 13 abstentions, and no votes against. The Report as amended is adopted. It will now be referred to the Drafting Committee.
REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT: DISCUSSION

The PRESIDENT—We now propose to consider the report of the Committee on Employment.

MRS. BEYER (Government substitute adviser, United States of America), Reporter for the Committee on Employment— I have the honour to submit to the Conference the report of the Committee on Employment.

This Committee had a broad assignment, covering many subjects relating to the organisation of employment. Were it not for the excellent draft prepared by the Office as a basis for discussion and the unusual leadership displayed by our Chairman, it would have been impossible to have covered our assignment in the time allotted to us.

While there were numerous controversial issues before the Committee which led to lively debate, at all times the conferences displayed a good spirit and a real desire to harmonise their differences and get results.

Numerous amendments were submitted. Some were passed, others were eliminated. The series of recommendations now before you is the product of free discussion and a meeting of minds of twenty-two representatives each of employers and labour and thirty-three representatives of Governments. It gives me particular pleasure to advise you that this report is submitted to you in the form of Recommendations by unanimous vote of all three groups in your Committee. This augurs well for the acceptance of these forward-looking Recommendations in the various countries which have participated in the Conference.

Before proceeding with the discussion of the Committee's recommendations, I wish to express on behalf of your Committee appreciation for the work of our Chairman, Mr. Paul Martin. His skill as a presiding officer, his fairness and above all his good humour expedited our discussions and carried us through to a successful conclusion. On behalf of the Committee, I also wish to express our appreciation to the Office, not only for its excellent report but also for the wise leadership of the representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Waelbroeck, and his associates, and the able services of the translators and the secretaries.

The Committee recognised the importance of developing the policies and perfecting the machinery now for putting to work the millions of returning soldiers, the displaced war workers and the repatriated peoples without delay when peace comes. The problem is difficult, the complexities almost unlimited. Wartime manpower problems, however, have brought into relief the shortcomings of employment organisation in most countries, and have forced great progress in methods of making better use of our resources. This experience should be used to adjust our machinery now to meet the strains of the transition period. It was with this in mind that the Governing Body put this item on the agenda of this Conference. By exchange of experience and free discussion and evaluation of the methods suggested by the Office, we are placing before you today the results of our group thinking on the organisation of employment in the transition from war to peace, and certain proposals for strengthening the employment service and the national planning of public works.

At one of our first meetings the Committee agreed that the assignment did not cover the economic basis of full employment. However, it was clearly recognised that long-continued mass unemployment following the war would not only lead to the breakdown of even the most perfect machinery for bringing the worker and the job together. The Committee expressed its conviction that policies to assure full employment constituted an indispensable condition to the solution of the problems with which this Conference is faced.

There was also agreement that the Committee's recommendations, while immediately practicable in some countries, could not be applied for some time in the countries that have been overrun by the armies of the Axis Powers. My co-reporter, Mr. Aglion, will speak more particularly about this point. The Committee wishes me to express its confidence that the more fortunate nations will lend assistance in this task of reconstruction in liberated countries so that all nations may go forward together to peace and prosperity.

I shall not take up your time with a full-length review of the proposals which you will find spelled out in this document. You may be interested, however, in the range of topics covered and the general tenor of the conclusions arrived at by your Committee.

Our first and most extensive Recommendation, which deals with the many-sided question of the organisation of employment in the transition from war to peace, contains eleven general principles. It is proposed that each Government should collect advance information designed to give a picture regarding the workers who will be available upon demobilisation and the employment opportunities that will be open to them. This will hasten the reabsorption or redistribution of all persons who desire to work. Demobilisation of the armed forces and repatriation of prisoners of war and other displaced persons should be planned with the objective of assuring, on terms of complete fairness to individuals, maximum opportunities for satisfactory re-establishment in civil life. It is proposed that this assistance extended to persons thus returned to civil life should include rein-

2 See Third Part, Appendix VI.
statement in their former jobs, affording all possible opportunity for other suitable employment and for advancement on the basis of their qualifications, and financial aid where it is economically feasible for them to settle on the land or to undertake professional or other independent work.

As regards industrial demobilisation and reconversion programmes, it is proposed that these should aim at minimising unemployment in the transition period, and at facilitating the most rapid attainment of full employment for the production of needed goods and services. The Committee felt very strongly that industrial facilities and materials should not be destroyed or held out of use in the process so long as human needs remained unsatisfied. Contract cancellation and settlement procedures should take the employment factor into account, and advance information should be given of dismissals and layoffs. On the other hand, the Committee rejected as unsound the idea that war industries should be kept in operation until some other forms of employment became available.

Three sections are concerned with applications for work and for workers, vocational guidance and training and retraining programmes. It is proposed that the widest possible use of employment service facilities by employers seeking workers and by workers seeking employment should be encouraged by public authorities and by employers' and workers' organisations. Governments should endeavour to make vocational guidance facilities available to persons seeking work. Training and retraining programmes should be developed in order to meet the needs of those who will have to be reinstated in employment or provided with new jobs.

The principle that Governments in co-operation with employers' and workers' organisations should formulate a positive policy in regard to the location of industry and the development of economic activity, and should facilitate the necessary mobility of labour, was widely approved.

The need of better standards of education and health supervision for young persons, and for provision of the widest possible opportunities for acquiring skills for juveniles and young workers who were unable because of the war to undertake or to complete their training, is recognised. To meet their requirements the principle of complete equality of opportunity in post-war employment for men and women on the basis of their individual merit, skills and experience, and it is recommended that steps be taken to encourage the establishment of wage rates on the basis of job content without regard to sex.

It is proposed that disabled workers, whatever the origin of their disability, should be provided with full opportunities for rehabilitation, specialised vocational guidance, training and retraining and employment on useful work.

Finally, and this completes the first Recommendation presented to this Conference by the Committee on Employment, it is proposed that measures should be taken to regularise employment within particular industries and occupations most subject to fluctuations.

The Committee is also submitting two other Recommendations. The first of these deals with the functions of the employment service, which would acquire additional responsibilities in the demobilisation period under the terms of the previous Recommendation and which, in the opinion of the Committee, should be materially strengthened to meet the needs of a long-term policy of full employment.

The Recommendation provides that the employment service, in co-operation with other public and private bodies concerned, should ensure the best possible organisation of all types of employment as an integral part of the national programme for the full use of productive resources. To this end, the employment service and related agencies should be responsible for collecting and making available information concerning labour supply, employment opportunities, the skills required to do particular jobs, changes in skill requirements within the different industries, employment and unemployment trends, the regularisation of employment, the causes of unemployment, and other information of value in promoting full employment.

In addition, it is proposed that the employment service should, in a number of particulars, assist and co-operate with other public authorities operating in related fields. It should, for example, maintain close co-operation with authorities charged with responsibility for accelerating or slowing down public works in accordance with the current state of employment and unemployment.

The third Recommendation submitted by the Committee on Employment is concerned with the national planning of public works, and in the light of prospective post-war needs undertakes to lay down general principles, amplifying the Public Works Recommendation of 1937. It is now proposed that each Member Nation should prepare a long-term development programme which can be accelerated or slowed down in accordance with the employment situation in different parts of the country. It is further proposed that its execution be so timed as to have a stabilising effect on the national and local employment situation, that consideration be given in applying this policy to the particular skills available, and that the central authority should, at the earliest possible moment, in the interests of soldiers to be demobilised, indicate what financial support for public works they will provide to local jurisdictions.

The proposed Recommendation concerning financial provisions to meet short-term unemployment during the transition period was referred to the Committee on the fourth item on the agenda, since the
subject matter fell more particularly within its terms of reference.

Two resolutions are included in our report. The first draws attention to the I.L.O. Conventions and Recommendations bearing upon the organisation of employment in the transition period. It urges members who have not already done so to give consideration to their ratification or to making effective the provisions of such Conventions or Recommendations. The other deals with international public works and invites the Governing Body to call a meeting of the International Public Works Committee at the earliest opportunity.

On behalf of the Committee, I present this report and trust it will have the full approval of the Conference.

Interpretation: Mr. AGLION (Government Adviser, France), Reporter of the Committee on Employment—Allow me in my turn to express my gratitude to the Office which submitted to this Committee an excellent draft without which it would have been impossible in the short time at our disposal to frame the final text which is before you today.

The members of the Committee have asked me to thank more especially Mr. Paul Martin, who presided over our deliberations with such good humour and goodwill and authority. He succeeded in disposing speedily of minor matters so as to bring into their proper perspective all the different views on the most important questions. The Committee is also grateful to the Vice-Chairmen, to the representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Waelbroeck, to his collaborators, and to the capable interpreters.

Mrs. Clara Beyer has just presented a statement, remarkable for its brevity and clarity, of the discussions which have taken place. While she has given a clear and objective analysis of the questions dealt with in the Committee, it falls to me to speak more particularly on the importance of the task yet to be performed, and to show how it differs according to whether it is undertaken in free countries or in devastated countries.

I should like first of all to stress the fact that the report was adopted unanimously by the three groups, and that it is submitted to you in the form of a Recommendation. The Committee held eleven meetings, in the course of which it studied measures which should enable us to achieve full employment throughout the whole world in the shortest time. This question is one of the most important of those before the International Labour Organisation, and even in peacetime it would give rise to important economic and social problems. After the war and during the period of transition from war economy to peace economy these problems will assume a significance hitherto unknown.

Industrialised countries which have not known enemy invasion have considerably improved their equipment. They approach the problem with increased productivity and large stocks of raw materials. They will have to transform their factories and readapt their material. They may sometimes have to close factories in some regions which have been erected not for economic reasons but for strategic reasons. The workers in these war factories will have to be transferred to peace factories. These operations will be complicated by a considerable number of demobilised men who will be added to the workers seeking employment. For the industrial nations the essential problem will be to avoid unemployment resulting from excessively slow conversion of industry.

Agricultural countries which formerly imported manufactured products have also set up great industries. Their agriculture has developed enormously and they run the risk of finding themselves, when peace returns, in competition with parts of the world where production has been diverted for the benefit of the Axis. All these countries will try to maintain a high standard of living, full employment and high wages, and to find a market both for raw materials and for manufactured goods.

In the occupied countries the problem is different. Ten million prisoners of war who have somewhat forgotten their skill will return. They have been underfed, badly clothed, and generally neglected. More than eleven million workers have been deported. They have been forced to do dangerous and servile work. They have slaved in the war factories of Germany or have laboured under miserable conditions in the building of roads and fortifications. Prisons and concentration camps are full to overflowing with men whose health and physique have been wrecked by the ill-treatment to which they have been subjected. Countless young men at the height of their economic and industrial capacity who refused to work for the benefit of the Reich have left their trades to join resistance groups. They are fighting inside the Hitlerian fortress; they are the advance guard of the Allied armies of liberation.

In the strict economic sense, the peoples under occupation, just like the free peoples, are losing irreplaceable wealth—the best of their young men who die in the struggle. But their qualitative loss is also great. The supply of skilled workers is almost exhausted, and there is a process of tremendous retrogression owing to the lowering of physical standards and the loss of occupational skill.

The liberated countries will have to retrain an enormous mass of labourers before considering the possibility of making use of them. The technical and occupational retraining of all these workers will impose a considerable burden on Governments and on industries. At the moment
of liberation it will be necessary to create vocational schools, dispensaries and hospitals for the benefit of repatriated workers.

Measures have been urged to avoid unemployment in highly industrialised countries; but this unemployment will be of a purely ephemeral character arising from the difficulty of transferring workers from war industries to peace industries. It will not be an organic disease. But unemployment of a more serious character is to be feared in European countries which are in the throes of financial troubles, without means of transport, without equipment and without raw materials, and which have lost most of their commercial markets. These nations will be bowed down with enormous burdens imposed by the repatriation of prisoners and the needs of reconstruction.

In the free countries, in order to achieve full employment, it will be necessary for the Governments, in collaboration with organisations of workers and employers, to prepare a national programme with the object of utilising machines and transforming raw materials for new requirements. They will also have to organise employment services so as to distribute in an orderly manner the workers available among the jobs available. But in the liberated countries the employment services, however well organised, will be unable to utilise labour if there are no machines or raw materials. The action of the employment services will be conditioned by the possibility of replacing destroyed equipment and reconstituting exhausted stocks. The solution of the problem of employment in these countries depends on the promptitude and scope of international co-operation.

One of the greatest achievements of this Conference, in my opinion, will be that it has succeeded in drawing the attention of the authorities and public opinion to the urgent necessity of joining forces in helping to rehabilitate the countries destroyed by the war.

Mr. THOMAS (Government delegate, United States of America)—I am glad to rise to the support of the report by the Committee on the third item on the agenda. While I can add little that has not been said, I support the report of the Committee on the third item. I can note many actions which have already been taken by our Government, from which we can derive much satisfaction. For example, steps have already been taken and others are being taken almost daily to establish the terms on which war contracts may be terminated. In a war production job as large as the one we have, many contracts are being cancelled long before the end of the fighting can be foreseen. However, these contracts must be promptly replaced with contracts for other munitions and essential war materials.

If this process is to move smoothly and the working time of management and workers is not to be lost, the termination of one contract must be handled so as to be integrated with the next work to be done. Future cancellations, which will descend on us like a flood when the war is over, can be handled by the same methods and procedures now being provided for, if we are foresighted. Likewise, the integration and the resumption on a large scale of production of civilian goods are receiving detailed consideration, so that such action can be expedited when the time is ripe.

We can also take satisfaction in reviewing the legislation now pending before the Congress, which is in line with the recommendations of this Committee. Adequate provision is being made for war veterans, with regard to proper hospitalisation, wherever it may be necessary. Provision is being made for additional training for veterans; both vocational and professional training is being made possible, and financing is provided for that training. Provision is being made for loans for the purchase of homes and farms and the undertaking of small businesses. Special provision is being made for an employment service for veterans, and allowances similar to those provided by unemployment compensation are made available.

I mention these matters primarily to indicate how vital the subjects before us are. On the other hand, we can be chal-
lenged to more effective performance of this work by the ideals which are estab-
lished in this document. We do have a public employment service. However, at
the present time our labour markets are only loosely organised, and the employ-
ment offices, while important, are by no means the dominant factor in the labour
market. There is strong support for the improvement of the employment services
from the side of management as well as from the side of the workers.
Likewise, we are challenged to develop our public works programmes so that they
will be more effective instruments in improving living standards and in stabili-
sing employment.
On the technical side, the recommenda-
tions for the co-ordination of the collect-
ion of labour information strike a re-
sponsive chord in the hearts of staff mem-
ers of the United States Department of
Labor. We all know that our demands
on those who must supply information are
much too scattered. If we are to be really
effective, the data must be collected in a
more integrated fashion.
Finally, there is the supreme challenge of
the recommendation for full employ-
ment. We want, and we must insist, that
veterans should receive these services to
which they are entitled. But we are anx-
ious there should be equality of treatment
for men demobilised from the services
and those demobilised from war indus-
tries. We thought that the only way that
this could be accomplished is by the organ-
isation of our economy so that there will
be full employment for all those who want
work. This challenge is sufficient. I hope
we may be worthy of it.
The hope of high standards of living is
intimately related to the attainment of the
objective of full employment, whether we
are talking of the underemployment of
the small farmers of India or the suf-
fering associated with long depression in
the Western world.
The productive possibilities of full em-
ployment impress us most strikingly when we
recall that it was possible for the
Soviet Union to raise the standards of its
people by conscious effort. Unbelievable
improvement took place as Five Year
Plan succeeded Five Year Plan. Then
came the war. We discovered that the
Soviet Union had used the skill of its own
scientists, professional people, managers
and workers to bring about not only a
marked improvement in the standards of
living of its people, but in addition it had
created the apparent miracle of the Red
Army. The impossible had been done by
drawing on the world's technical know-
ledge and harnessing it to the full employ-
ment of its own people.
Since then we in the United States have
seen what full employment can do in our
own country. We have diverted a huge
proportion of our workers to the armed
services and to manufacturing the sinews of
war, and still we have maintained the
standards of our people with only minor
inconveniences. The possibilities of full
employment have been demonstrated by
war. We must show that we can use
these same possibilities during peace.

Mr. WARNING (Employers' delegate,
Netherlands)—It is with mixed feelings
that I stand here to address you—mixed
feelings for several reasons. On the one
hand, I feel very much of the knowledge
that those who would formerly have repre-
sented the employers of the Kingdom of the Nether-
lands. This privilege, however, is tragic-
ally overshadowed by the knowledge that
those who would formerly have repre-
sented the employers of the Kingdom of the Nether-
lands. You will no doubt realise that I
have of necessity to make this reserva-
tion. At the same time, however, I have
the sincerest hopes that I can convince
those whom I represent of the principles I
am about to offer and defend.
We from the occupied countries are faced
with the enormous task of recon-
struction and restoration before we can
again start from scratch and—as we all so
earnestly hope—continue to promote and
develop our social and economic activities.

When I say "we", I do not mean the em-
ployers but the population as a whole,
without any exception. It goes without
saying that a major part of this task will
have to be shouldered by the Government,
as far as necessary and advisable, I hope
in close co-operation and consultation
with the employers and the workers. Al-
though I mention the workers last, I want
make it quite clear that they in my
opinion definitely do not come in the last
place. On the contrary, as I see it, an
enormous part in this total problem of
necessity will depend on the workers, in
the first place. It is to them we have to
look more specially and specifically in the
whole problem of rehabilitation and re-
construction, for the restoration of all
that has been so ruthlessly destroyed by
the enemy, before we can hope to reach
the point where we may consider our-

selves ready for a fresh start from
scratch.

"Without trying to be unduly pessimistic,
but purely in an effort to be realistic, we
shall have to realise that we shall be com-
The employers. Each and every one of these groups of people represented in the nations of the world, in every respect amongst the nations of the world. In so doing, we shall have to realise that we shall have to rebuild a country, that, proud of and faithful to its traditions, will be prepared to carry out to the last its moral obligations to its people. Realising that conditions as we shall find them will require an all-out effort for rehabilitation, during which period every citizen without exception will have the moral and patriotic duty to give his best and as much of that as he physically can, it is not more than reasonable and logical that, even more so than in normal times, due, sincere and full attention be given to the interest of the workers on whom such a large proportion of this enormous task will rest.

The only way, as I see it, that this can be successfully accomplished, is to get thorough and as complete an understanding as possible amongst the three major groups of people represented in the nation—the Government, the workers, and the employers. Each and every one of these three groups will have to co-operate to the utmost in the endeavour for a united and co-ordinated effort to rebuild what has been destroyed. This can only be accomplished, in my opinion, by as complete and as sincere an understanding as possible of the plans, aims and desires of each of these three groups in the interest of all. Only by creating an atmosphere of mutual confidence and appreciation for each other's rights, each other's obligations and each other's responsibilities can this be accomplished successfully.

These essential factors for such cooperation can, in my opinion, only be established when the three groups I named have an open, objective and unbiased eye for each other's problems, difficulties, aims and desires. Mutual confidence and co-operation, however, will only then be possible if we succeed in rooting out suspicion and subjective preconceived ideas and opinions. This will be possible only when we can face each other as honest, sincere and *bona fide* coworkers to the same goal—the restoration and prosperity of the country as a whole.

I realise that all three groups will have to strive wholeheartedly to this end, and a grave responsibility lies with the heads of each of these three groups to try to establish equilibrium, without which *bona fide* and sincere co-operation will not be possible.

When we succeed in establishing what I sincerely hope is not too idealistic a goal for such a very realistic matter, of such vital importance, I am convinced that then and only then shall we have succeeded in solving the major problem in this transition from war to peace. I am convinced that this is the spirit so vitally needed and definitely essential to carry out successfully the principles laid down in the Recommendation on the third item of our agenda.

While on this subject, I should like to emphasise the necessity for focusing attention on the specific problem of unemployment of young persons—the youth of the now occupied countries—a problem which in my country of nine million inhabitants, with an average increase in population of nearly one hundred thousand annually, had its very special difficulties. This problem will present itself again in the transition period from war to peace.

We must realise that this war will have made a very deep and very special impression upon the youth of the nations. A large number among them had been face to face with unemployment before the war. They have, during this war, seen a materialisation of full employment, which seemed a problem impossible to solve in time of peace. They have seen an excess of available manpower rapidly changed into a definite shortage. Unemployment was substituted by forced labour, a form of slavery to fill existing shortages of manpower. The youth of the nations, having gone through this experience, will definitely not accept unemployment during times of peace. They will not accept an explanation that full employment is possible only in times of war. They will undoubtedly expect from their leaders—amongst whom the I.L.O. figures prominently—that measures shall be planned and taken which will prevent a return of unemployment after the war is over.

Another thing our youth will definitely not accept is that full employment cannot be successfully attained on account of lack of funds. They have experienced and learned the hard way that no war is stopped or prevented by lack of money. We have got to realise that the youth of these countries is the real hope of the future for all nations.

That is why, therefore, I support all possible measures that can and should be taken to solve this problem, also and especially for the younger generation.

When going home to our countries with the knowledge and experience gained at this Conference, we must realise that whatever we have discussed and decided here will have very little, if any, practical results if we are not all wholeheartedly prepared and pledged to create a spirit of true tripartite confidence and understanding, which is the basis of and the primary condition for a national co-operation and unity to create, maintain and develop a worthy place for our own countries amongst the nations of the world.

I, for one, am fully and wholeheartedly prepared to pledge myself to the principles...
which I have tried to impress upon you. I can but hope that you, my fellow delegates, in this Conference, will see fit to adopt them as yours and carry them out in your own home lands, for a better understanding and co-operation, both nationally and internationally.

Mr. LOW (Employers' adviser, British Empire)—I am pleased that the Employers' group can vote for this report and the Recommendations without any objections on merits. This item, "Organisation of Employment in the Transition from War to Peace", differs, we think, quite materially from items IV and V on the agenda, inasmuch as it has a very special urgency.

If this Conference is going to give guidance on the question of employment in the transition period, it must obviously do so before the war is won, so that the Member States can make their preparations and have them in working order when we get peace again. I think we all hope that the war will be over and won before there is another I.L.O. Conference.

We should have had a chance to consult our constituents, let them know what we were coming here to talk about, and to get from them their thoughts on the subject. After all, we are not plenipotentiaries here. We are representatives of our constituents who have the right to express their views before a democratic body of this kind.

Our action, therefore, in accepting these Recommendations is, I think, sufficient in itself to demonstrate that employers do not come here with obstructive motives. We have taken responsibility in this matter because it is so urgent, without reference to our constituents, and this is, I believe, an answer to some reflections on this Conference. I am sure the Conference will recognise the very constructive manner in which the Committee on Employment, under the able chairmanship of Mr. Paul Martin, has done its work.

I do not wish to refer to items IV and V on this agenda at all, except to say that in my view they were subjects which obviously might give ground for divergence of opinion amongst people, and therefore in many ways I think it is a very great pity that the Committee on Employment was not able to complete its work earlier, and perhaps report to this Conference first, because I think then a great deal of misunderstanding about the employers' attitude would never have arisen at all.

I dare say there are some phrases in the Recommendations before you which we might think could have been improved upon, but at an international conference one cannot always get one's will or one's own way any more than one can at a national conference. Anybody employers are not used to getting their own way.

I am very happy that in the Committee on Employment we were able to find forms or words dealing with principles to which, of course, everyone must subscribe, which made it possible for all of us to reach agreement on these Recommendations on a tripartite basis.

Interpretation: Dr. KÜHN TALAY (Government delegate, Uruguay)—In reading the report of the Committee on Employment I note that the amendment proposed by the Uruguayan delegation has not been dealt with in the Committee, possibly because the paragraph to which it related was omitted. I therefore think it desirable that the Conference should take note of this matter with a view to the incorporation of the amendment in the Recommendations proposed by the Committee, thus making a valuable contribution to international co-operation for the organisation of employment.

Essentially, the amendment is this: the Uruguayan Government proposes that, with a view to international co-operation, it would be very desirable that the Latin American countries should study the possibilities of receiving immigrants, preferably under suitable conditions, even, if necessary, with the assistance of the United Nations and other associated nations, such conditions to be co-ordinated with the possibilities and needs of each country.

The Conference will realise the importance of such collaboration on the part of countries in a position to offer it, for it would undoubtedly mitigate unemployment.

As regards Uruguay, we desire to express our intention to cooperate in the sense I have indicated, and we are ready to receive regular contingents of immigrants of any age and either sex, provided that they are qualified to do agricultural work, which is the work of most importance to us. It would help us to remedy our rural depopulation and prevent over-population of the towns.

We therefore suggest that this amendment should be considered now and incorporated in the draft Recommendation that the Committee on Employment is submitting to the Conference.

Mr. TOMLINSON (Government delegate, British Empire)—I come to the platform this afternoon proud of the fact that I have been a member of this Committee. I believe it has been the best committee that was set up by the Conference at this session, and I believe the interest in the problem of employment has been the paramount interest; and I not only believe it to have been the paramount interest in the Conference, but I believe it is the one subject that is of paramount interest amongst the peoples with whom we are most connected and whom we are considering.

I am glad that the Committee has presented a report which is practical and realistic, even though it is dealing with problems that are difficult and complex.
It sets out as an objective in the transition period the provision of full employment. Yesterday in this Conference there was a great deal of heat engendered over the question of social security, and social security was interpreted, in my opinion, in a very, very narrow sense. It was social security as a hospital measure, for when men and women have fallen on evil times.

I believe that true social security can be obtained only when you have full employment, and therefore the findings of this Committee and the putting into operation of the recommendations of this Committee are in my judgment the most important things that this Conference will decide and that the Governments and workers and employers represented here will do when they return home.

Now, in the first place the Recommendation suggests the necessity for the development of employment services, and the Reporter in opening suggested that the war had revealed to us something of the shortcomings of those services in some countries. Well, I stand here this afternoon and I want to say to this important Conference that had it not been for the organisation and development of our employment services in Great Britain, we should not have been present with you this afternoon. I believe it has only been possible to organise our country so that we could resist the menace of fascism because of the fact that we have an instrument which enables us to get the best out of our men and women, and in that organisation to bring into full play the advantages which a community such as ours can give.

When I tell you that in our employment service today, directly employed by the Government, there are no less than forty thousand civil servants, you will understand that it is an organisation that has been developed over the years. When I tell you that during the war we have registered for one purpose or another twenty-six million of our people, you will understand that it would have been impossible to have done that without a well organised employment service. I can tell you that the men in my country between 14 and 55 have all been registered, and in some instances for special purposes up to the age of 65, and that women from 14 to 50, and in some instances up to 55 and 60 are registered. Every individual in the country between those ages is registered, and we know what they are doing. Only by the organisation of an employment service has it been possible so to organise our country.

I want to say, and say this afternoon with some pride from this platform, that it had not been for the way in which the response has been made, particularly by our womenfolk, you would not have been complimenting our country and we should not have been here. I have heard suggestions made in committee that we were not really mindful of the efforts of our womenfolk in Great Britain; that we did not realise as we ought to realise what those women have done for us. Well, I want to say again with pride from this platform, that whatever you may think about the women of Britain, we who are responsible in the Government and we who know in the ranks of the workers what the women have done—we are second to none, to no other people anywhere in the world, in our admiration of our womenfolk, and that admiration has been and will be revealed in our attitude towards them when we get to the end of the struggle. That is why I am wholeheartedly supporting the suggestions that are contained in these Recommendations with regard to giving them that which is their due in the transition period from one stage, the stage of war, to the stage of peace.

We know there are going to be difficulties. You know there are going to be difficulties. Every country which is at war must realise those difficulties. Take it from me, the women of Britain are not anxious to take the places of the men. They are anxious to make way for them when they are ready to come back. Let nobody imagine that this cry of equality for women is a cry that comes from the woman who is anxious to displace the men. No, in a spirit, in a similar spirit that has been displayed in the making of the sacrifices, the problems which arise out of the transition from war to peace will have to be faced.

In the Recommendation, we show the way in which those problems can be faced. There is just one other aspect of this that I want to speak about, because I feel an urge to speak on it, and that is the problem of the disabled person. If there is any individual who is entitled to all the consideration that Governments can give, that workers can give, that employers can give, arising out of the war and in the course of the war—I say if there is any priority in consideration, that priority should be given to the disabled men and women who are the victims of the war itself.

We in our country have begun at any rate to think in terms of doing what is right by the disabled person. I am not proud of the part we played after 1918-1919 in our treatment of the disabled of the last war. I am not proud of the fact that in almost every country that was involved in the last world war, men, and women, too, were called upon to beg for a subsistence. We are determined at any rate that this shall not happen again.

Well, if it is not going to happen again, we have got to do something about it. Oh, it is not enough to give them charity. It is not enough to provide sufficient for them to live on. You have got to take the disabled and you have got to give them the benefit of medical science in order that, in spite of their disability, they will have an opportunity of coming back into a full economic life and being members of the
families to which they belong. That can be done.

I want to say, speaking from experience in my own country in the last two years, that it has been done. I have seen scores of men, men who had been written off as of no further use to society; I have seen men taken, rehabilitated, trained in a new job and set to work, and the look of satisfaction and the feeling of satisfaction which resulted from it was something that is worth more than all the plaudits of the crowd—not only one section of the disabled, but every section.

I feel today that there is no difficulty which cannot be overcome, no disability which needs to be regarded as hopeless. The strides that have been made in medical science and the way in which industrialists have co-operated with medical people in bringing to the assistance of the disabled their skill and their co-operation has rendered the word "impossible" meaningless. I have seen men who have been deprived of every limb fitted up with artificial limbs and taught a new job. I have seen men who were born blind and men who have gone blind, as a result of training during this war, come back to self-reliance, having been taught a new job, and they are giving their contribution to the war effort.

Therefore, I say, in the clauses that are before the Conference, dealing with the disabled, if only the Governments will take heed of them, if only the employers and the workers will assist and co-operate, we can do a great piece of real, valuable social work, so far as the disabled are concerned. Yes, and the experience that we have had has shown not only that it can be done, but that when it is done, it is of real economic value to the community itself. When the war broke out in Britain, we had 180,000 people on our employment exchanges who, committees had suggested, would no longer be able to work. They had been written off as un-recoverable, written off as useless. Last year, that 180,000 had been reduced to 18,000; 162,000 people who had been put on the shelf as no longer of any avail had been brought back into the family and had become economic producing units.

You can't afford to ignore that when you are dealing with the transition period. So I would suggest, in recommending these proposals to you, that you give special consideration to that which has been accomplished during the war, knowing that it can be accomplished when the war comes to an end. As somebody said in the Committee the other day—and I want this to sink into the minds of the workers, employers and Governments alike—if we can produce full employment in time of war, if we can produce full employment, use all our productive capacity for the purpose of killing each other, surely the same ingenuity, surely the same brains, surely the same organisation in the nation can build up not only a peace that is worth having, but a world that is worth living in as a consequence.

I suggest that we not only pass these Recommendations, but that we dedicate our lives to the carrying out of them, each in our own particular sphere.

Mr. Prior (Government delegate, India)—I have the greatest pleasure in supporting this Recommendation. I feel it is a little hard to have to speak just after the eloquent speech of Mr. Tomlinson. I wish I had had his force, and I wish I could speak as eloquently my support of this Recommendation.

We feel as strongly as he does, I, too, am proud to be a member of this Committee. I wish I could have been sitting in at both this Committee and the Social Security Committee the whole time, because I feel that social security and our employment problems are the matters which we have got first to deal with in India.

I am most grateful to the Committee for the manner in which they have drafted their report and their Recommendation. They have drafted it in the form of general principles and of suggestions.

The British Empire, the British Government, could probably accept every one of the general principles and the suggestions straight away. But had we been asked to accept as a Recommendation every one of the principles and the suggestions, we could not have done so. We are a country that is only just starting with an employment service. We started it during the war. We are just getting going, and we have an immense problem before us. We have got to train the staff. We have got to get the confidence of our employers and of our employees.

We have got to build that up. We intend to build that up. But until we have done so, we could not have accepted every one of the suggestions that are included in the draft Recommendation.

We are a country, too, which has a large agricultural population, only to some extent part-time employed. That, too, would have made it difficult for us to accept some of the suggestions.

But the principles in this Recommendation—and the principles contain all the meat of the matter—are so drafted that we can accept them all, and we can take steps to implement them all to the maximum extent that we are able. We have a long way to go in carrying out those principles, but with the co-operation of employers and workers, we can make progress, and I hope quick progress.

I am sure the Governments can count on that support, and with the help of that support can give effect to those principles. We recognise our responsibility for doing whatever is possible for our demobilised workers, whether demobilised from the army or discharged from war industry. We are planning towards that end. And
the Recommendation that I hope we shall pass today, will help us in that planning and will give us a goal at which to aim.

In our efforts we shall want also the cooperation of the eleven provinces and the States. Unemployment is a responsibility of our provincial Governments, and the execution of any legislative matters which the central Government may pass in this connection is also a problem of the provinces. But I feel confident that, although I am unable to speak on their behalf, they, too, would support this Recommendation. So I support, and support strongly, the passing of this Recommendation.

Mr. MARTIN (Government delegate, Canada), Chairman of the Committee on Employment—There is no point in my making any extended remarks at this juncture, except to say by way of résumé that the Committee is grateful to those of the Office, its officers, and translators who assisted so materially in rendering so efficient the working of this Committee.

As Mr. Tomlinson said, having in mind the terms of reference of the Committee, there was no committee of the Conference to whom had been assigned a more important responsibility. For, after all, the Committee’s deliberations were predicated upon two fundamental assumptions: the first, that policies to effect full employment are a sine qua non for the successful handling of the main terms of reference engaging this whole Conference; and, secondly, the recognition that the problem of full employment in terms of application will affect different countries in different ways.

All the nations assembled at this Conference can agree upon the principles and suggestions embodied in this report. The application of these principles, however, will require variation in various parts of the world.

In so far as the liberated areas are concerned, we recognise that the principles enunciated in the report cannot be given immediate application. But I think I may state on behalf of the Committee that there was engendered throughout our deliberations a deep understanding of the special problem that faces the countries now occupied by the enemy; and that while the application of full employment principles may not be as readily applied in those areas as in the more fortunate countries, there will be a disposition on the part of the more fortunate countries to assist in the reconstruction of those liberated areas, in terms of full employment for them as for the more fortunate countries.

But we must not lose sight of the one clear and indisputable fact in the discussion of this tremendous problem. There is, as Mr. Tomlinson has so well said, a demand in each country on the part of all people of all shades of political opinion, regardless of what their labels may be, that if we could during the war, with victory and justice as the spearhead and the encouragement, provide full employment for our people, then with equally powerful incentives in the days of peace, that must be possible when the days of war have passed.

But all of us at this international Conference, Mr. President, must not lose sight of the fact that full employment in my country—and I dare say that each delegate would say the same thing of full employment in his country—is dependent upon the fullest economic and political collaboration of all the nations of the world. If that cannot be done, if that cannot be assumed, then I dare say that full employment at home will be conceived at least in terms of limited capacities.

But I do suspect that the deliberations of this Conference, and certainly this Committee, were predicated upon the great assumption upon which not only human dignity but the peace of the world depends: that in determining the political side of the peace, there shall not be forgotten those important economic considerations which were, perhaps, forgotten twenty years ago, and which this time, we trust, will not be forgotten.

And so that we can have full employment, high levels of employment for our people in all the lands, our Governments represented here and represented at other Conferences must bring about, vis-a-vis one another, the fullest amount of collaboration, not only in political but also in economic terms. In that spirit, and in that spirit alone, we must go along in the building of a better world.

The PRESIDENT—That concludes the discussion on the report. I propose first to put to the vote the resolutions contained in the report.

The first resolution deals with previous decisions by the Conference.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The resolution is adopted by 78 votes to 0.)

The PRESIDENT—The resolution is adopted.

I will now put the second resolution to the vote.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The resolution is adopted by 77 votes to 0.)

The PRESIDENT—The resolution is carried.

To enable the Committee’s report to be adopted as a whole, I now require a motion for the suspension of the Standing Orders.

Mr. HALLSWORTH (Workers’ delegate, British Empire)—I move the suspension of the Standing Orders in order
that the Recommendation may be accepted at this session.

Mr. KRIER (Government delegate, Luxemburg)—I second the motion.

The PRESIDENT—It has been proposed and seconded that the Standing Orders be suspended so that the record vote may be taken with regard to these Recommendations, which in a normal way would require double discussion.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The motion is approved by 80 votes to 0.)

The PRESIDENT—The whole report will now come before the Conference. I propose that a record vote be taken.
Record vote on the report of the Committee on Employment

For (88)

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Against (0)

The PRESIDENT—The report is adopted by 88 votes in favour, no abstentions and no contrary votes. The Recommendations will now be referred to the Drafting Committee.

(The Conference adjourned at 6.15 p.m.)
Delegates present at the Sitting

United States of America:
- Mr. Goodrich (substitute for Miss Perkins)
- Mr. Thomas
- Mr. Harriman
- Mr. Watt

Argentina Republic:
- Mr. Garcia Arias
- Mr. Palmieri
- Mr. Lamuraglia

Australia:
- Mr. Beasley
- Mr. Barnard
- Mr. Clarey

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

Bolivia:
- Mr. Fajardo

Brazil:
- Mr. Fontes
- Mr. de Rego Monteiro
- Mr. Vidal Leite Ribeiro
- Mr. de Mattos Lima

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

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

Chile:
- Mr. Bustos Lagos
- Mr. Escobar Mandiola (substitute for Mr. Gajardo Villarreal)
- Mr. Díaz Salas
- Mr. Velázquez Quiroga

China:
- Mr. Li Ping-heng
- Mr. Hsieh Cheng-fu
- Mr. Li Ming
- Mr. Chu Hsueh-fan

Colombia:
- Mr. Nannetti

Costa Rica:
- Mr. Padilla Castro

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

Dominican Republic:
- Mr. Hernández Franco (substitute for Mr. Cocco)
- Mr. de Marchena
- Mr. Morales

Dominican Slovakian:
- Mr. Hyka (substitute for Mr. Masaryk)
- Mr. Shoember
- Mr. Kosina

Egypt:
- Mr. Radi
- Mr. El Sheriff
- Mr. Hamada
- Mr. Soliman

Ethiopia:
- Mr. Tessema

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

Greek:
- Mr. Diamantopoulos
- Mr. Zarras
- Mr. Kulukundis

Haiti:
- Mr. Thébaud

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

Ireland:
- Mr. Daftary

Iraq:
- Mr. Jawdat

Luxembourg:
- Mr. Krier
- Mr. Le Gallais

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

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

New Zealand:
- Mr. Taylor
- Mr. Butland
- Mr. Allerby

Norway:
- Mrs. Skard (substitute for Mr. Hambro)
- Mr. Ording
- Mr. Dahl
- Mr. Nordahl

Peru:
- Mr. Elguera
- Mr. Vidal
- Mr. Subravo (substitute for Mr. Luna)

Poland:
- Mr. Stanezyk
- Mr. Strakacz
- Mr. Falter
- Mr. Adamczyk

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

Sweden:
- Mr. Ohman
- Mr. Thorsson
- Mr. Walleström (substitute for Mr. von Heidenstam)
- Mr. Andersson

Switzerland:
- Mr. Peér (substitute for Mr. Bruggmann)

Uruguay:
- Mr. Köhn Talay
- Mr. Fontain

Venezuela:
- Mr. Tinoco Rodil
- Mr. Pérez Guerrero

Yugoslavia:
- Mr. Soubotech
- Mr. Bruder (substitute for Mr. Banac)
- Mr. Jellicic (substitute for Mr. Milos)

Also present at the Sitting:
- Mr. Acosta (Paraguay)
- Mr. Asguirsson (Iceland)
FOURTH REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

The PRESIDENT—I call upon Mr. van den Tempel, Chairman of the Credentials Committee, to present the fourth report of the Credentials Committee.

Dr. van den TEMPEL (Government delegate, Netherlands), Chairman of the Credentials Committee—I have the honour to submit to the Conference the fourth report, that is, the final report, of the Credentials Committee. This report, like the previous reports, was adopted unanimously by the Credentials Committee.

The PRESIDENT—The motion before the Conference is that the fourth report of the Credentials Committee be approved and adopted.

(The report is adopted.)

FIRST REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

The PRESIDENT—In the absence of the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, Mr. Trujillo Gurría, I ask Mr. Kirkaldy, Vice-Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, to present the first report of the Committee.

Mr. KIRKALDY (Employers’ adviser, British Empire), Vice-Chairman of the Resolutions Committee—As Vice-Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, I have the honour to present the first report of the Resolutions Committee.

This report refers to two resolutions, and as stated in the report, the Resolutions Committee submits the conclusions which it has reached in regard to these two resolutions. The Committee notes in the first place that these two resolutions were duly deposited in accordance with the conditions laid down in Article 14, paragraph 7, of the Standing Orders, in particular as regards the time limit.

Draft resolution concerning the action of federal States on Conventions and Recommendations.

Mr. KIRKALDY (Employers’ adviser, British Empire), Vice-Chairman of the Resolutions Committee—This resolution was presented by Mr. Bengough, the Canadian workers’ delegate.

The PRESIDENT—The motion is that the first resolution as submitted in the first report of the Resolutions Committee be approved and adopted.

Mr. KIRKALDY (Employers’ adviser, British Empire), Vice-Chairman of the Resolutions Committee—I venture to suggest that it is not quite a question of adopting the first resolution; it is a question, I think, of approving the report of the Resolutions Committee, so far as concerns the resolution concerning the action of federal States on Conventions and Recommendations.

(The relevant part of the report is adopted.)
 Draft resolution concerning the membership of Austria in the International Labour Organisation.

Mr. KIRKALDY (Employers' adviser, British Empire), Vice-Chairman of the Resolutions Committee—This resolution was submitted by the Government delegates of Czechoslovakia.

The PRESIDENT—The second resolution in the report of the Resolutions Committee presented by Mr. Kirkaldy is now before the Conference. Will the Czechoslovak Government delegation move the adoption of this resolution?

Mr. KOSINA (Workers' delegate, Czechoslovakia)—I move the adoption of the resolution.

Mr. STANCZYK (Government delegate, Poland)—I second the motion.

The PRESIDENT—If there is no opposition, I shall declare the resolution adopted.

(The resolution is adopted.)

DECLARATION BY THE DELEGATIONS OF THE OCCUPIED COUNTRIES OF EUROPE

The PRESIDENT—The next business of the Conference is the declaration by delegations from the occupied countries. I call on Mr. Tixier to read the declaration.

Interpretation: Mr. TIXIER (Government delegate, France)—As you know, the representatives of the occupied countries of Europe have held meetings, during which they have agreed on the text of a declaration which puts forward the special reconstruction problems of those countries. With the permission of the President, I will read you this declaration.

The delegates of the occupied countries of Europe represented at the Philadelphia Conference—that is, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Greece, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, and Yugoslavia,

Having taken note of the Declaration concerning the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation, the resolution concerning social provisions in the peace settlement, and the resolution concerning economic policies for the attainment of social objectives,

Consider it to be their duty to state their views on the special problems of the economic, financial and social reconstruction of the countries of Europe, once they have been liberated.

I

They desire to stress their complete agreement with the principles and social objectives that should prevail in the reorganisation of the world after the war, as set forth in the draft of the fundamental Declaration and in the resolutions before the Conference. In particular, they express their complete conviction that their respective countries will keep these principles and objectives closely in view in their economic policy, and will set as their essential aims the achievement of full employment, rising standards of living for the peoples, and social security. The social ideal that is their goal is thus the same as that which inspires all the members of the Conference, and they will devote all their efforts to its speedy realisation.

II

Unfortunately, by reason of the loss and destruction caused by the war, and of the systematic persecution, devastation and pillage resulting directly from the actions of the invader, the situation of the occupied countries at the actual moment of liberation will be one bristling with difficulties.

The problem will not merely be how to transform a war economy into a peace economy, but, rather, how to provide for full-scale reconstruction in both the economic and the social fields, and the conditions in which this work of almost total reconstruction must be undertaken will in themselves be particularly difficult.

We shall deliberately confine ourselves here to the economic and social fields. But we would briefly note that before all else, we must reconstruct the free political institutions that our countries formerly enjoyed, and amongst them all those based on the right of free association.

Without claiming to paint a complete picture here of the tragic situation in which the liberated countries will find themselves, we wish, however, to draw attention to certain aspects of the problems that they will have to face.

1. Famine, privation of all kinds, isolation, imprisonments, deportations, executions—these are the marks that the long years of occupation will leave. The population as a whole will be greatly weakened. Many of the prisoners, the deported and the refugees will return home with their health undermined. The ground will be prepared for the spread of epidemics. The first task, and the most urgent, will be to improve nutrition, to provide medical aid and to distribute medicaments.

It seems to all of us highly desirable that, beginning now, and with a view to safeguarding the future of the race, medical supplies and vitamins intended
for the children in occupied countries should be assembled for delivery to them, if possible immediately, and in any case, as soon as delivery can be made without the enemy’s obtaining any benefit therefrom.

2. Stocks are completely exhausted. We shall find these countries emptied of their substance. For a long time the essential needs of their populations will far exceed the available quantities of consumption goods.

3. The wear and tear on machines and materials, the exhaustion of reserves, the complete destruction of means of communication and transport, confiscations of all kinds, chaos in finance; currency and movable property, all the destruction of buildings, factories, mines and electric power stations due to the campaigns of invasion and to the deliberate policy of the invader faced with indomitable resistance—to all these will be added still further devastation in the course of the campaign of liberation. Under such conditions, the immediate possibilities of the production of goods will be considerably reduced.

4. Until the emergence of order out of chaos and the restoration of equilibrium between needs and means, as regards both capital goods and consumption goods, the Governments of the liberated countries will doubtless find themselves compelled to maintain or to introduce economic controls similar to those that the United Nations have had to impose on themselves to meet war needs.

5. The dislocation of the entire machinery of production and distribution—including the loss of foreign markets will of course render it for some considerable time still more difficult to ensure employment for all. Here there is a serious risk of extensive unemployment.

   And that is just the very time when the repatriated, the demobilised and the members of the resistance organisations will have to be reincorporated in economic life.

An immense effort will thus have to be made to approach the ideal of employment for all. A whole series of special provisional measures will doubtless be required pending a gradual return to less abnormal conditions.

III

The sooner these efforts of economic reconstruction are successful, the sooner will it be possible to achieve the social objectives defined by the Conference. The liberated countries are minded to undertake themselves, by their own efforts and under their own responsibilities, the great work of national reconstruction, which will require gigantic efforts in the fields of labour and finance, but they are aware of the parallel need for a concerted effort in the international domain. In this general effort, they will actively participate. They are justified in counting upon the full collaboration of countries less impoverished than they.

They are convinced that the international solidarity forged between the United Nations during the war will continue during the peace, and that the countries that have known neither occupation nor devastation will wish to give them priority in the supply of the essential consumption and capital goods required for their economic and social restoration.

The rapid restoration of the producing and consuming capacity of Europe is, moreover, indispensable to the return of the prosperity of the other countries of the world, and more especially to the prosperity of the great producers of raw materials, industrial products and agricultural produce.

In the general interest, international solidarity must be established both in the economic domain and in the financial domain with a view to the complete and speedy reconstruction of the occupied and devastated countries. To the United Nations falls the task of finding and applying the necessary measures for an equitable distribution of the costs of reconstruction after the war.

IV

Another danger threatens the occupied countries at the present time. The enemy, on the eve of his retreat or rout, may resort to the last extreme excesses in destroying without discrimination both life and wealth. In certain regions this threat has already materialised. The more extensive the destruction, the more difficult will be the reconstruction and the longer will the achievement of social conditions worthy of the resolutions of this Conference be delayed. A last warning to the invaders informing them categorically that the authors of such excesses will answer for them with their persons and with their property might lessen the danger that threatens. In the circumstances, such warning should be given without delay and with the high moral authority of all the nations gathered together at this Conference.

V

The peoples of Europe, at this moment bent under the yoke of the invader, will find in the solicitude of the Conference for their own special problems a measure of comfort and a guarantee that
the effective organisation of international solidarity will help them after the war to efface the marks of the tragedy that has weighed them down through these years of hardship.

The PRESIDENT—I call upon Miss Frances Perkins to move a motion on behalf of the United States Government delegation.

Miss PERKINS (Government delegate, United States of America)—There is no-one in this Conference who is not horrified by the sins that have been committed against fellow human beings, no-one who is not full of sympathy and sorrow for the victims of those sins. The day-by-day resistance of the brave peoples living in the shadow of the Axis aggressor is bringing the day of final victory nearer and nearer. We in the United States welcome the coming of the day when we can express our feeling of obligation to them more directly, in a great action that will bring freedom to the people of the occupied areas, in shipments of food and other essential supplies, to relieve as quickly as possible the needs of starving and suffering people in these areas, and particularly the needs of the children, who have been the greatest sufferers.

The urgency of their need for material for reconstruction is also appreciated, for the standard of living can be restored in those areas only by rebuilding essential productive resources that have been destroyed. Great international organisations like the I.L.O. that have a world consciousness and a world conscience should properly express the view that the fruits of expanding productive capacity throughout the world should accrue first and in as large a measure as practicable to restoring the lives of those who have suffered as the result of Axis aggression. And so, trusting in God for speedy relief of these, our friends and brothers, and hoping that the children may be the first to be benefitted and so saved, we are pleased to move that—

The Conference having taken note of the declaration made on behalf of the occupied countries:

(1) Expresses the conviction that the heroic resistance of the occupied countries is one of the essential factors in the struggle of the United Nations against the common enemy;

(2) Shares the preoccupations, anxieties and wishes expressed by the representatives of the occupied countries concerning the special difficulties with which they are confronted in their economic and social reconstruction;

(3) Welcomes the decisions already taken by the United Nations to heal the wounds caused by the war;

(4) Expresses the hope that the United Nations and the other members of the Conference will unite their efforts to promote in every way the economic and social recovery of all the countries sorely tried by enemy occupation and by the devastation due to the war;

(5) Asserts the determination of the International Labour Organisation to associate its endeavours with the concerted will of the oppressed nations for the purpose of rebuilding their social life according to principles of international solidarity and respect for the fundamental spiritual and human values.

The PRESIDENT—I call upon Sir Frederick Leggett on behalf of the British Empire Government delegation to second the resolution.

Sir Frederick LEGGETT (Government delegate, British Empire)—I have the honour to second the resolution proposed by Miss Perkins.

It is fitting that at this moment, when millions of United Nations soldiers and women are standing ready to sacrifice their lives to save and free those countries, when the people in those countries are enduring the maximum of persecution, that we in this Conference should show this manifestation of our sympathy and our will.

This resolution quite properly starts with a reference to the heroic resistance of the occupied countries, and we as human beings stand proud of the record of those countries in which men and women have endured, in circumstances which we can hardly imagine, torture, suffering, and death which we are bound to avenge. We in Great Britain look over to the shores of France and our hearts bleed at the suffering we know to be taking place, which we have been unable to stop. And we have now reached the moment when, whatever the sacrifice involved, we can go in and give that country and all the other countries of Europe back to their peoples.

We have heard a great deal in this Conference concerning the position of women. Has any greater crime ever been committed against women than in this war? And when, as is happening, we are met by propaganda (as we have been met by propaganda in this country since we have come to this Conference) that our hearts should be softened towards these murderers, we must not forget what they have done to women and we know that those women will not forget.

This resolution goes on to assure the occupied countries of the support of this Organisation. Whatever may be the form and principles of social recovery in due course, we know that these countries have to go through a period when they will need every possible assistance and help that every other country can give. These countries have been murdered. We have to deal with the murderers, and I hope
that there will be no such moral indifference over the next ten to fifteen years as will prevent us from dealing with those murderers, but in the meantime we in the rest of the world have to stand by those countries in order to see that their peoples are able, as soon as possible, to live a normal life.

But we know, and we grieve over it, that by the keeping of millions in Germany, by torture and cruelty, those countries have been weakened for the next one or two generations. It is one of the most filthy crimes that has been committed in the history of the world, and it is not only tomorrow, not only next year, it is for many, many years to come that we have all to stand together in order that this great centre of the world's population may take its place again in the world.

The declaration says that the speedy restoration of the production and consumption capacity of Europe is furthermore indispensable to the return of prosperity to the other countries of the world. This Organisation stands for the principle of international co-operation, and here is the greatest opportunity we have ever had for showing how that co-operation can be made effective.

I gladly second this resolution, and with it, we convey a message of encouragement to the heroes and heroines in the occupied countries. We ask them to stand by for but a short time longer, when we are coming to rescue them and make them well again.

The PRESIDENT—This is the one occasion on which every delegate could add something to that which has been said by Miss Perkins and Sir Frederick Leggett, but that is not what is wanted. The one thing that is more important than all else in connection with this particular resolution is that action in accord with the declaration should be taken by every delegate going back to his own home country when this Conference is over.

I now put to the Conference the resolution as moved by Miss Perkins on behalf of the United States Government delegates, and seconded by Sir Frederick Leggett on behalf of the British Empire delegates.

(The resolution is adopted.)

FIRST REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ITEMS I AND II*

The PRESIDENT—I now come to the next item on the agenda, which is the first report of the Committee on items I and II, which deals with the resolution on constitutional practice. I call upon Miss Miller, the Reporter of the Committee.

*See Third Part, Appendix V.

Miss MILLER (Government adviser, United States of America), Reporter of the Committee on Items I and II—On behalf of the Subcommittee on Constitutional Questions, I have the pleasure of moving three resolutions.

The first resolution concerns the Constitution and constitutional practice of the International Labour Organisation and its relationship with other international bodies. In the first place it provides for interim machinery supplementary to normal procedures for the transmission of communications where the ordinary channels present serious difficulties which block the work of the Organisation—this machinery to be used by the Governing Body when it decides that such interim procedure is necessary.

Second, it requests the Governing Body to begin work on regional and other special problems and to report to the next general session of the Conference what it has been able to plan and to set up for such special work.

Third, it provides that, during the period when a more permanent plan is being worked out, the Governing Body may and should deal with interim relations with new international organisations.

Fourth, it requests the Governing Body to appoint a committee to consider the future constitutional development of the Organisation, with a view to its long-term programme.

Fifth, it provides for a committee of the Governing Body with power to act, should that become necessary in the interim, on constitutional matters that relate to the relationship of the I.L.O. to other international bodies.

And, finally, it authorises the Governing Body to set the time and place of the next general Conference.

That is the first resolution.

The second is one concerning the international character of the responsibilities of the Director and staff of the International Labour Office, and reaffirms the desire of the Conference to have the Director and new staff members take an oath of allegiance and responsibility solely to the Organisation.

The third is a resolution concerning the holding of a regional conference of the countries of the Near and Middle East, which was submitted by His Excellency Mr. Ali Jawdat, Iraqi Government delegate. It invites the Governing Body to consider the possibility of an early conference of the countries of that area to take care of their special problems.

I move the adoption of these resolutions.

The PRESIDENT—The question is that the report as submitted by Miss Miller be received by the Conference. We will vote on that first and then deal with the resolutions.

(The report is adopted.)

The PRESIDENT—The motion now be-
fore the Conference, as moved by Miss Miller, is the resolution concerning the Constitution and constitutional practice of the I.L.O. and its relationship to other international bodies. Will someone second that resolution?

Mr. HALLSWORTH (Workers' delegate, British Empire)—I second it.

The PRESIDENT—It has been proposed and seconded that the resolution I have just referred to be approved and adopted by the Conference.

(The resolution is adopted.)

The PRESIDENT—The second resolution is a resolution concerning the international character of the responsibilities of the Director and staff of the International Labour Office. It is moved by Miss Miller. Will somebody second that resolution?

Mr. BARNARD (Government delegate, Australia)—I second it.

The PRESIDENT—The resolution has been moved and seconded.

(The resolution is adopted.)

The PRESIDENT—The third resolution concerns the holding of a regional conference of the countries of the Near and Middle East. The adoption of the resolution is moved by Miss Miller. Will someone second the motion?

Mr. HALLSWORTH (Workers' delegate of the British Empire)—I second the motion.

Mr. RADI (Government delegate, Egypt)—On behalf of the Egyptian delegation, I should like to support the proposal of the Netherlands workers' delegate.

The holding of such a conference will no doubt help to make a detailed study of the labour questions of this large area. The conditions of work of the labourers, whether working in industry or in agriculture, their social life and their economic conditions, necessitate special studies, which will be of great help to us in raising their standard of living.

Our country's aims, as well as the policy which she is pursuing, are directed towards combating poverty, ignorance and disease, and it will help us greatly if a regional conference is held and our specific problems are studied.

I therefore strongly support this resolution.

Dr. DAFTARY (Government delegate, Iran)—The Iran delegation wishes to support this resolution.

Mr. GÜLEK (Government delegate, Turkey)—On behalf of the Turkish delegation, I warmly support this proposal.

Mr. DIAMANTOPOULOS (Government delegate, Greece)—On behalf of the Greek delegation, I support the resolution.

Dr. SOUBBOTITCH (Government delegate, Yugoslavia)—I join in seconding the resolution on a Near East and Middle East regional conference.

The PRESIDENT—The resolution moved by Miss Miller and seconded by Mr. Hallsworth and the delegates of Egypt, Iran, Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia is now before you.

(The resolution is adopted.)

The PRESIDENT—I now call upon Dr. Fontes to present the report of the Subcommittee on Industrial Committees.

Interpretation: Dr. FONTES (Government delegate, Brazil), Reporter of the Committee on Items I and II—The Subcommittee on Industrial Committees proceeded to an examination of the form and constitution of these committees and of the relationship between them and the International Labour Organisation. Finally we adopted the resolution as proposed by the Netherlands workers' delegate.

This resolution proposes that the International Labour Office should take suitable action and that the Governing Body should consider the possibility of giving our proposals definite shape.

The PRESIDENT—The proposal is that the report on Industrial Committees be received, approved and adopted.

(The report is adopted.)

SECOND REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ITEMS I AND II

The PRESIDENT—Now we will take the next item on the agenda, which is the second report of the Committee on items I and II, containing the report of the Subcommittee on social policy in occupied Axis territories and the resolution on the protection of deported workers. I call on Mr. Stolz, the Chairman of the Subcommittee, to present the report.

Mr. STOLZ (Government adviser, Czechoslovakia), Reporter of the Committee on Items I and II—The Subcommittee examined these questions, including the very important one which concerns the millions of workers deported into Axis territory. We considered the means of restoring their rights and property, as well as those of the trade unions.

1 See Third Part, Appendix V.
On behalf of the majority of the Subcommittee and of the Committee as a whole, I would ask you to accept this report.

The PRESIDENT—The report as presented by Mr. Stolz is before you to be received.

(The report is adopted.)

The PRESIDENT—The resolution deals with measures for the protection of transferred foreign workers and of foreign workers' and employers' organisations. The resolution has been moved by Mr. Stolz. Will somebody second the resolution?

Mr. BARNARD (Government delegate, Australia)—I second it.

(The resolution is adopted.)

THIRD REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ITEMS I AND II

The PRESIDENT—The subject now before the Conference is the third report of the Committee on Items I and II, dealing with economic policies for the attainment of social objectives. Mr. Pérez Guerrero, the Chairman of the Subcommittee, will present the report.

The Australian Government delegation have given notice that they propose to move an amendment to the third report on items I and II.

Interpretation: Mr. Pérez Guerrero (Government delegate, Venezuela), Chairman of the Subcommittee on Items I and II—Mr. Hinrichs is the mover of this resolution. He asks me to put it before you. I would like to express my great appreciation to Mr. Hinrichs for his work in the Subcommittee, and my thanks to the members of the Secretariat of the Conference attached to the Subcommittee. As this resolution is of special interest because it is the first time that the International Labour Organisation has dealt with economic problems in connection with the realisation of social objectives, it is very important that we should achieve some results through an Organisation that comprises not only Government delegates, but also representatives of employers and workers.

If you look at the original text submitted by the Office and compare it with the new text, you will find that many valuable suggestions have been made by the members of the Committee. Our discussions, based on a profound study of all the problems, have, I think, effected considerable improvements. We realise that there are different situations in different countries, and therefore the report suggests that there must be a distinction in application between, for example, occupied countries and the unoccupied countries.

I therefore have the honour to propose the adoption of this important report of the Subcommittee on economic policies.

The PRESIDENT—The proposal is that the report submitted by Mr. Pérez Guerrero be received.

(The report is adopted.)

The PRESIDENT—The question now is the Australian Government's amendment.

Mr. Beasley (Government delegate, Australia)—This question that we are now discussing has been vigorously advanced from an Australian point of view, which is that an employment agreement must be the basis of sound world economic collaboration. In the committee stages, our proposal was rejected by 22 votes to 17. The Committee agreed to a United States proposal. Nevertheless, the Committee agreed to the original intention we put forward at the opening of the Conference—that the United and associated Nations should be called together in a conference for the purpose of discussing domestic policies, in order that this question of employment and unemployment might be firmly dealt with.

The carrying of that resolution has advanced, in my view, the Australian Government's attitude on this question to such a stage that we feel that although our draft employment agreement was not accepted by the Committee, the purpose that we set out to establish at this Conference has not been entirely lost.

In fact, we further feel that the foundation has really been laid; and that in other places, or at other conferences or discussions which will take place either on technical levels or governmental levels, the problem which faces the United Nations and the world, in the terms that we have suggested, will have to be faced. Therefore, some progress along the road has been made.

We included this draft as an amendment to the report of the Committee, because we felt our proposal should be placed on record. We found this morning, only very late, that our proposal had been included in the Record of Proceedings, and that a pretty fair summary of our point of view had been put forward. Now, as that has been done, and our proposal is now on record, we feel that it is unnecessary for us to pursue our proposal any further.

I have taken this opportunity to state the reasons why we had this amendment put forward a few days ago. We are now satisfied that it is on record. We are further satisfied that it will be of high importance in the many deliberations that have yet to be undertaken.

1 See Third Part, Appendix V.

See Third Part, p. 312.
We feel it important for all the small or dependent-economy countries to have this aspect in the forefront of matters which will be dealt with even in the final stages of the peace programme. Having explained our reasons for putting forward the proposals to the full Conference, with the approval of delegates, it is the view of the Australian Government that the matter need not be pursued any further.

The PRESIDENT—I take it that it is the will of the Conference that the amendment as submitted by the Australian Government delegate be not further considered.

There are two resolutions contained in the report, and I propose to put them separately. The first is a resolution concerning economic policies for the attainment of social objectives. It has been proposed by Mr. Pérez Guerrero and seconded by Miss Perkins on behalf of the United States Government delegation that this resolution be adopted by the Conference.

(The resolution is adopted.)

The PRESIDENT—I now turn to a second resolution in the same report, also moved by Mr. Pérez Guerrero and seconded by Miss Perkins on behalf of the United States delegation. The resolution deals with a request to the Governing Body to examine problems involved in labour provisions for internationally-financed development works.

(The resolution is adopted.)

Fourth Report of the Committee on Items I and II: Discussion

The PRESIDENT—We now proceed to the fourth report of the Committee on Items I and II, which deals with proposed resolutions on social provisions in the peace settlement. I call upon Miss Frances Perkins, the Chairman of the Committee, to present the report.

Miss PERKINS (Government delegate, United States of America), Chairman of the Committee on Items I and II—Because of pressure of time, the Committee on Items I and II have authorised me to present to this Conference in its name the resolution on social provisions in the peace settlement, and to present at the same time the report setting out the results of its deliberations.

The Conference may wish a short explanation of this particular resolution, which brings together many of the suggestions initially presented by the Office, together with a large number of resolutions and amendments submitted by the Committee members.

Part I of the resolution proposes a series of articles setting forth principles which are declared to be “appropriate for inclusion in a general or special treaty or agreement between nations desirous of giving early effect to the principles of the Atlantic Charter and of Article VII of the Mutual Aid Agreement”. This means that the whole document from there on is in the terms of a treaty. It is a draft of a treaty which might later be adhered to by the signatory nations.

These principles include reaffirmation of the Declaration of Philadelphia. In them, each Government recognises its duty to maintain a high level of employment. They indicate that this and other standards of labour which are recited in the text are of international concern and should be among the social objectives of international as well as national policy.

Part II of the resolution proposes that in case of danger of a substantial fall in general employment levels and full employment is noted as one of the principal social objectives—the Governing Body shall call a special emergency conference of the International Labour Organisation to attempt to deal with the problem practically and at the time.

Part III of the resolution contains a series of specific suggestions for social provisions.

Part IV provides for continuing machinery by which the Governing Body may give further advice and counsel on these subjects as need and opportunity arise.

Part V recommends that Governments, in association with the Governing Body of the I.L.O., consider the calling of a conference to consider an international agreement on domestic policies of employment and unemployment. This part is in effect what has come out of the discussions on what is known as the Australian proposal.

I move the adoption by the Conference of the resolution on social provisions in the peace settlement.

The PRESIDENT—The motion is that the fourth report of the Committee on Items I and II be received.

(The motion is adopted.)

The PRESIDENT—Mr. Oldenbroek, Netherlands workers' delegate, has given notice of a motion to amend the resolution concerning social provisions in the peace settlement. I am advised that it is a very simple and non-controversial motion, and Miss Perkins, on behalf of the Committee, accepts it. It is a motion to insert in the resolution Article 6 of the Office text, which reads: “In any negotiations regarding the organisation, control and operation of merchant shipping, and in particular in making international arrangements for the disposal of merchant shipping tonnage, the United Nation concerned should consult the competent bodies of the International Labour Organisation, such as the Joint Maritime Commission, in regard
to the possibility of including stipulations concerning the standard of accommodation to be provided for crews and other matters, with the amendment proposed in Committee by the United States Government representative, namely, to replace the words "and other matters" by the words "and of stipulations embodying the provisions of Conventions already adopted by the maritime sessions of the Conference, or of any further such Conventions that may be adopted before the negotiation of such agreement". I propose that Mr. Oldenbroek to move the amendment formally. Will someone second that amendment?

Mr. HALLSWORTH (Workers' delegate, British Empire) — I second the amendment.

Mr. KIRKALDY (Employers' adviser, British Empire) — I do not propose to speak on the merits of this question, but rather on the question of procedure.

There were a large number of items in connection with this particular subject with which the full Committee did not have time to deal, and these were almost without exception referred to the Governing Body. I think that if we now start to single out some of these matters which were referred to the Governing Body, for reinsertion in the report, it would raise some difficulties in the procedure of this Conference.

I do not think there is any particular reason for singling this one out from the others, and I would also like to point out to the Conference that the decision to refer the matter to the Governing Body was taken unanimously by the Committee on Items I and II and that no objection was raised to that procedure by any member of the Committee.

Mr. OLDENBROEK (Workers' delegate, Netherlands) — The amendment which I propose has already been moved, and I hope that the whole Conference will agree to an alteration in the text of the proposed resolution.

When this matter came up before the Committee, I think we did not all quite understand what the suggestion was that was made by the Chairman of our Committee. But I think you will all agree that it is necessary in this resolution to say something about the measures which should be considered on behalf of the seamen of the Allied countries.

We understood that their affairs would be included in the resolution and that only the proposal made by the Cuban delegate would be referred to the Governing Body. The latter only related to the Maritime Conference which is to be held in the near future.

I hope that you will all agree, as has the Chairman of our Committee, to change the text that is before you and to adopt the suggestion that Article 6 of the Office text be included in the resolution with the amendment moved by the United States delegate.

The PRESIDENT — The motion before the Conference is the amendment moved by Mr. Oldenbroek and seconded by Mr. Hallsworth, that the addition that he proposes should be made to the resolution. The proposal is accepted by the Chairman of the Committee that presented the report.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The amendment is adopted by 67 votes to 2.)

The PRESIDENT — The amendment as proposed by Mr. Oldenbroek will be added to the report.

I assume that Miss Perkins moves that the resolution in the report be approved by the Conference. Will someone second the approval of the resolution?

Mr. HALLSWORTH (Workers' delegate, British Empire) — I second it.

The PRESIDENT — The motion before the Conference is the adoption of the resolution concerning social provisions in the peace settlement, with the addition of the words proposed in Mr. Oldenbroek's amendment.

(The resolution is adopted.)

The PRESIDENT — Miss Perkins desires to make a short statement with regard to the co-ordination of the particular reports referred to the Committee on Items I and II.

Miss PERKINS (Government delegate, United States of America), Chairman of the Committee on Items I and II — Mr. President, you and the delegates will recall that from the beginning of this Conference, Items I and II of the Office report were considered, next to the Declaration, to be the most important matters before this Conference of the International Labour Organisation.

The Conference debated these very important subjects freely for two days on the floor in plenary session. It was then referred to a Committee of which I had the honour to be Chairman. All of the items which have been under discussion this morning, all of these reports, have dealt with Reports I and II and were referred to one Committee.

This Committee debated for two days before it broke up into subcommittees. I state this in order that you may understand that there has been full consideration and that the deliberations have been difficult.

I wish, first, to comment to you, Mr. President, upon this Committee on Items I and II. I think I have never sat in a committee where the discussions and deliberations had more clarity and intelligence, were more frank and forthright,
than they were in this Committee, and always in a statesmanlike way, with a great sense of responsibility.

When one comes to examine the content of these reports which are built up under items I and II of the Office reports, one realises that here emerges a pattern of a whole, and that each of these parts is related to the others. There is laid out a pattern of man's free choice of social behaviour, a practical pattern, and within the existing experience of this generation, not words, but a solemn pledge to develop a community life in our various nations, according to our special and separate genius and opportunity, but based upon these conceptions of social objectives.

This is backed up, then, by a clearly thought-out set of principles of economic activity, economic activity sufficient to support the material life and therefore to make possible the early realisation and application of these social objectives in every part of the world. And, third, it is supported also by a plan of strengthening, developing and expanding the structure of the International Labour Organisation and relating it significantly to other international institutions now being formed.

All of these, blended together and hereby presented and united with other programmes now being developed by other agencies, are conceived in the purpose, not only of making the great peace for which we all long, but of maintaining a peace of moral principles within a practical political peace, made binding by solemn international obligations.

By such conceptions of man's needs and man's capacity to co-operate for fulfilling these needs, we give vitality and opportunity for steady growth—as God gives mankind wisdom and experience—steady growth into a peace of justice, of hope and of humanity.

FINAL VOTE ON THE RECOMMENDATION CONCERNING INCOME SECURITY\(^1\)

The PRESIDENT—It is proposed to take the final record vote on the social security Recommendations as submitted by the Drafting Committee. The first is on the Recommendation on income security.

\(^1\) See Third Part, Appendix VII.
Final record vote on the Recommendation concerning income security

For (92)

United States of America: Mr. Li Ping-heng (G) Mr. Hsieh Cheng-fu (G) Mr. Chu Hsueh-fan (W)
Miss Perkins (G) Mr. Thomas (G) Mr. Watt (W)
Argentina Republic: Mr. Garcia Arias (G) Mr. Padilla Castro (G)
Mr. Palmieri (G) Mr. Pérez (W)
Australia: Mr. Beasley (G) Mr. Barnard (G) Mr. Clarey (W)
Belgium: Mr. van Zeeland (G) Mr. Wauters (G) Mr. Joassart (E) Mr. Rens (W)
Brazil: Mr. Fontes (G) Mr. de Rego Monteiro (G) Mr. Vidal Leite Ribeiro (E) Mr. de Mattos Lima (W)
British Empire: Mr. Hallsworth (W)
Canada: Mr. Martin (G) Mr. Claxton (G) Mr. Bengough (W)
Chile: Mr. Bustos Lagos (G) Mr. Gajardo Villarreal (G) Mr. Díaz Salas (E) Mr. Velásquez Quiroga (W)
Dominican Republic: Mr. Coco (G) Mr. Morales (W)
Cuba: Mr. Silverio y Sainz (G) Mr. Fernández R. (W)
Czechoslovakia: Mr. Masaryk (G) Mr. Shoenbaum (G) Mr. Konna (W)
Costa Rica: Mr. Padilla Castro (G)
Egypt: Mr. Lópe Arteta (G) Mr. Torres Vera (W)
Finland: Mr. Radi (G) Mr. El Sherif (G) Mr. Soliman (W)
Dominican Republic: Mr. Coco (G) Mr. Morales (W)
Dominican Republic: Mr. Perez (E)
Ethiopia: Mr. Tessema (G)
Frances: Mr. Tixier (G) Mr. Delbé-Debagos (G) Mr. Antic (E) Mr. Laurent (W)
France: Mr. Tixier (G) Mr. Delbé-Debagos (G)

Against (4)

United States of America: Mr. Harriman (E)
British Empire: Sir John Forbes Watson (E)
Canada: Mr. Coulter (E)
New Zealand: Mr. Butland (E)

The PRESIDENT—The result of the voting is as follows: 92 votes for the Recommendation, 4 votes against, and 6 abstentions. I declare the Recommendation adopted by the proper two thirds majority.
**FINAL VOTE ON THE RECOMMENDATION CONCERNING INCOME SECURITY AND MEDICAL CARE FOR PERSONS DISCHARGED FROM THE ARMED FORCES AND ASSIMILATED SERVICES AND FROM WAR EMPLOYMENT**

The PRESIDENT—I now propose to take the final record vote on the Recommendation concerning income security and medical care for persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services and from war employment, as submitted by the Drafting Committee.

**Final record vote on the Recommendation concerning income security and medical care for persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services and from war employment**

For (100)

- **United States of America:**
  - Miss Perkins (G)
  - Mr. Thomas (G)
  - Mr. Harriman (E)
  - Mr. Watt (W)

- **Argentina Republic:**
  - Mr. Garcia Arias (G)
  - Mr. Palmieri (G)
  - Mr. Girola (W)

- **Australia:**
  - Mr. Beasley (G)
  - Mr. Barnard (G)
  - Mr. Clarey (W)

- **Belgium:**
  - Mr. van Zeeland (G)
  - Mr. Wauters (G)
  - Mr. Joassart (E)
  - Mr. Rens (W)

- **Brazil:**
  - Mr. Fontes (G)
  - Mr. de Rege Monteiro (G)
  - Mr. Vidal Leite Ribeiro (E)
  - Mr. de Mattos Lima (W)

- **British Empire:**
  - Mr. Tamlinson (G)
  - Sir Frederick Leggett (G)
  - Sir John Forbes Watson (E)
  - Mr. Hallsworth (W)

- **Canada:**
  - Mr. Martin (G)
  - Mr. Claxton (G)
  - Mr. Coutler (E)
  - Mr. Bengough (W)

- **Chile:**
  - Mr. Bustos Lagos (G)
  - Mr. Gajardo Villarroel (G)
  - Mr. Díaz Salas (E)
  - Mr. Velázquez Quiroga (W)

- **China:**
  - Mr. Li Ping-heng (G)
  - Mr. Hech Cheng-fu (G)
  - Mr. Li Ming (E)
  - Mr. Chu Han-chi-fan (W)

- **Cuba:**
  - Mr. Silverio y Sainz (G)
  - Mr. Fernández R. (W)

- **Czechoslovakia:**
  - Mr. Masaryk (G)
  - Mr. Soensbaume (G)
  - Mr. Morawetz (E)
  - Mr. Kosina (W)

- **Dominican Republic:**
  - Mr. Cocoz (G)
  - Mr. de Marchena Dujarric (E)
  - Mr. Morales (W)

- **Egypt:**
  - Mr. Radi (G)
  - Mr. El Sherif (G)

- **Ethiopia:**
  - Mr. Tessema (G)

- **France:**
  - Mr. Tixier (G)
  - Mr. Deléée-Desloges (G)
  - Mr. Antoine (E)
  - Mr. Laurent (W)

- **Greece:**
  - Mr. Diamantopoulos (G)
  - Mr. Zarras (G)
  - Mr. Kulukundis (E)

- **India:**
  - Mr. Mehta (W)

- **Iraq:**
  - Mr. Daftary (G)
  - Mr. Jawdat (G)

- **Luxembourg:**
  - Mr. Krier (G)
  - Mr. Le Gallais (G)

- **Mexico:**
  - Mr. Trujillo Gurria (G)
  - Mr. Santos Guajardo (G)
  - Mr. Chapa (E)
  - Mr. Lombardo Teledano (W)

- **Netherlands:**
  - Mr. van den Tempel (G)
  - Mr. Louden (G)
  - Mr. Warning (E)
  - Mr. Oldenbroek (W)

- **New Zealand:**
  - Mr. Taylor (G)
  - Mr. Turner (G)
  - Mr. Butland (E)
  - Mr. Allerby (W)

- **Norway:**
  - Mr. Hambro (G)
  - Mr. Ordling (G)
  - Mr. Dahl (E)
  - Mr. Nordahl (W)

- **Peru:**
  - Mr. Elguera (G)
  - Mr. Luna (W)

- **Poland:**
  - Mr. Stanczyk (G)
  - Mr. Straka (G)
  - Mr. Faier (E)
  - Mr. Adamczyk (W)

- **Union of South Africa:**
  - Mr. Andrews (G)
  - Mr. Brennan (G)
  - Mr. Skeels (E)
  - Mr. de Vries (W)

- **Sweden:**
  - Mr. Ohlin (G)
  - Mr. Thorsson (G)
  - Mr. Anderson (W)

- **Switzerland:**
  - Mr. Bruggmann (G)

- **Turkey:**
  - Mr. Gâle (G)
  - Mr. Eamer (G)

- **Uruguay:**
  - Mr. Gueck (G)

- **Venezuela:**
  - Mr. Tinoco Rodil (G)
  - Mr. Pérez Guerreiro (G)

Against (0)

The PRESIDENT—The Recommendation on income security and medical care for persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services and from war employment has received 100 votes in favour and no votes against. There were four abstentions. The Recommendation is adopted.

(The Conference adjourned at 12.30 p.m.)
Delegates present at the Sitting

United States of America:
Mr. Goodrich (substitute for Miss Perkins)
Mr. Thomas
Mr. Harriman
Mr. Watt

Argentine Republic:
Mr. García Arias
Mr. Palmieri
Mr. Girola

Australia:
Mr. Beasley
Mr. Barnard
Mr. Clarey

Belgium:
Mr. van Zeeland
Mr. Gotteschall (substitute for Mr. Wauters)
Mr. Joassart
Mr. Rens

Brazil:
Mr. Fontes
Mr. de Rego Monteiro
Mr. de Mattos Lima

British Empire:
Mr. Tomlinson
Sir Frederick Leggett
Sir John Forbes
Watson
Mr. Hallesworth

Canada:
Mr. MacDonald (substitute for Mr. Martin)
Mr. Rive (substitute for Mr. Claxton)
Mr. Coulter
Mr. Bengough

Chile:
Mr. Bustos Lagos
Mr. Bustos Acevedo
(substitute for Mr. Gajardo Villarroel)

Costa Rica:
Mr. Padilla Castro
Mr. Velásquez Quiroga

China:
Mr. Li Ping-heng
Mr. Haish Cheng-fu
Mr. Li Ming
Mr. Chu Hsu-ch’en-fan

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

Czechoslovakia:
Mr. Stolz (substitute for Mr. Masaryk)
Mr. Shoebum
Mr. Hexion (substitute for Mr. Morawetz)
Mr. Kosina

Dominican Republic:
Mr. Hernández Franco
(substitute for Mr. Coeco)
Mr. de Marchena Duraríe
Mr. Morales

Ecuador:
Mr. López Arteta
Mr. Torres Vera

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

Ethiopia:
Mr. Tessenma

France:
Mr. Tixier
Mr. Pignon (substitute for Mr. Delété-Deléogues)
Mr. Antoine
Mr. Laurent

Grece:
Mr. Diamantopoulos
Mr. Zarra
Mr. Kuklaundus

India:
Sir Samuel Runganathan
Mr. Prior
Mr. Mulherkar (substitute for Mr. Mahendra)
Mr. Mehta

Iran:
Mr. Dastary

Iraq:
Mr. Jawdat
Mr. Haidari

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

Luxembourg:
Mr. Krief
Mr. Le Gallais

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

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

New Zealand:
Mr. Taylor
Mr. Turner
Mr. Butland
Mr. Allerby

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

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

Poland:
Mr. Stanczyk
Mr. Strakacz
Mr. Faller
Mr. Adamczyk

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

Sweden:
Mr. Ohlin
Mr. Thorson
Mr. Wahlström (substitute for Mr. von Heidenstam)
Mr. Andersson

Switzerland:
Mr. Bruggmann

Turkey:
Mr. Gülçek
Mr. Esmer

Uruguay:
Mr. Kühn Talay
Mr. Fontaina

Venezuela:
Mr. Tinoco Rodil
Mr. Pérez Guerrero

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

Also present at the Sitting:
Mr. Asgeirsson (Iceland)
NINETEENTH SITTING

Friday, 12 May 1944, 4.45 p.m.

President: Mr. Nash

Motion regarding Suspension of the Standing Orders

The President—To enable us to complete our business properly this afternoon, it will be necessary to suspend the Standing Orders to permit the votes to be taken on the texts distributed today. Will some delegate move the suspension of the Standing Orders?

Mr. Hallsworth (Workers' delegate, British Empire)—I move the suspension of the Standing Orders for the purpose indicated.

Mr. Barnard (Government delegate, Australia)—I second the motion.

The President—I propose to take a record vote. All the votes this afternoon will be record votes. The Clerk of the Conference will now take a record vote on the suspension of the Standing Orders for the purpose mentioned.
Nineteenth Sitting

Record vote on the motion to suspend the Standing Orders

For (98)

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<td>Mr. Gajardo Villarroel (G)</td>
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The PRESIDENT—The result of the vote on the suspension of the Standing Orders is 98 for and 2 abstentions. The Standing Orders are suspended.
FINAL VOTE ON THE RECOMMENDATION
CONCERNING MEDICAL CARE

The PRESIDENT—I now propose to take a record vote confirming the Recom-
mendation concerning medical care.

Final record vote on the Recommendation concerning medical care

For (76)

United States of America: Mr. Watt (W)
Mr. Garcia Arias (G)
Mr. Palmieri (G)
Mr. Girola (W)

Australia: Mr. Beasley (G)
Mr. Barnard (G)
Mr. Clarey (W)

Belgium: Mr. Rens (W)

Brazil: Mr. Fontes (G)
Mr. de Rege Monteiro (G)
Mr. Vidal Leite Ribiero (E)
Mr. de Mattos Lima (W)

British Empire: Mr. Hallsworth (W)

Canada: Mr. Martin (G)
Mr. Claxton (G)
Mr. Bengough (W)

Chile: Mr. Gajardo Villarreal (G)
Mr. Diaz Salas (E)
Mr. Valasquez Quiroga (W)

China: Mr. Li Ping-heng (G)
Mr. Hsieh Cheng-fu (G)
Mr. Chu Hsueh-fan (W)

Costa Rica: Mr. Padilla Castro (G)

Cuba: Mr. de Sandoval (G)
Mr. Silverio y Sainz (G)
Mr. Fernandez R. (W)

Czechoslovakia: Mr. Shoenbaum (G)
Mr. Kosina (W)

Ecuador: Mr. Lopez Artesa (G)
Mr. Torres Vera (W)

Egypt: Mr. Radi (G)
Mr. El Sheriff (G)
Mr. Soliman (W)

France: Mr. Laurent (W)

Greece: Mr. Diamantopoulos (G)
Mr. Zarris (G)

Haiti: Mr. Thebaud (G)

India: Mr. Mehta (W)

Iran: Mr. Daftary (G)
Mr. Haidari (G)

Luxembourg: Mr. Krier (G)
Mr. Le Gallais (G)

Mexico: Mr. Trujillo Gurria (G)
Mr. Santos Guajardo (G)
Mr. Chapa (E)
Mr. Lombardo (W)

Netherlands: Mr. van den Tempel (G)
Mr. Oldenbroek (W)

Norway: Mr. Hambro (G)
Mr. Ordung (G)
Mr. Nordahl (W)

Peru: Mr. Elguere (G)
Mr. Vidal (E)
Mr. Luna (W)

Poland: Mr. Stanczyk (G)
Mr. Strakacz (G)
Mr. Adamczyk (W)

Union of South Africa: Mr. Andrews (G)
Mr. Brennan (G)
Mr. Skeels (E)
Mr. de Vries (W)

Sweden: Mr. Thorsson (G)
Mr. Anderson (W)

Switzerland: Mr. Bruggmann (G)

Turkey: Mr. Guluk (G)
Mr. Esmer (G)

Uruguay: Mr. Kuhn Talay (G)

Venezuela: Mr. Tinoco Rodil (G)
Mr. Perez Guerrero (G)

Yugoslavia: Mr. Soubbotitch (G)
Mr. Milos (W)

Against (6)

United States of America: Mr. Harriman (E)

Belgium: Mr. Joassart (E)

British Empire: Sir John Forbes Watson (E)

Canada: Mr. Coulter (E)

Netherlands: Mr. Warning (E)

Poland: Mr. Falter (E)

The PRESIDENT—The voting on the Recommendation on medical care sub-
mitted by the Drafting Committee is 76 for, 6 against, and 23 abstentions. More
than half the votes of the delegates are recorded for, and there is more than a
two thirds majority; I therefore declare the Recommendation adopted.
The PRESIDENT—The result of the final vote on the Recommendation in regard to dependent territories is 88 votes for, none against, and 15 abstentions. I declare the Recommendation approved and adopted.
RESOLUTION INCLUDING THE QUESTION OF MINIMUM STANDARDS OF SOCIAL POLICY IN DEPENDENT TERRITORIES (SUPPLEMENTARY PROVISIONS) IN THE AGENDA OF THE NEXT GENERAL SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE.

The PRESIDENT—It is proposed that we have a record vote on the resolution concerning the placing on the agenda of the next general session of the International Labour Conference of the question of minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories (supplementary provisions).

Record vote on the resolution including the question of minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories (supplementary provisions) in the agenda of the next general session of the Conference

For (100)

United States of America:
Miss Perkins (G)
Mr. Thomas (G)
Mr. Harriman (E)
Mr. Watt (W)

Argentina:
Mr. García Arias (G)
Mr. Palmieri (G)
Mr. Lamuraglia (E)
Mr. Girolo (W)

Australia:
Mr. Beasley (G)
Mr. Barnard (G)
Mr. Clarey (W)

Belgium:
Mr. van-Zeeland (G)
Mr. Wauters (G)
Mr. Rens (W)

Brazil:
Mr. Pontes (G)
Mr. de Rego Monteiro (G)
Mr. Vidal Leite Ribeiro (E)
Mr. de Mattos Lima (W)

British Empire:
Mr. Tomlinson (G)
Sir Frederick Leggett (G)
Sir John Forbes Watson (E)
Mr. Halksworth (W)

Canada:
Mr. Martin (G)
Mr. Claxton (G)
Mr. Coulier (E)
Mr. Bengough (W)

Chile:
Mr. Gajardo Villarroel (G)
Mr. Velásquez Quiroga (W)

Costa Rica:
Mr. Padilla Castro (G)

Czechoslovakia:
Mr. Masaryk (G)
Mr. Švehla (G)
Mr. Rosina (W)

Dominican Republic:
Mr. Coco (G)
Mr. Morales (W)

Egypt:
Mr. Radi (G)
Mr. El Sherif (G)
Mr. Soliman (W)

Ecuador:
Mr. López Aristea (G)
Mr. Torres Vera (W)

Ethiopia:
Mr. Tesamma (G)

France:
Mr. Tixier (G)
Mr. Delépine-Desloges (G)
Mr. Antoine (E)
Mr. Laurent (W)

Greece:
Mr. Diamantopoulos (G)
Mr. Zarras (G)
Mr. Kukulundis (E)

Haiti:
Mr. Thébaud (G)

India:
Mr. Mahindra (E)
Mr. Mehta (W)

Iran:
Mr. Daftary (G)

Iraq:
Mr. Haidari (G)

Luxembourg:
Mr. Kier (G)
Mr. Le Gallais (G)

Mexico:
Mr. Trujillo García (G)
Mr. Santos Guajardo (G)
Mr. Chapa (E)
Mr. Lombardo Toledano (W)

Netherlands:
Mr. van den Tempel (G)
Mr. Loudon (G)
Mr. Warning (E)
Mr. Oldenbroek (W)

New Zealand:
Mr. Taylor (G)
Mr. Butland (E)
Mr. Allerby (W)

Norway:
Mr. Hambro (G)
Mr. Ording (G)
Mr. Dahl (E)
Mr. Nordahl (W)

Peru:
Mr. Elguera (G)
Mr. Vidal (E)

Poland:
Mr. Stanczyk (G)
Mr. Strakacz (G)
Mr. Faler (E)
Mr. Adamczyk (W)

Union of South Africa:
Mr. Andrews (G)
Mr. Brennan (G)
Mr. Skecles (E)
Mr. de Vries (W)

Sweden:
Mr. Thorsson (G)
Mr. von Heidenstam (E)
Mr. Andersson (W)

Switzerland:
Mr. Bruggmann (G)

Turkey:
Mr. Gülek (G)
Mr. Esmer (G)

Uruguay:
Mr. Kühn Talay (G)
Mr. Fontain, (G)

Venezuela:
Mr. Tinoco Rodil (G)
Mr. Pérez Guerrero (G)

Yugoslavia:
Mr. Soubotitch (G)
Mr. Banac (E)

Against (0)

The PRESIDENT—The result of the voting on the resolution is 100 votes for, no votes against, and three abstentions. The resolution is approved.
Final record vote on the Recommendation concerning employment organisation in the transition from war to peace

For (102)

United States of America: Miss Perkins (G) Mr. Thomas (G) Mr. Harriman (E) Mr. Watt (W)

Chile: Mr. Gaiardó Villarroel (G) Mr. Velásquez Quiroga (W)

China: Mr. Li Ping-heng (G) Mr. Hsieh Cheng-fu (G) Mr. Li Ming (E) Mr. Chu Hsueh-fan (W)

Argentina Republic: Mr. García Arias (G) Mr. Palmieri (G) Mr. Lamuraglia (E) Mr. Girola (W)

Mr. Garcia Arias (G) Mr. Palmieri (G) Mr. Lamuraglia (E) Mr. Girola (W)

Australia: Mr. Beasley (G) Mr. Barnard (G) Mr. Clarey (W)

Mr. de Sandoval (G) Mr. Silverio y Sains (E) Mr. Cowley Hernández (E) Mr. Fernández R. (W)

Belgium: Mr. van Zeeland (G) Mr. Wauters (G) Mr. Joassart (E) Mr. Rens (W)

Mr. Masaryk (G) Mr. Shoenbaum (G) Mr. Morawetz (E) Mr. Koéma (W)

Brazil: Mr. Fontes (G) Mr. de Rego Monteiro (G) Mr. Vidal Leite (E) Mr. de Mattos Lima (W)

Dominican Republic: Mr. Coceo (G) Mr. Morales (W) Mr. Torres Vera (W)

Mr. López Arteta (G) Mr. Santos Guajardo (G) Mr. Chapa (E) Mr. Lombardo Toledano (W)

British Empire: Mr. Tomlinson (G) Sir Frederick Leggett (G) Sir John Forbes Watson (E) Mr. Hallsworth (W)

Egypt: Mr. Radi (G) Mr. El Sherif (G) Mr. Soliman (W)

Mr. Teasemna (G)

Mr. Teasemna (G)

Mr. Teasemna (G)

Mr. Teasemna (G)

Mr. Teasemna (G)

France: Mr. Tixier (G) Mr. Deldéo-Deslopes (E) Mr. Antoine (E) Mr. Laurent (W)

Mr. Tixier (G) Mr. Deldéo-Deslopes (E) Mr. Antoine (E) Mr. Laurent (W)

Canada: Mr. Martin (G) Mr. Claxton (G) Mr. Coulter (E) Mr. Bengough (W)

Mr. Diamantopoulos (G) Mr. Zarras (G) Mr. Kulukundis (E)

New Zealand: Mr. Taylor (G) Mr. Butland (E) Mr. Allerby (W)

Mr. Diamantopoulos (G) Mr. Zarras (G) Mr. Kulukundis (E)

Mr. Taylor (G) Mr. Butland (E) Mr. Allerby (W)

Norway: Mr. Hambro (G) Mr. Ordig (G) Mr. Dahl (E) Mr. Nordahl (W)

Peru: Mr. Elguera (G) Mr. Luna (W)

Poland: Mr. Stanczyk (G) Mr. Straka (G) Mr. Adamczyk (W)

Union of South Africa: Mr. Andrews (G) Mr. Brennan (G) Mr. Skeês (E) Mr. de Vries (W)

Sweden: Mr. Thorson (G) Mr. von Heidenstam (E) Mr. Andersson (W)

Switzerland: Mr. Bruggmann (G)

Turkey: Mr. Güle (G) Mr. Esmer (G)

Uuguay: Mr. Kühn Talay (G) Mr. Fontaina (G)

Venezuela: Mr. Tinoco Rodil (G) Mr. Pérez Guerrero (G)

Yugoslavia: Mr. Soubbotitch (G) Mr. Banac (E) Mr. Milos (W)

Against (0)

The voting in favour of the Recommendation, as amended, is 102 votes for, no votes against, and no abstentions. The Recommendation is approved and adopted.
Final vote on the Recommendation concerning the employment service

The PRESIDENT—A record vote will now be taken on the Recommendation as submitted by the Drafting Committee concerning the employment service.

Final record vote on the Recommendation concerning the employment service:

For (100)

**United States of America:**
- Miss Perkins (G)
- Mr. Thomas (G)
- Mr. Harriman (E)
- Mr. Watt (W)

**Argentina:**
- Mr. Garcia Arias (G)
- Mr. Palmieri (G)
- Mr. Lamuraglia (E)
- Mr. Girola (W)

**Costa Rica:**
- Mr. Padilla Castro (G)

**Australia:**
- Mr. Clarey (W)

**Belgium:**
- Mr. van Zeeland (G)
- Mr. Wauters (G)
- Mr. Joassart (E)
- Mr. Rens (W)

**Brazil:**
- Mr. Fontes (G)
- Mr. de Rego Monteiro (G)
- Mr. de Mattos Lima (W)

**British Empire:**
- Mr. Tomlinson (G)
- Sir Frederick Leggett (G)
- Sir John Forbes Watson (E)
- Mr. Hallsworth (W)

**Canada:**
- Mr. Martin (G)
- Mr. Caxton (G)
- Mr. Coulter (E)
- Mr. Bengough (W)

**Chile:**
- Mr. Gajardo Villarroel (G)
- Mr. Velásquez Quiroga (W)

**China:**
- Mr. Li Ping-heng (G)
- Mr. Hsieh Cheng-fu (G)
- Mr. Li Ming (E)
- Mr. Chu Hsueh-fan (W)

**Czechoslovakia:**
- Mr. Masaryk (G)
- Mr. Shoenebaum (G)
- Mr. Morawetz (E)
- Mr. Kosina (W)

**Dominican Republic:**
- Mr. Coco (G)
- Mr. Morales (W)

**Ecuador:**
- Mr. López Arteta (G)
- Mr. Torres Vera (W)

**Egypt:**
- Mr. Radi (G)
- Mr. El Sherif (G)
- Mr. Soliman (W)

**Ethiopia:**
- Mr. Tessemma (G)

**France:**
- Mr. Tixier (G)
- Mr. Deléè-Deléè (G)
- Mr. Antoine (E)
- Mr. Laurent (W)

**Greece:**
- Mr. Diamantopoulos (G)
- Mr. Zarraz (G)
- Mr. Kulukundis (E)

**Haiti:**
- Mr. Thébaud (G)

**India:**
- Sir Samuel Runganadhan (G)
- Mr. H. C. Prior (G)
- Mr. Mahendra (E)
- Mr. Mehta (W)

**Ireland:**
- Mr. Daftary (G)

**Iran:**
- Mr. Haidari (G)

**Iraq:**
- Mr. Krier (G)
- Mr. Le Gallais (G)

**Ireland:**
- Mr. Krier (G)
- Mr. Le Gallais (G)

**Lebanon:**
- Mr. Kvier (G)
- Mr. Le Gallais (G)

**Luxembourg:**
- Mr. Kvier (G)
- Mr. Le Gallais (G)

**Mexico:**
- Mr. Trujillo Gurria (G)
- Mr. Santos Guajardo (G)
- Mr. Chapa (E)
- Mr. Lombardo Tole-dano (W)

**Netherlands:**
- Mr. van den Tempel (G)
- Mr. Loudon (G)
- Mr. Warning (E)
- Mr. Oldenbroek (W)

**Norway:**
- Mr. Hambro (G)
- Mr. Ordin (G)
- Mr. Dahl (E)
- Mr. Nordahl (W)

**Poland:**
- Mr. Stanczyk (G)
- Mr. Strakacz (G)
- Mr. Palter (E)
- Mr. Adamczyk (W)

**Peru:**
- Mr. Figueira (G)
- Mr. Vidal (E)
- Mr. Luna (W)

**Union of South Africa:**
- Mr. Andrews (G)
- Mr. Brennan (G)
- Mr. Skeels (E)
- Mr. de Vries (W)

**Sweden:**
- Mr. Thorsson (G)
- Mr. von Heidenstam (E)
- Mr. Andersson (W)

**Switzerland:**
- Mr. Brüggemann (G)

**Turkey:**
- Mr. Gülek (G)
- Mr. Esmer (G)

**Uruguay:**
- Mr. Kühn Tulay (G)
- Mr. Fontana (G)

**Venezuela:**
- Mr. Rodil (G)
- Mr. Pérez Guerrero (G)

**Yugoslavia:**
- Mr. Milos. (PF)

Against (0)

The PRESIDENT—The result of the voting on the Recommendation concerning the employment service is 100 votes for, with no votes against, and no abstentions. The Recommendation is approved.
The PRESIDENT—The last record vote is on the Recommendation concerning the national planning of public works. The motion is that the Recommendation as amended by the Drafting Committee be approved, and that is what the record vote will be taken on.

**Final record vote on the Recommendation concerning the national planning of public works**

For (102)

**United States of America:**
- Miss Perkins (G)
- Mr. Thomas (G)
- Mr. Harriman (E)
- Mr. Watt (W)

**Argentina Repulic:**
- Mr. García Arias (G)
- Mr. Palmieri (G)
- Mr. Lamuraglia (E)
- Mr. Girola (W)

**Australia:**
- Mr. Barnard (G)
- Mr. Clarey (W)

**Belgium:**
- Mr. van Zeeland (G)
- Mr. Wauters (G)
- Mr. Joassart (E)
- Mr. Rens (W)

**Brazil:**
- Mr. Fontes (G)
- Mr. de Rego Monteiro (G)
- Mr. Vidal Leite (E)
- Mr. Rens (W)

**British Empire:**
- Mr. Tomlinson (G)
- Sir Frederick Leggett (G)
- Sir John Forbes Watson (E)
- Mr. Hallsworth (W)

**Canada:**
- Mr. Martin (G)
- Mr. Claxton (G)
- Mr. Coulter (E)
- Mr. Bengough (W)

**Chile:**
- Mr. Gajardo (G)
- Mr. Villarroel (G)
- Mr. Velásquez (E)
- Mr. Quiroga (W)

**China:**
- Mr. Li Ping-heng (G)
- Mr. Hsieh Cheng-fu (G)
- Mr. Li Ming (E)
- Mr. Chu Hsu-chu-fan (W)

**Costa Rica:**
- Mr. Padilla Castro (G)

**Czechoslovakia:**
- Mr. Masaryk (G)
- Mr. Švehlík (G)
- Mr. Morawetz (E)
- Mr. Kosina (W)

**Dominican Republic:**
- Mr. Cocó (G)
- Mr. Morales (W)

**Egypt:**
- Mr. Radi (G)
- Mr. Salim (W)

**Ecuador:**
- Mr. Lópe de Aragón (G)
- Mr. Torres Vera (W)

**Ethiopia:**
- Mr. Tessema (G)

**France:**
- Mr. Tixier (G)
- Mr. Delépine-Destecq (G)
- Mr. Antoine (E)
- Mr. Laurent (W)

**Greece:**
- Mr. Diamantopoulos (G)
- Mr. Zarras (G)
- Mr. Kulukundis (E)

**Indonesia:**
- Sir Samuel Rungnasah (G)
- Mr. Prat (G)
- Mr. Mahindra (E)
- Mr. Mehta (W)

**Iran:**
- Mr. Daftary (G)

**Iraq:**
- Mr. Haidari (G)

**Luxembourg:**
- Mr. Krier (G)
- Mr. Le Gallais (G)

**Mexico:**
- Mr. Trujillo Gurria (G)
- Mr. Santos Guajardo (G)
- Mr. Chapa (E)
- Mr. Toledano (W)

**Netherlands:**
- Mr. van den Tempel (G)
- Mr. Loudon (G)
- Mr. Warning (E)
- Mr. Oldenbroek (W)

**Norway:**
- Mr. Hambro (G)
- Mr. Ording (G)
- Mr. Dahl (E)
- Mr. Nordahl (W)

**Peru:**
- Mr. Elguera (G)
- Mr. Vidal (E)
- Mr. Luna (W)

**Poland:**
- Mr. Stanczyk (G)
- Mr. Strakacz (G)
- Mr. Falla (E)
- Mr. Adamski (W)

**Union of South Africa:**
- Mr. Andrews (G)
- Mr. Brennan (G)
- Mr. Skeels (E)
- Mr. de Vries (W)

**Sweden:**
- Mr. Thorsson (G)
- Mr. von Heidenstam (E)
- Mr. Andersson (W)

**Switzerland:**
- Mr. Bruggmann (G)
- Mr. Gilek (G)
- Mr. Esmer (E)

**Turkey:**
- Mr. Gülek (G)
- Mr. Esmer (E)

**Uruguay:**
- Mr. Fontaine (G)

**Venezuela:**
- Mr. Tinoco Rodriguez (G)
- Mr. Pérez Guerrero (G)

**Yugoslavia:**
- Mr. Banac (E)
- Mr. Miša (W)

Against (0)

The PRESIDENT—The Recommendation as amended is approved by a full unanimous vote of 102 delegates. I declare the Recommendation approved.
SECOND REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

The PRESIDENT—I call upon Mr. Trujillo Gurria, the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, to present the second report of the Committee.

Interpretation: Mr. TRUJILLO GURRIA (Government delegate, Mexico), Chairman of the Resolutions Committee—The Resolutions Committee continued its discussion on 9, 11 and 12 May. The Committee submits to the Conference in its second report its conclusions with regard to the remaining draft resolutions which had been referred to it in accordance with the Standing Orders.

The PRESIDENT—The motion before the Conference is to receive the second report of the Resolutions Committee.

Mr. HALLSWORTH (Workers' delegate, British Empire)—I move that the report be received.

The PRESIDENT—It has been moved and seconded that the report be received.

(The motion is approved.)

Resolution concerning complete delegations to the Conference.

The PRESIDENT—The resolution now before the Conference, on complete delegations to the Conference, is moved by Mr. Trujillo Gurria. Will somebody second the motion?

Mr. DOWD (Workers' adviser, Canada)—I second the motion.

The PRESIDENT—The motion which I now put to the vote is a simple one, urging that there should be complete delegations sent to the Conference, as well as advisers.

(The resolution is adopted.)

Resolution concerning the use of Spanish and Portuguese as official languages.

The PRESIDENT—The next resolution is relative to the use of Spanish and Portuguese as official languages. The adoption of the resolution has been moved and seconded. I will put it to the vote.

(A vote is taken by show of hands. The resolution is adopted by 66 votes to 17.)

Resolution concerning the membership of certain American States in the International Labour Organisation.

The PRESIDENT—The third resolution to be considered is one concerning the membership in the International Labour Organisation of certain American States. It is moved by Mr. Trujillo Gurria and seconded by the workers' delegate of Canada. Mr. Hambro wishes to speak on the motion.

Mr. HAM BRO (Government delegate, Norway)—While I am in entire sympathy with the resolution, because we all want all countries to be Members of the International Labour Organisation, it is my disagreeable duty as Chairman of the Contributions Committee to call attention to the fact that two States have resigned from this Organisation without having fulfilled their financial obligations. Those two countries are Spain and Paraguay, whose debts are very considerable.

When Nicaragua resigned, Nicaragua had not settled its debts with the League. But under a special arrangement, Nicaragua was allowed as a privilege to pay off those debts during ten years. The obligation undertaken has not been fulfilled. And now, when it has been decided to request the Governing Body to appoint a committee to study constitutional practices, and to study also the finances of the International Labour Organisation, I would ask the Governing Body and that committee to take great care to safeguard the finances of the International Labour Organisation, as regards both the admission of States to the I.L.O. and the resignation of States from the I.L.O. If that is not the case, it will be impossible to finance the I.L.O. in the future.

Mr. CARRILLO (Workers' adviser, Mexico)—For Latin American labour, it is absolutely impossible to understand how such a question can be brought up before a conference that is dealing with the problems of human security at this moment. To labour in Latin America, the I.L.O. stands as a hope, and we cannot possibly understand why this hope should be taken away from labour in Latin America.

The resolutions, the Conventions that are passed and approved in the I.L.O. are indeed of great importance for the working people of Latin America. For that reason, we ask the members and the delegations of this Conference to support the invitation to these Latin American States.

It has been stated here that some of these States have not paid their dues to the League of Nations. Well, as a matter of fact, one of the international organisations that the peoples of Latin America consider as absolutely useful for them is the I.L.O., and this is perhaps not the appropriate occasion to discuss whether we consider the League of Nations a useful organisation at the present moment. But regardless of that consideration, which is not the question to be debated now, we believe that even if nations have

1 See Third Part, Appendix III.
not paid their dues in the past, the working people should not be the victims of the lack of payment on the part of the Governments.

We can assure you that the workers of Latin America will do their utmost so that the dues that should be paid to the Office and to any other organisation are paid. We shall do our very best. But if you do not give us a chance, if you close the door to the Latin American peoples, then you cannot possibly expect security in Latin America.

We have said in the Philadelphia Charter that we cannot possibly have prosperity and we cannot possibly have employment in any country if there are countries where prosperity and employment do not exist. For that simple reason, I ask you to support this resolution.

The PRESIDENT—The resolution has been proposed and seconded. I shall put it to the vote.

(The resolution is adopted.)

Resolution presented by the Polish delegates.

The PRESIDENT—I now submit the last resolution moved by Mr. Trujillo Gurria. It is the resolution presented by Mr. Stanczyk and Mr. Strakacz, Polish Government delegates, and Mr. Falter and Mr. Adamczyk, the employers' and workers' delegates from Poland.

Mr. STANSCZYK (Government delegate, Poland)—I have already mentioned, in my speech at the plenary sitting, that I hope this Conference will protest against German crimes in occupied countries, and particularly against the mass slaughter in Poland of the Jews and the Poles.

The resolution submitted by the Polish delegation needs no comment. May I be allowed to point out that Nazi persecution in Poland has no precedents. From September 1939 to date nearly five million of our citizens lost their lives. The Germans chose Poland not only for their official slaughterhouse for Poles and Jews from all over Europe; they have also added to this insult by organising Jewish ghettos and creating gas chambers in which thousands upon thousands of Jews and Poles have been murdered.

And when we ask ourselves why Poland was chosen as a proper place for these atrocities on a scale hitherto unknown, why the Germans exterminate with such perseverance millions of Poles and Jews, there is only one possible answer—vengeance against Poland and its people because its people were the first to resist Germans marching to conquer the world, because they know that the Poles and the Polish Jews will never turn into obedient slaves, because they realise that Poland will be conquered only when its entire population has been exterminated.

The injustices which have been done to the Poles and the Jews alike will be brought to the full cognisance of the whole world, but the murderers will be justly punished.

I do not wish to be accused of any feelings of hatred against the Germans. We Poles and Jews do not hate the Germans because they are Germans, but because they are murderers. Who else among all the nations in the world is so vitally interested in seeing Germany as a good, democratic and peace-loving nation? We, their neighbouring countries—Czechoslovakia, Poland and Russia—are always paying with the blood of our soldiers and civilians, with the suffering and destruction of our countries, for a consistent tendency of the Germans to world conquest. Surely, we will welcome Germany when it becomes a peaceful nation, but we cannot build our future freedom and peace on some worthless assurances that Germany will not instigate another war, and will not repeat crimes which it has committed. This is why the future peace will have to be based on principles insuring peace-loving nations against another attack, and the punishment for crimes on helpless populations, particularly for the mass murder of Poles and Jews, will not be a revenge but an act of justice, having an educational significance for the future generations of Germany.

In condemning the German atrocities, we condemn simultaneously all kinds of racial persecution and especially anti-Semitism, which we regard as a crime against humanity.

Mr. CHU Hsueh-fan (Workers' delegate, China)—I wish to support the resolution introduced by the Polish delegation, condemning the unspeakable tortures dealt out to the Jewish people of Europe by Nazi Germany. The Jewish people were singled out for annihilation and marked for complete destruction by the rulers of Nazi Europe. Only a supreme effort by the entire civilised world may save the remnants of this old people.

As men and women gathered here to deal with problems of social justice, in order to ensure freedom and dignity to all peoples of the earth, we think that it is our duty to raise our voice for the salvation of the innocent victims of racial persecution, selected by the German Government for extermination.

The victory of the civilised world over barbarism will not be real if, during the struggle for liberty, a peaceful people should perish. Our protest must be so strong that the Germans shall realise that they are excluding themselves from the civilised world if they do not stop the mass slaughter of millions of Jewish men, women and children.
The PRESIDENT—I now put the motion to adopt the resolution to the vote.

(The resolution is adopted.)

CLOSING SPEECHES

The PRESIDENT—The Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labour Conference is very nearly concluded. The past three weeks since the Conference convened have been strenuous weeks indeed. I feel as President of this historic gathering a deep and sincere appreciation of the way in which the delegates and their advisers, the officers of the Conference and members of the Secretariat have faced up to their hard and exacting responsibilities.

The agenda has been a formidable one. The strain imposed by long and continuous meetings has been severe. It would have been clearly impossible to accomplish what has been accomplished if everybody who attended this session, no matter in what capacity, had not come to Philadelphia imbued with a spirit of high resolve and strong determination to ensure that the purposes for which this Conference was convened were fulfilled to the fullest extent practicable.

As is usually the case with large and formal international gatherings of this kind, we were perhaps a little slow in getting under way, but we have been gathering momentum steadily, and now as we approach the final stage it is possible to look back on three weeks of solid and most encouraging achievement. I think the majority of those present feel as I do that virtually everything that this Conference could reasonably be expected to do has been done. I think too that all those who are present will share my feeling that the experience of the past three weeks has been unique. Men and women from forty-three nations have met together to try and find a way through the clouds that have hung the world for so many years, and for the past four years with unprecedented blackness.

We can take heart, however, from the fact that at long last we can perceive the sunlight filtering through, with a vision of a different post-war world unfolding truly amazing possibilities of a better life for all of us.

The unfolding of these possibilities is going to be a long and slow and a rather painful process, but if we face up to our post-war responsibilities with the same resolution and the same courage and will to win as so many men and women have displayed during the past four frightful years, it will at least be possible to avoid much of the suffering and chaos that previously characterised the transition from war to peace.

The proceedings of this Conference, and particularly the conclusions at which we have arrived, convince me, as I am sure they convince you and the world, that this high and solemn responsibility is fully and widely accepted. Let us not deceive ourselves as to the difficulties which lie ahead. Serious men and women will see these difficulties, will determine to overcome them, will devote to this task all the goodwill, the energy, the skill, imagination and inventive genius at their command.

There will be times when the problems seem insoluble, when the difficulties are such that it seems as though we won't be able to overcome them. There were times during this Conference when the prospects of reaching general agreement on the road that should be followed seemed most remote. Yet there is scarcely a major issue that has been discussed in committees, in plenary session, in group meetings, on which we have not in due course reached an accepted basis of agreement. Differences there may have been as to procedure, but as to basic principles, I know of no issue on which this Conference has found itself impossibly divided.

May I say this, that I personally, with all the feeling that I might have from a political point of view, with regard to any ideology, believe that the employers and the Government representatives who have come here, have come with the same heart and the same vision with regard to the possibility of doing the job that has to be done. The differences have been differences on the basis of the how are you going to get there, and is the goal that you are driving towards a practicable one?

From that fact, more than from any other that has emerged during these three weeks of intensive discussion, I find great hope and tremendous encouragement.

If I judged the feeling correctly at the opening of the Conference, it seemed that we hardly knew one another. Many old friends, it is true, met in Philadelphia again. But as the days passed and the work of the committees continued, understanding between the delegates grew more and more. This growing understanding, I believe, has been reflected in the report, in which the work of the committees has been carried out, especially during the last two weeks. This contributed tremendously to the completeness with which the committees have reported on the matters referred to them and to the surprising unanimity with which their recommendations have been accepted.

These recommendations and reports will I believe have greater significance in relation to post-war economic and social policy than the decisions of any previous international conference of a similar kind.

It is difficult to single out one particular achievement of this Conference for special mention. It seems not too rash to predict, however, that the Declaration which we adopted on Tuesday will go down in history as one of the most significant documents of our time. It is in my opinion the greatest social charter that has yet been published. It does much more than merely restate the aims and purposes of the In-
ternational Labour Organisation. It emphasises some of the things that have still to be done, some of the conditions that have still to be fulfilled, some of the aspirations that have still to be realised, before the ideals and objectives for which this war is being fought will have been safely and enduringly achieved. But the Declaration—and it is impossible to overemphasise this fact—will not be worth the paper it is printed on unless there is action, positive action, vigorous action, courageous action, to give effect to its principles.

The Declaration and the Recommendations that we have adopted lay the foundation for the kind of post-war world we have undertaken to bring into being. But the constructive task of building upon this foundation is one to which we must still dedicate our efforts and our resolve. The major objective I see and suggest to you is freedom—for everybody, for all men and all women everywhere, freedom in its fullest and widest possible meaning.

"Freedom", unfortunately, is a word which has been so much used and so loosely used during the last decade or so that it has lost its force; but its value still remains. Freedom in the best and, in fact, the only sense in which the word can be used necessarily implies conditions in which it can be experienced and enjoyed to the full. There can be no freedom where there is hunger. There can be no freedom where there is ill-health. Only very rarely is there a St. Francis of Assisi who can experience freedom fully in poverty and hunger.

Poverty can be abolished. It has not been ordained by God. Some wise man once said, "The poor you always have with you". But we are going to abolish the poor in the sense that poverty means shortage of bread. I would like to interpolate here the greatest book that was ever printed, because the words are of the greatest man and personality that I have ever read about. He used the term, "Man does not live by bread alone". We can't live without it. It is necessary for all things. The soul can't act, the mind can't act, the spiritual life can't be lived unless the body's organs are kept together by physical food. Thus, poverty, as I see it, can be abolished. Its abolition depends on one thing and one thing only—on the will and the determination of those people who believe that it can and must be abolished.

The Declaration we have adopted here will, if we allow its principles to guide our future conduct, sound the death knell of poverty and want, and fear of poverty and want throughout the world.

Because of this, I regard the Declaration as a statement of social principles that will ring in the ears of all those who are today denied the material well-being and the spiritual comfort which only true freedom can guarantee them. Only, as the Hot Springs Conference brought out, one half of the people of the world have enough to eat. One half have never had enough to eat.

Our meetings have, however, taken place on the eve of what I believe to be the greatest military offensive of all times, to make that which I have talked about and we have talked about possible. For nearly two years, forces have been gathering in Britain and in Ireland and in other places to strike the blow that we believe will free Europe, and then release the men and machines and equipment needed to bring freedom to Asia also.

It is important that we should recognise the fighting capacity of our enemy. At the moment, he is holding the major forces of the world at bay. He still has a large part of Europe and of Asia in his relentless grip. I believe we will take most of it from him very soon. We have talked about the people of the occupied countries. There isn't anything too much that we can do for them, and for those that have given their all so that we might live.

The victory of the United Nations in this war is now only a matter of time. It may be near, it may perhaps be two or even three years before the enemy in the east and in the west is finally overwhelmed. Of the outcome, there is no longer any doubt, but we should not dismiss too lightly the effort that still lies ahead.

If the war is over soon, things may be less hard for Germany in the years that follow. Retribution will be severe in any case, but it is possible to be firm without being vindictive. Hate will destroy the hater. If we hate long, it will destroy our soul and not the object of our hate, and we have got to remember that, too. If the war is not over soon, then the hatred that has been pent up in the hearts and minds of those who have suffered the cruelties and hardships of the past four years may be even greater than anything yet known. Hatred, however, cannot solve our problems. Unless we find some constructive means of avoiding a similar occurrence, we will have failed in our greatest purpose, and this war will have been fought in vain.

It is not for me to express the feelings of men and women who have lost their families, who have seen their homes razed to the ground, who have suffered the horrors and brutality of concentration camps. I cannot conceive how human beings react under these conditions and those experiences. But I do know that unless we find a way of living with one another when this conflict is over, then war will come again. We have a responsibility to the many who have sacrificed so much to see that this does not happen.

We have during this Conference adopted a Declaration as to what we feel should be done in connection with the occupied countries.

Our job, the job of those in the so-called free countries, is to help the occupied countries to help themselves. France and
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Belgium and Norway and Holland and Denmark and Greece and Poland and Yugoslavia and the others can regain their full freedom only by their own nationals and through their own efforts. By full freedom, I mean more than liberation. They alone can save themselves. We can help by giving them the materials for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of their countries, but it must be Frenchmen that save France, Belgians that save Belgium, Dutchmen that save Holland, Norwegians that save Norway, and the nationals of the other countries that I have mentioned who must save themselves. Those with the resources at their command can help by making the materials, the equipment and other things available in the early stages. But the occupied countries alone can do what must be done, though we can help. We owe much to their resistance under unprecedented conditions of hardship and torture and tension. It is a debt that we gladly acknowledge.

We will, however, have to look to the world of the future and to assure those men who have fought—those men and women who have suffered during the past four years—that we are not going back to the old conditions, we are not going to betray everything for which they have given their lives. What is immediately required is to lay down for future guidance general principles of social policy. We have done that, but they must be rapidly translated into conditions that will make freedom from want an accomplished fact within the next few years.

War ought to maximise production. But if we want to maximise production, we have to determine production of what and where and when, and also what we are going to do with the resources and the produced commodities when they have been brought into being. Why do we want to maximise production? The answer is that without maximised production the world cannot be free. As I said before, one half of the people have never had enough to eat.

Just a word or two with regard to the men who have gone away. It is easy to put into words the urges of our hearts and minds—not always so easy to put them into practice. Yet I cannot emphasise too strongly that inside the possibility of its achievement, no man or woman who fought for their country should be worse off because they did so fight, and no man or woman should be better off because they did not so fight.

We were all moved the other day by the eloquence of Mr. Tomlinson in referring to the disabled man and rehabilitation. I have seen some of it in our own organisation, in our little country of New Zealand. I have seen joy come to the man—I was in London a short time ago and saw a man who had lost both his legs. I saw him six months later, and he walked along the room that I was in, with legs fastened to him. He said, “See, I can walk, Mr. Nash”. And then he strode across the room and threw his sticks away. Today he is flying a plane across the Pacific once more.

That is the joy. It is not pensions—it is the joy of being wanted, of being able to use hands when the originals have been shot away, of being able to see and to feel and to do things without eyes. It is that which we have to do—to help the men and women who have been maimed and scarred by this terrible conflict to come back and live a full and useful life again.

One other point. For some time I have been studying statistics, particularly with regard to the expectation of life, and—whilst statistics do not always prove the case that they are supposed to prove— they are often very revealing. The expectation of 67 years of life in one little country in the South Pacific alongside an expectation of less than 27 years in a thickly populated country in Asia cannot be permanently maintained. If that goes on for long, the seeds of another war have been sown. I say there is no need for it. The responsibility of the countries where the resources are is to see not only that their standards of living are raised—or that they are at least maintained to ensure full health—but that what can be brought into being in excess of what was previously necessary shall go to other countries to enable them to lift their standards too. There is no other way of avoiding war and bringing peace with prosperity.

Then another thing, the idea of a superior people in the sense of their being inherently superior is wrong. There are no inherently superior people. There are superior peoples, collectively and individually, but not inherently so. Give any human being created by the same God the same conditions and opportunity which you and I may have enjoyed, then whatever their status may have been through the ages, it is probable that in due course he or she will achieve the same level of material and cultural advancement.

We have set our objectives so far as social security is concerned. The objective you passed today in connection with social security reminds me of another conference—the Conference in Geneva in 1920. It was called the Second International—not the International Labour Organisation Conference—but the Second International Conference. There, delegates from most of the countries of the world, immediately after the last war, were debating this resolution. I place it before you because I affirm it has to be given effect to if we are to have permanent peace. The resolution was that the first charge on all the wealth created shall
be the care of the aged, the care of the young, the care of the ailing, and those engaged in the production of essential utilities. The aged—why? Because that which we enjoy today we could not so enjoy had it not been for that which they have done. The young—because if they are not looked after now, there is no future for us. The ailing—because unless we do that simple, ordinary Christian duty, then we would have the soul to justify our living in the better world that may come later. But more than that: if you don't look after the ailing, the diseases and the troubles they have will come to you. So there is a lot of sense also in doing the right thing. That is all that I have to say with regard to those things.

We have set all this out in our Declaration. I have never attended a Conference where representatives of three groups, employers, employees and Governments, have been so united in the objectives towards which they desire to travel. Our differences have come only when we have been reasoning out how—how is it to be done?—and whether it is practicable to bring about the conditions we desire.

I believe the goal that we have set ourselves is an objective which can be reached. I believe that poverty anywhere, as stated in the Declaration, endangers prosperity everywhere. I don't want to get rid of poverty just to ensure that prosperity is maintained; I want to get rid of poverty because it is bad, it is wrong, it is immoral, it is unethical, it is unchristian, it is unfair, and it is unjust, and it is everything that is bad, if you look at it. I mean involuntary poverty—when a man is told that his hands are not wanted, and that his wife and his youngsters will be deprived of the necessary things for health—that is unjust, an indictment of all human beings who do any thinking.

I believe we were meant in this world to live a long time, and I believe the contribution made by this Conference has been great towards that end. But that contribution will not have been complete unless we go from here determined that each in our own country we will work and strive and fight to bring into being the conditions that we have talked of here, to help to write the legislation, and to see that it is properly administered, so that that which we have talked of will be put into effect.

I am hoping that when the next Conference comes around, we will not find ourselves engaged in discussions on how, but will be considering reports on what has been done, and on what are to be the next steps in our march to freedom.

So much I have to say with regard to the general principles. One special thing in connection with this Conference calls forth the admiration of every delegate, and that is the way in which the Secretariat, with some help that should be recorded from outside, led by Mr. Phelan, have performed a task under extraordinary difficulties.
three press correspondents of all the important press agencies and newspapers of the United States and Great Britain. That is a great tribute to us.

There is one further subject I would like to emphasise, which I mentioned before, and which I want to bring in at the end of my remarks, I have already stated something in regard to my opinion that there are no superior people in the world. I believe that. There are no inherently superior people in the world. Related to this declaration is one like unto it. There can be no justification for discrimination against people because of the womb from which they came. Such discrimination as has been referred to by Mr. Stanczyk is one of the worst negations of all the principles for which this Organisation stands and for which we have been working in this Conference.

Men and women of all races, of all creeds and of all nationalities, and of all classes should be accepted at their work, and our treatment of them should be in accord with the contribution that they have made, can make, and are willing to make, towards the general well-being.

Discrimination of the type that has been in existence on the European continent in particular during the past decade is abhorrent to everything that we have thought out here. If we have a knowledge of the road that we ought to travel and the principles to which we are pledged, then we will accept men and women because of what they are, and not from where they came, and from whom they came, and to what race they belong, or to the colour of their skin, or the religion they profess.

There is much more to be done in this world than to discriminate against persons. The job, as I see it, is to find a way of working with the people of all countries that want to travel along the road that we desire to travel—the road of peace and prosperity and progress—neither possible without the other.

We desire to travel along that road, and we desire that everyone shall have a right to reach that objective, and to have the abundant life that the Creator intended for us all to enjoy.

Sir John Forbes Watson (Employers' delegate, British Empire), Vice-President of the Conference—The hour is late, and I am sure you, Mr. President, will be relieved to know that I shall not exceed my time limit on this occasion; although I am sure I would have to do so if I were to say all the nice things I want to say. I shall try, however, briefly to express to you on behalf of the Employers' group of this Conference their sincere appreciation of the efficiency and businesslike expediency with which you have piloted this Conference.

This Conference has been one of the most difficult conferences this Organisation has ever held. These last few weeks this Conference has often looked to me like a great ship, rolling in a heavy sea, with a general cargo which brought its plimsoll line far below the water. To some of us some parts of the cargo were very precious, while others weren't—so much so that there were times this week when to save the ship, as you know, I would have jettisoned a considerable part of the cargo which I was sure we could very well do without. But you, sir, have brought the ship safely home into harbour with the cargo complete and entire, and each man can now claim his own.

It has been a difficult Conference; but in some ways it has been an easier Conference than the old ones. As you said, although we may differ as to the methods of doing things, we are all now united in one thing—and that is, a common bond of liberty. We are therefore much more tolerant of each other's point of view than we used to be—we are much less impatient of each other's views than we used to be—and I hope that that toleration will continue after this war is won. I think it will help to ensure the continuance of that toleration if we have another look at the Standing Orders which regulate the work of this Organisation and its Conference.

We have in the last twenty-five years built up a labyrinth of procedure through which the newcomer—and the newcomer is the man with the fresh mind—has great difficulty in finding his way. I suggest the Governing Body should now take these Standing Orders, and all these regulations, and put them into some simple form, so that all who run can read.

We now go our several ways. Some are going back to their homes which the foul finger of aggression has not touched, and which we mean it shall never touch. There are others who cannot go home—the exiles whose hearts are torn by the tortures of their fellow countrymen in the grip of Nazi tyranny. And there are some of us who are going back to bombs and blackouts, and a life of great austerity, where we want to be; where all are combatants and where not only men stand in arms, but the women, at this moment as I speak, while thinking of their loved ones in this war, themselves stand tensely at attention and on guard. But wherever we go, I am sure every one here will leave this hall refreshed in mind and body by having sojourned in this great free land; convinced, as you said, Mr. President, and as I am, that things of the spirit are greater than material things, and conscious, every one of us, that all the rights we place on the International Charter can only be real if they carry with them corresponding duties.

I say in conclusion, Mr. President, that this Conference has been worth while and in congratulate you upon the way in which you have brought us to this stage, I would like to add, on behalf of the employers, a word of tribute to the distin-
guished services of our Secretary-General, and all the staff of this Organisation for what they have done during the last three weeks. And amongst that staff I would like to include not only those who have had the good fortune to be mentioned by name, or even by class, but also those who have sat in the typing and clerical rooms and worked silently, but efficiently, and without whose work this Conference would have broken down. No person, who said his group may be, can have coped from morning to night these last three weeks with the records of this Conference, which have come to us with great regularity, without having a thought for those who, as I said, silently and unrecognised have made it possible for us to keep in touch with each day's proceedings.

It is in that spirit, Mr. President, that I once more congratulate you upon what you have done at this Conference, the Secretary-General upon what he has done during the Conference and from the very outset of this Organisation, and all the members of the staff, without distinction, who have made this Conference possible.

Mr. WATT (Workers' delegate, United States of America), Vice-President of the Conference—First I want to associate myself with what Sir John Forbes Watson has said about the President, Mr. Nash. I am sure that the Workers' group will agree with me when I say that he has presided over our sessions with skill and tolerance and understanding.

I also want, on behalf of the Workers' group, to say to the Secretary-General and the loyal members of the staff that we deeply appreciate the magnificent contribution they have made to the work of this Conference.

In contrast with the feverish regimentation of men, women and children to serve the immediate purposes of the totalitarian States, this International Labour Conference has demonstrated that delegates from over forty sovereign nations could calmly and realistically sit down in conference and work out agreements in democratic fashion, despite the complexity of the economic and social problems which were involved.

Many movements have come and gone since this Organisation first met. Organisations have suddenly sprung up and just as quickly have died. Knowing what to put our faith in and what to trust has been both a problem and a challenge for the organised workers of the world. In the welter of world organisations, workers throughout the world have many times been compelled to ask themselves what was worth while. They have asked: what will be most enduring? What will be effective in bettering working conditions? What will elevate standards and provide for world unity and world stability? Countless thousands of workers, regardless of their creed, race or colour, have answered these questions by putting their faith, their hopes and their ideals, into the International Labour Organisation, where the struggle goes on to protect our individual liberties and our economic opportunities.

Although our deliberations have not been participated in by all the United Nations, I believe the value of our conclusions depends upon their suitability rather than their parentage. The Governments and people of other nations, I am sure, will not wish to ignore the Recommendations of a representative assembly, when such Recommendations advance the cause of social justice and international unity and understanding.

This Conference has demonstrated once again that men and women of goodwill believe in democracy, political and economic. It has demonstrated that freedom and democracy can survive for humanity as the best practical government of men.

Interpretation: Mr. FONTAINA (Government delegate, Uruguay)—As Government delegate and in the absence of Mr. Bustos Lagos, Vice-President for our group, I should like to congratulate Mr. Nash on the equanimity and dignity with which he has presided over this Conference, and at the same time to express our desire to associate ourselves with what he said about Mr. Phelan and the staff of the Secretariat.

At the close of this Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labour Conference, held on American soil, the delegation of the Republic of Uruguay wishes to give solemn expression to its profound conviction that the tripartite character of this great international gathering has given its discussions an especially democratic character and that the resolutions adopted with the sole object of promoting human solidarity were the happy result of the mutual comprehension, tolerance and sentiments of fraternity which lie in the hearts of all men, and of unwavering faith in a better future.

It is our fervent hope that the victory of the United Nations will restore peace and liberty to the world forever, and with them democracy and justice, in an atmosphere of loyal international collaboration.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL—There is an old tradition that the Secretary-General of the Conference should speak at this stage of the proceedings. Let me thank you, Mr. President, Sir John Forbes Watson, Mr. Watt, and Mr. Fontaina, for all that you and they have been good enough to say about myself and the Secretariat of the Conference. I could do very little, if anything at all, if it were not for the staff of the International Labour Office.

You have mentioned some of them by name. Sir John Forbes Watson, an old hand, has drawn your attention to people
whom you do not see, like stenographers and translators. The translators have got what is called in this country a particularly "warm hand", but perhaps I should remind you that while you do know some of the translators, those whose voices you either hear from this rostrum or over the telephone, there are many whom you do not know, who are working behind the scenes, translating the reports of committees, translating other documents which are distributed to this Conference, and who very often have had to work long hours through the night. There are proof-readers, again, without whose assistance we could not have distributed the records to which Sir John referred. And since I am speaking of proof-readers, may I add also that I think we owe a debt of gratitude to the printers of Philadelphia, who also made a very special effort to get these printed documents into your hands as rapidly as possible.

Of course, it is true that the effort which the staff has put forward has not been confined to these three weeks, and that they have been under very considerable strain and pressure ever since last December. I am sure they could not have performed their task as they have done were it not that they felt they were making a real contribution to the work of this important Conference. Their recompense is, I know, the success which the Conference has achieved.

Since I am talking about the staff, and the assistance it has been able to give you, this is an appropriate moment at which I should mention another debt, a debt to the Business Machines Corporation and to Mr. Watson, its President, who has been good enough to place at your disposal the telephonic equipment which has been a great convenience to delegates and of inestimable value to the Conference as a whole, because of the amount of time which it has enabled us to save.

We owe other debts. We owe a special debt to President Johnson and the authorities of Temple University for their generosity in placing at our disposal the hall and the other halls in which the committees and the groups have met. We do know—at least I know—that it has meant a very considerable inconvenience for the University, and I think our gratitude should be correspondingly great.

I know that I speak not only for the Secretariat but for the whole of the Conference, when I voice our gratitude and our keen appreciation of the welcome which the Conference has received from the City of Philadelphia, and the Philadelphia Reception Committee. I think I should extend that and say that we owe a debt of gratitude to the whole of the people of the United States, whose invitation, sent to us through Mr. Cordell Hull, the Governing Body accepted in London.

I would like to endorse, Mr. President, every thing that has been said about your services to this Conference by speakers from the three groups. I know that when I, as Secretary-General, have had to turn to you for advice or counsel, you have always been ready to give me unspiringly of your time and attention. And may I associate with that expression of thanks the three Vice-Chairmen of the Conference—Mr. Bustos, Sir John Forbes Watson, and Mr. Watt. Just as all sessions of the Conference have their special characteristics, so have our different Presidents, and none has shown a better combination of firmness and suavity, and none has certainly surpassed your keen interest in every aspect of the work of the Conference and the committees. The Conference owes much to your will and determination to do everything in your power to bring its deliberations to a successful issue. How successful that issue is, I will not attempt to measure at this moment, save to say that it is beyond anything we could have hoped for, and beyond anything, I think, any delegate could have anticipated ten or even four or five days ago.

The Conference has been a live, even a lively conference. You have guided it across, I will not say stormy seas, but sometimes very choppy seas, and brought it safely to port with a rich and varied cargo. In thanking you, Mr. President, I would also like to thank—and again I think I speak for the whole Conference—the chairmen and the reporters of the different committees.

There is, first of all, one of them to whom I believe this Conference would wish to pay a special tribute, and to whom we are under a long series of very special obligations. That is Miss Frances Perkins. I will not speak of the work which I know that she did to prepare for this Conference in Philadelphia long before it met, but at this Conference, she was the Chairman of the most difficult and the most heavily-laden Committee. She gave to that Committee, in spite of the great responsibilities that she carries in this country, and of the many calls on her time and attention, unstintingly of her energy, assiduity, and of her thought. I know she feels that she has been repaid by the conclusions at which that committee arrived, and which have been endorsed by this Conference, but I think she deserves something more. The delegates have got to know her more intimately than would have otherwise been possible. They have been able to appreciate how fervent is her conviction in those ideals which were embodied in the American resolution, which corresponds so closely to the objectives of this Organisation, and also her warmth of heart and her open-mindedness, which made it so much easier to reconcile the different views which must be a feature in any international body.

I think I speak for all of you when I tender her our thanks and express to her our unbounded admiration for all that she has done, both to make this Conference
To all the delegates as they turn homeward to cross the oceans and the continents, I would like to present our best wishes for a safe and rapid journey. Some, as Sir John Forbes Watson said, will not be able, alas, to go all the way. In order to complete their journeys, they must wait on the victories of the armies of liberation. We hope and pray they will not have to wait long. But when the members of the Indian delegation are back in New Delhi and the members of the Chinese delegation back in Chungking and Mr. Tomlinson is back in the British House of Commons and Sir Frederick Leggett is again at his desk, as Deputy Secretary of the British Ministry of Labour, when other Ministers and high officials are back in the capitals of their countries and the workers and employers are again immersed in the affairs of their organisations, what will happen?

The press and the radio, which have given us such valuable aid in keeping public opinion aware of our proceedings, will no longer be able to focus that opinion on the Conference, which will be dispersed into its constituent elements, but Government delegates will be reporting to their Governments and employers and workers to their organisations. Directly or indirectly, intermittently or continuously, the decisions of this Conference will be receiving national attention, leading, we hope, to national action.

In a few moments, Mr. President, you will declare closed this historic session of the International Labour Conference, but without any pause the International Labour Organisation will continue that phase of its work which takes place in the different Member States. Under the impulse received from our work here, we may confidently hope that its activity will be ever wider and ever more fruitful.

The PRESIDENT — I thank you for your courteous co-operation and consideration and declare the Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labour Conference closed.

(The Conference closed at 8 p. m.)
### Delegates present at the Sitting

**United States of America:**
- Miss Perkins
- Mr. Goodrich (substitute for Mr. Thomas)
- Mr. Harriman
- Mr. Watt

**Argentina Republic:**
- Mr. García Arias
- Mr. Palmieri
- Mr. Lamuraglia
- Mr. Giróla

**Australia:**
- Mr. Beasley
- Mr. Barnard
- Mr. Clarey

**Belgium:**
- Mr. van Zeeland
- Mr. Gottschalk (substitute for Mr. Wauters)
- Mr. Joassart
- Mr. Rens

**Bolivia:**
- Mr. Andrade

**Brazil:**
- Mr. Fontes
- Mr. de Rego Monteiro
- Mr. de Mattos Lima

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

**Canada:**
- Mr. Renaud (substitute for Mr. Martin)
- Mr. Rive (substitute for Mr. Claxton)
- Mr. Coulter
- Mr. Dowd (substitute for Mr. Bengough)

**Chile:**
- Mr. Bustos Acevedo (substitute for Mr. Gajardo Villarroel)
- Mr. Días Salas
- Mr. Velásquez Quiroga

**China:**
- Mr. Li Ping-heng
- Mr. Hsieh Cheng-fu
- Mr. Li Ming
- Mr. Chu Hsieh-fan

**Colombia:**
- Mr. Nannetti
- Mr. Molina

**Costa Rica:**
- Mr. Padilla Castro

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

**Czechoslovakia:**
- Mr. Fischer (substitute for Mr. Masaryk)
- Mr. Shoebbaum
- Mr. Morawetz
- Mr. Kosina

**Dominican Republic:**
- Mr. Garrido Cestero (substitute for Mr. Cocco)
- Mr. Morales

**Ecuador:**
- Mr. López Arieta
- Mr. Torres Vera

**Egypt:**
- Mr. Radi
- Mr. El Sherif
- Mr. Soliman

**Ethiopia:**
- Mr. Tessemma

**France:**
- Mr. Tixier
- Mr. Delélio-Desloges
- Mr. Antoine
- Mr. Laurent

**Greece:**
- Mr. Diamantopoulos
- Mr. Zarras
- Mr. Kulukundis

**Haiti:**
- Mr. Foucault (substitute for Mr. Thébaut)

**India:**
- Sir Samuel Rungamadhan
- Mr. Prior
- Mr. Mulherkar (substitute for Mr. Mahendra)
- Mr. Mehta

**Iran:**
- Mr. Daftary

**Iraq:**
- Mr. Umar (substitute for Mr. Jawdat)
- Mr. Haidari

**Ireland:**
- Mr. Hearne

**Luxembourg:**
- Mr. Krier
- Mr. Heuertz (substitute for Mr. Le Gailais)

**Mexico:**
- Mr. Trujillo Gurria
- Mr. Cossio y Cossio (substitute for Mr. Santos Guajardo)
- Mr. Chapa
- Mr. Carrillo (substitute for Mr. Lombardo Toledano)
- Mr. Chapa
- Mr. Carrillo (substitute for Mr. Lombardo Toledano)

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

**Norway:**
- Mr. Hambro
- Mrs. Skard (substitute for Mr. Ordning)
- Mr. Dahl
- Mr. Nordahl

**Panama:**
- Mr. Garrido

**Persia:**
- Mr. Elguera
- Mr. Vidal
- Mr. Sabrosa (substitute for Mr. Luna)

**Poland:**
- Mr. Stanczyk
- Mr. Strakacz
- Mr. Falter
- Mr. Adamczyk

**Switzerland:**
- Mr. Feer (substitute for Mr. Bruggmann)

**Turkey:**
- Mr. Gülek
- Mr. Esmer

**Uganda:**
- Mr. Kühn Talay
- Mr. Fontaine

**Venezuela:**
- Mr. Laires-Gabaldón (substitute for Mr. Tinoco Rodil)
- Mr. Pérez Guerrero

**Yugoslavia:**
- Mr. Soubbotitch
- Mr. Bruer (substitute for Mr. Banac)
- Mr. Miloš
THIRD PART

APPENDICES
APPENDIX I

Credentials

(1) Brief report by Mr. Carter Goodrich, Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, on the credentials of delegates and advisers appointed to the Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labour Conference, Philadelphia, 20 April 1944.

The Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office has the honour to present the customary report on the credentials of delegates and advisers as prescribed by Article 3 of the Standing Orders of the International Labour Conference. The notification of the appointment of delegates and advisers is governed by paragraphs 6 and 7 of Article 3 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation, which are in the following terms:

6. The names of the delegates and their advisers will be communicated to the International Labour Office by the Government of each of the Members.

7. The credentials of delegates and their advisers shall be subject to scrutiny by the Conference, which may, by two thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present, refuse to admit any delegate or adviser whom it deems not to have been nominated in accordance with this Article.

In order to facilitate the verification of credentials the International Labour Conference has included the following provisions in its Standing Orders, although these of course have not the binding character of the provisions of the Constitution of the Organisation:

Article 3—Verification of credentials.

1. The credentials of delegates and their advisers shall be deposited with the International Labour Office at least 15 days before the date fixed for the opening of the session of the Conference.

2. A brief report upon these credentials, drawn up by the Chairman of the Governing Body, shall, with the credentials, be open to inspection by the delegates on the day before the opening of the session of the Conference. This report shall be published as an appendix to the record of the first sitting.

3. Any objections raised concerning the nomination of delegates or advisers shall be lodged with the Officers of the Conference and transmitted by them to the Committee charged with the verification of credentials, provided for by Article 9 C.

4. Any objection which is not lodged with the Officers of the Conference within three clear days of the opening of the session of the Conference shall be null and void. In the case of credentials which, on account of very exceptional circumstances, are not deposited in time to be dealt with in the brief report referred to in paragraph 2 above, the period of three days shall run from the date of the publication of the names of the delegates in the Provisional Record of the session.

5. Nevertheless, where an objection is lodged concerning a delegation from a distant country and correspondence would therefore be subject to considerable delay, the said objection will be admissible up to the date of the drafting of the final report.

6. Objections the authors of which remain anonymous, and objections based upon facts or allegations which the Conference, by a debate and a decision referring to identical facts or allegations, has already discussed and recognised to be irrelevant or devoid of substance, shall not be receivable.

7. Pending final decision of the question of his admission, any delegate or adviser to whose nomination objection has been taken shall have the same rights as other delegates and advisers.

The following is the text of paragraph C of Article 9 of the Standing Orders referred to above:

C. Credentials Committee.

1. The Conference shall elect a Committee to verify the credentials of delegates and advisers. The Committee shall consist of a Government delegate, an Employers' delegate and a Workers' delegate, whose names shall be proposed to the Conference by the Committee of Selection.

2. The Credentials Committee shall consider whether any objections which may have been submitted concerning the nomination of delegates or advisers satisfy the conditions of receivability defined in Article 3. If the Committee reaches a unanimous conclusion as to the receivability of any objection, its decision shall be final. If the Credentials Committee does not reach a unanimous conclusion, the Conference shall, without
Appendix I: Credentials

further discussion, decide whether the objection is receivable, on being furnished with a record of the discussions which took place in the Committee, together with a report in which is set forth the opinion of the majority and minority of its members.

3. The Credentials Committee shall consider whether objections concerning the nomination of delegates or advisers which have been declared receivable are well founded, and shall submit an immediate report to the Conference on the cases referred to either in the report of the Chairman of the Governing Body provided for in Article 3, or in the individual objections which have been considered receivable.

The present report is submitted in compliance with the provisions quoted above. It was signed on Wednesday, 19 April 1944 at 10 a.m., in order that it might be open to inspection by the members of the delegations on that day, being the eve of the opening of the Conference.

Any credentials sent in after the closing of this report will be communicated to the Conference by the Secretary-General and will be referred by the Conference to the Credentials Committee.

The files accompanying the present report contain the names of the delegates and advisers and the credentials with which they have been provided or the official communications transmitted to the International Labour Office. The attached table shows the numerical composition of the Conference.

Costa Rica has been included in the above table, subject to confirmation by the Conference of the decision of the Governing Body to readmit this country to membership of the Organisation.

In several cases some members of delegations have been nominated as substitute delegates and advisers or as substitute advisers. For the purpose of the above table, all these have been counted as advisers.

Up to date 40 countries have notified the names of the members of their delegations. Most of them have already communicated credentials (official instruments) or official letters or telegrams to the International Labour Office. The Conference has, of course, always considered nomination by official letter or telegram as satisfactory.

It may be pointed out that twelve countries have nominated Government delegates only. Three of these countries and four others have appointed only one Government delegate. One country has appointed an Employers' delegate but not, so far, a Workers' delegate, and one country has appointed a Workers' delegate but not, so far, an Employers' delegate. It is, however, understood that a second French Government delegate and a Bolivian Workers' delegate will be appointed shortly to complete these two delegations. On previous occasions the Conference and the Credentials Committee have insisted on the fact that Article 3 of the Constitution imposes an obligation on each Government to send a complete delegation to the Conference.

It may be noted that in the letters or telegrams communicating their nominations, various Governments have mentioned the employers' and workers' organisations in agreement with which they have appointed Employers' and Workers' delegates in accordance with paragraph 3 of Article 3 of the Constitution.

Objections to nominations.

Objections have been raised by the All-India Trade Union Congress concerning the nomination of the Workers' delegate of India and by the Yugoslav Seamen's Union (London) concerning the nomination of the Workers' delegate of Yugoslavia. These objections will be transmitted to the Credentials Committee, as provided by the Standing Orders of the Conference.

Composition of the Conference and quorum.

The present report serves for fixing provisionally the quorum necessary to give validity to the votes taken.

At present the Conference is composed of 71 Government delegates, 27 Employers' delegates, and 27 Workers' delegates, making a total of 125 delegates.

There are in addition 116 Government advisers, 40 Employers' advisers, and 48 Workers' advisers—a total of 204 advisers.

The total number of persons taking

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<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Government delegates</th>
<th>Employers' delegates</th>
<th>Workers' delegates</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<td>Yugoslavia</td>
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</table>
part in the work of the Conference, i.e., persons who have been nominated in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution, is 329, and in addition there are 8 secretaries to delegations.

In accordance with Article 17 of the Constitution of the Organisation and Article 18 of the Standing Orders of the Conference, "a vote is not valid if the number of votes cast for and against is less than half the number of delegates attending the Conference and having the right to vote". The Bolivian Employers' delegate and the Panamanian Workers' delegate must be excluded from the reckoning of the quorum, since under Article 4 (2) of the Constitution neither of these has at present the right to vote. The quorum necessary to give validity to a vote will therefore provisionally be one half of 123, that is to say, 62.

Philadelphia, 19 April 1944.

(Signed) CARTER GOODRICH.

(2) First report of the Credentials Committee.\(^1\)

The Credentials Committee decided at its first meeting held on 26 April 1944 to submit its first report to the Conference immediately.

Composition of the Conference.

Since the signature of the brief report made by the Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, the Credentials Committee has registered the following nominations:

**United States of America:**
- 2 Government advisers
- 1 Employers' adviser

**Bolivia:**
- 1 Workers' delegate

**Brazil:**
- 1 Government adviser

**British Empire:**
- 1 Government adviser

**Canada:**
- 2 Government advisers

**China:**
- 4 Government advisers
- 1 Workers' adviser

**Colombia:**
- 1 Government delegate
- 1 Workers' delegate

**Costa Rica:**
- 1 Government delegate
- 1 Workers' delegate

**Greece:**
- 1 Government adviser

**Iraq:**
- 1 Government adviser

**Mexico:**
- 2 Government advisers

**Netherlands:**
- 2 Government advisers
- 1 Employers' adviser
- 1 Workers' adviser

**New Zealand:**
- 1 Government adviser

**Norway:**
- 1 Government adviser

**Panama:**
- 1 Employers' delegate

**Poland:**
- 1 Workers' delegate

**Venezuela:**
- 1 Government adviser

In the case of Poland, one person originally appointed as a Government adviser has now been appointed Employers' adviser, and two persons originally appointed as Government advisers have now been appointed as Workers' advisers.

Incomplete delegations.

The following delegations are incomplete:

- Government delegates only (11):
  - Ethiopia, Haiti, Iran, Iraq, Ireland, Liberia, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Turkey, Uruguay, Venezuela.

- Government and Workers' delegates only (2):
  - Colombia, Costa Rica.

The total number of countries represented by delegations at the Conference is now 41 and the total number of delegates is now 131 of whom 78 are Government delegates, 28 are Employers' delegates, and 30 are Workers' delegates. There being no Employers' delegates from Colombia and Costa Rica, the Workers' delegates of those countries are not entitled to vote. The total number of delegates for the purpose of the calculation of the quorum is therefore 129 and the quorum is 65.

The total numbers of advisers are as follows: Government, 131; Employers, 43; Workers, 51. The aggregate membership of delegations is therefore 356 (excluding secretaries).

Credentials.

On the basis of the decisions taken at the previous sessions of the Conference, the Committee has accepted as satisfactory evidence of nomination as delegate or adviser credentials, official letters or official telegrams from Governments. The Committee found that all delegates and

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\(^1\) See Proceedings, p. 135.
advisers possess the necessary documents attesting their nominations.

Objections.
The following objections to the credentials of delegates to the Conference have been submitted to the Credentials Committee:

An objection concerning the nomination of the Indian Workers' delegates and advisers has been lodged by the All India Trade Union Congress.

An objection concerning the nomination of the Yugoslav Workers' delegate and adviser has been lodged by the Yugoslav Seamen's Union.

An objection concerning the nomination of the delegates appointed by the Government of Yugoslavia has been lodged by the United South Slav Committee.

An objection concerning the nomination of the Workers' delegate and advisers of the Argentine Republic has been lodged by the secretary of the Workers' Group of the Conference.

An objection concerning the nomination of the Workers' delegate and adviser of Greece has been lodged by the representative of the Panhellenic Federation of the Maritime Trade Unions.

The Credentials Committee has duly communicated the text of these objections to the representatives of the Governments concerned. The Committee will submit a report to the Conference subsequently with respect to the objections.

Philadelphia, 26 April 1944.

(Signed) J. van den TEMPEL,
Chairman.

(3) Second report of the Credentials Committee.

Objection concerning the nomination of the Indian Workers' delegate and his advisers.

The Credentials Committee transmitted to the representative of the Government of India the text of the objection lodged by the All India Trade Union Congress concerning the nomination of the Workers' delegate of India and his advisers.

Annexed to the present report the members of the Conference will find the text of the objection and of the reply of the Government delegate.

The Credentials Committee noted that there are two organisations each of which claims to be the most representative; that the Government of India recognises both organisations, has given to each of them equal representation on the Indian Tripartite Labour Committee, invariably con-

sults both of them equally, and endeavoured without success to get them to share in some manner the delegation to the present session of the Conference; and that in these circumstances the Government of India decided that as they have no machinery by which to examine which of the two organisations was the more representative, the only satisfactory course was to adopt the principle that Indian workers should be represented in turn alternately by the Indian Federation of Labour and the All India Trade Union Congress and decided that the first turn should be given to the newer organisation, the Indian Federation of Labour.

In these circumstances the Credentials Committee asks the Conference to regard the Workers' delegate of India and his advisers at the present session of the Conference as duly accredited. It does not doubt that the Government of India will continue its endeavours to make provision for the representation of both organisations in an appropriate manner at future sessions of the Conference and ventures to hope that the two organisations will reach an agreement which will secure the effective participation in the International Labour Organisation of representatives of all sections of the Indian trade union movement. The Committee understands that, failing such an agreement, the Indian Workers' delegate to the next session of the Conference will be appointed in agreement with the All India Trade Union Congress.

Objection concerning the nomination of the delegates appointed by the Government of Yugoslavia, lodged by the United South Slav Committee.

The Credentials Committee transmitted to the representatives of the Government of Yugoslavia the text of the objection lodged by the United South Slav Committee concerning the nomination of the delegates appointed by the Government of Yugoslavia.

Annexed to the present report the members of the Conference will find the text of the objection and of the reply of the Government delegate.

The objection is different in character from those normally presented to the Conference in that it relates to the title of a Government to represent a Member of the Organisation and not to the question whether Government has, in selecting the delegates representing employers and workpeople, acted in agreement with the industrial organisations most representative of the employers or workpeople of the Member.

The question how international institutions will determine what Government may be regarded as being entitled to represent a particular State for purposes connected with them is one on which no clear rules have ever been laid down in an authoritative way.

The problem is similar in nature to that
of the relations between any one State and any other State where two or more Governments or other organised political groups contend for the right to represent the State internationally. For such cases international law has developed the doctrine and practice of recognition.

The title of a Government to represent the State in relation to another State depends upon its recognition by the Government of the second State as the effective Government of the first. International law confines itself to indicating certain criteria, concerning the application of which to given circumstances there will often be room for controversy, which States have a duty to take into account when deciding whether to accord or decline recognition.

The principal difficulty which is liable to arise when it is necessary to "recognise" a Government for purposes of an international institution is that there may be divergences between the recognition policies of the Governments of the different members of the institution. It is therefore necessary that some international decision on the subject should be taken in the light of the recognition policies, in relation to the State concerned, of the various members of the international institution before which the question arises.

In the present case no particular difficulty arises since, so far as the Committee has been able to ascertain, the Government which has appointed the Yugoslav Government delegates to the present session of the Conference is generally recognised as the Government of Yugoslavia by the Governments of the other Members of the Organisation, and the Committee of National Liberation has not been recognised as the Government of Yugoslavia by the Government of any Member of the Organisation. The Credentials Committee therefore asks the Conference to regard the Government delegates of Yugoslavia and their advisers as duly accredited to the present session of the Conference.

The Committee is, however, impressed with the difficulties which would have confronted it if there had been divergences between the recognition policies of the different Members of the Organisation in relation to Yugoslavia and feels that it would fail in its duty if it did not draw the attention of the Conference to the possibility that such difficulties will arise in the future. It therefore asks the Conference to request the Governing Body to consider the whole subject of the procedure to be followed in any future case in which a question involving recognition of a State or a Government may arise in connection with the activities of the International Labour Organisation.

Objection concerning the nomination of the Yugoslav Workers' delegate and adviser, lodged by the London representative of the Yugoslav Seamen's Union.

The Credentials Committee transmitted to the representative of the Yugoslav Government the text of the objection concerning the nomination of the Yugoslav Workers' delegate and adviser lodged by the London representative of the Yugoslav Seamen's Union.

Annexed to the present report the members of the Committee will find the text of the objection and of the reply of the Government delegate.

The essence of the objection is that the Yugoslav Workers' delegate and his adviser have been appointed by the Government of Yugoslavia rather than by the Committee of National Liberation. The matter is therefore disposed of by the recommendation already made by the Credentials Committee in regard to the objection lodged by the United South Slav Committee.

(Signed) J. van den TEMPEL,
Henry I. HARRIMAN,
V. LOMBARDO TOLEDANO.

ANNEX I

INDIA

A. Text of the objection concerning the nomination of the Workers' delegate and advisers of India.

1. Cable to the Acting Director of the International Labour Office, dated 29 March, received in Montreal on 1 April 1944.

Register protest against Indian Government's setting aside Trade Union Congress claim representing workers at Philadelphia Conference without investigation despite largest membership unquestioned influence.

DANGE, President Trade Union Congress.

2. Letter to the Secretary-General of the Conference, dated 5 April 1944, received in Philadelphia on 17 April 1944.

All India Trade Union Congress, Bombay, 5 April 1944.

Sir,

I am sending you herewith a copy of a protest made by the President of the All India Trade Union Congress against the nomination of the labour delegation from India for the ensuing session of the International Labour Conference to be held at Philadelphia from the 20th April. The original protest has been addressed to the Acting Director, International Labour Office, Montreal, and is sent by air mail. But as I am not sure that the air mail letter will reach Philadelphia in time for the Conference to consider our protest, I am sending a copy of that protest with Dr. P. P. Pillai, the representative of the I.L.O. for India, to be handed over to the Secretary-General of the Conference. I am making brief addition to that protest on account of the fact that in yesterday's proceedings of the Indian Legislative Assembly, Dr. Ambdekar stated in reply to a question that the Government of India make a monthly grant of Rs. 13,000/- to the Indian Federation of Labour for doing propaganda to keep up the morale of industrial labour. I consider that as the Indian Federation of Labour is in this matter acting as a part of the Government of India's machinery, it detracts from its character as free trade union organisation, and I feel this fact itself disqualifies the Indian Federation of Labour as being suitable to represent the free trade union movement in
Indian workers, and whose representative still membership, and prestige and influence among; machinery to examine which of the two organisations is the more representative body." In such a workers has been practically set aside, without satisfaction which has been representing Indian work- ernment itself admits that "Government have no to show why recommendations of the All India the Indian Federation of Labour, and the claim were nominated in accordance with the wishes of nations to the International Labour Conference, accepted. The press communiqué issued by Gov­ernment of India announced its nomination— as a rival organisation to the All India Trade cent by Messrs. M. N. Roy and Jannadas Mehta that the Indian Federation of Labour, started re­cently by the All India Trade Union Congress, and one of the members at pres­ent of the Governing Body of the International Union Congress and one of the members at pres­ent of the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation—as the Workers' delegate, and Messrs. S. S. Mirakar and V. R. Kalappa as advisers. The All India Trade Union Congress was aware that the Indian Federation of Labour, started re­cently by Messrs. M. N. Roy and Jannadas Mehta as a rival organisation to the All India Trade Union Congress, had approached Government with a claim that it was a more representative central organisation of Indian labour and that nominations to the International Labour Con­ference should be made by the Government of India in agreement with its recommenda­tions. The All India Trade Union Congress wrote to the Government of India as far back as 5th January 1944 challenging this claim of the Indian Federation of Labour and invited impartial investigation. The Government of India has not sent any reply to the All India Trade Union Congress so far on this question. However, on 24th March the Government of India announced in a press communiqué its nominations to the International Labour Conference, in which note that representatives of workers were nominated in accordance with the wishes of the Indian Federation of Labour, and the claim of the All India Trade Union Congress to be the most representative organisation of the Indian workers has been practically set aside, without any investigation. The Government of India has given no reason to show why recommendations of the All India Trade Union Congress should not have been ac­cepted. The press communiqué issued by Gov­ernment itself admits that "Government have no machinery to examine which of the two organisations is the more representative body". In such a situation pending investigation, the older organi­sation which has been representing Indian work­ers since 1920, and which has still the largest membership and prestige and influence among Indian workers, and whose representative still sits on the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation, should have been allowed to continue the representation. 

The All India Trade Union Congress today is the premier central organisation of Indian work­ers, and ever since its amalgamation with the National Trades Union Federation in 1940, has been the strongest and most organised expression of unity and strength of the mass of the organised workers in India. Therefore there was no justifi­cation at all for the Government of India to hasten to recognise a rival claim to representation to the All India Trade Union Congress.

We are forwarding herewith a list of our af­filiated unions", with their membership, as it stood on 21st March 1944—the total being 3,350,964, scattered in 307 trade unions whose ac­tivities extend to industries all over the country. I have also to point out that the All India Trade Union Congress does not affiliate any union unless it has been in existence and functioning for one year prior to its application for affiliation, which is not the practice with the Indian Federation of Labour. Similarly, we have not admitted any other central organisation as an associate mem­ber and included its membership in our list, as is done by the Indian Federation of Labour. Our membership embraces workers in most of the large and small industries in our country, in which the textile industry and the railways carry the largest weight. The biggest textile and rail­way unions, which have been the backbone of the trade union movement in our country, are all in our organisation.

We maintain with confidence based on facts that the claim of the Indian Federation of Labour that it has a membership of 9 lakhs is a baseless claim and we question its credentials to represent workers of India in the International Labour Conferences.

In view of these circumstances, I have to re­quest you to place our protest before the Creden­tials Committee of the Conference, and to disallow the delegation nominated by the Government of India to participate in the Confer­ence on behalf of Indian workers.

Yours faithfully, 
(Signed) S. A. DANGE, 
President, AITUC.

Enclosures—Two.

2b. Copy of the question asked by Mr. Lalchand Navalrao and the reply by the Hon'ble Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Labour member, Govern­ment of India, in the Legislative Assembly, New Delhi, in its meeting on 4 April 1944 (enclosure to 2).

Mr. Lalchand Navalrao: (a) Will the Hon'ble Member for Labour be pleased to state whether it is a fact that his department makes a monthly contribution of Rs. 13,000 to the Indian Federation of Labour through Mr. M. N. Roy? If so, for what purpose? If the amount of contribution is more or less than this figure, will the Hon'ble Member please state the correct figure? 
(b) Have any accounts been rendered for the money so contributed to the Indian Labour Federation? If not, why not? 
(c) If the reply to the first portion of part (b) above be in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble Member please lay on the table of the House copies of such statements received for the last six months? If not, why not?

The Hon'ble Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: (a) A monthly grant of Rs. 13,000 is made to the Indian Federation of Labour for doing propaganda to keep up the morale of industrial labour. 
(b) Yes, Sir. 
(c) No. The accounts are subject to the same scrutiny as all public accounts and no useful purpose would be served by placing them on the table.

1The enclosures, not reproduced, consist of: (a) a table showing the membership of the All India Trade Union Congress according to industrial provinces as existing on 1 April 1944, and (b) a list showing the unions affiliated to the All India Trade Union Congress with their addresses and membership.
2c. Extract from the presidential address of Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta, M. A., LL.B., Barrister-at-Law, M.L.A., (Central), at the annual session of the Indian Federation of Labour, held at Bombay on 27, 28 and 29 December, 1943.

"In keeping our organisation detached from political groups we have had to face tremendous difficulties. We have been assailed from all quarters with unprecedented ferocity and by tactics whose mendacity has been equalled only by their unscrupulousness. One of the greatest organs of 'truth' in this city went to the length of informing their readers that Mr. Roy and myself were receiving Rs. 15,000—a month—an allegation which the Press itself has been slow to disbelieve. But we have refused to falter and have become all the stronger for their misrepresentations."

B. Letter from the Government delegate of India to the Chairman of the Credentials Committee.

St. James Hotel, Philadelphia, Pa., April 27, 1944.
Sir,

With reference to your letter of 24th April, 1944, I have the honour to enclose a report drafted by Mr. H. C. Prior, Indian Government delegate, which gives the views of the Indian Government delegates on the credentials objection.

I have the honour to be,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) S. RUNGANADHAN, Sir Samuel Runanganadan.


1. The Government of India have undertaken to nominate Workers' delegates and advisers chosen in agreement with the industrial organisations, if such organisations exist, which are most representative of workpeople in India.

The Constitution does not lay down how the Government is to act if there are more than one organisation claiming to be the most representative, and the claiming organisations are unable to come to an agreement.

2. The Government of India have nominated the Workers' delegate and advisers for the 26th Session of the I.L.O. in agreement with the Indian Federation of Labour, which is one of the organisations of workers claiming to be most representative of workers. An objection has been lodged by the President of the All India Trade Union Congress, another of the organisations claiming to be most representative.

3. A brief account of the two organisations, so far as it is known to the Government of India, is given below:

(a) All India Trade Union Congress.

Founded at Bombay in 1920, though a constitution was not evolved until 1924. In 1929 the All India Trade Union Federation (subsequently known as National Trade Union Federation) split from the A.I.T.U.C., and in 1938 the Red Trade Union Congress seceded. This latter organisation dissolved itself in 1938, and the National Trade Union Federation merged with the A.I.T.U.C. in 1940—from which the Indian Federation of Labour seceded in 1941 as indicated below. The A.I.T.U.C. claimed, in 1942, 191 unions with a membership of 289,863.

(b) Indian Federation of Labour.

 Came into being in November, 1941, as the result of an unanimous decision of the All India Anti-Fascist Labour Conference. The Federation claims that its strength on 31 December, 1943, was 280 unions with a membership of 629,818 (inclusive of 86 unions with a membership of 165,453 of the National Chamber of Labour which is associated with the Federation). Many unions are claimed by both organisations.

Mr. Mehta—the Chairman of the Indian Federation of Labour—is also Chairman of the All India Railwaymen's Union, union members of which have the right to belong to either All India organisation.

4. The Government of India have since 1942 recognised both organisations as the representative All India workers' organisations and have given to each organisation equal representation on their Tripartite Labour Committee both at the plenary conference and the Standing Labour Committee, and invariably consult both organisations equitably on matters on which the opinion of workers' organisations is required.

5. Before deciding on their nominations for the 26th Session, the Government of India invited, through the press, nominations from organisations claiming to be the most representative. Nominations were received from the A.I.T.U.C., the I.F.L., and the A.I.R.U., and (so far as I remember) from one other organisation.

The names of persons suggested for nomination by the two organisations were different, and though an informal approach was made to both to get them to share in some manner the delegation no agreement was found possible.

6. The Government of India, therefore, decided that they have no machinery by which to examine which of the two organisations was the more representative, the only satisfactory course was to adopt the principle that Indian workers should be represented in turn alternately by the I.F.L. and the A.I.T.U.C.—and they decided that the first turn should be given to the newer organisation—the I.F.L.

This decision was announced in a press communiqué in which the Government of India clearly stated their decision to nominate alternately.

7. The following comments are added on the letter of the President of the A.I.T.U.C.

(a) Reference is made to the Government of India's press communiqué but the principle of alternate selection decided on by the Government of India, and stated clearly in the communiqué, is not mentioned.

(b) It would be quite infructuous in the circumstances of the case to attempt to decide which of the organisations was the more representative.

(c) It is understood that the I.F.L. dispute the statement that the biggest textile and railway unions are all in the A.I.T.U.C.—in fact the I.F.L. claim that the majority are with them.

8. As regards the supplementary letter from the General Secretary of the A.I.T.U.C., in March 1942, when the war threat to India was strong and near, the Government of India addressed the All India Trade Union Congress and the Indian Federation of Labour and asked for the assistance of the Congress and the Federation in carrying out propaganda in regard to slit trenches and other safety measures, the maintenance of morale of labour. The A.I.T.U.C. in reply stated (so far as I remember) that they recognised the importance, and would do what they could, but did not require assistance.

The I.F.L. put forward a comprehensive propaganda scheme, which they have consistently carried out, and asked for assistance from the Government of India in meeting the cost of the scheme, which has been given.

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ANNEX II

YUGOSLAVIA

A. Text of the objection concerning the nomination of the delegates appointed by the Government of Yugoslavia.

Cable dated 17 April, received 20 April 1944.

International Labour Conference, Philadelphia.

United South Slav Committee London energetically protest against admission of Yugoslav emigré so-called Government delegates. Puric Government illegal has no right to represent nation outside of Yugoslavia or Yugoslav State. All treaties and obligations contracted by emigré Government were declared invalid by National Liberation Committee headed by Marshal Tito. Request invitation from Conference to National Liberation Committee Yugoslavia to send delegation to Conference.

Dr. FURLAN, Chairman, 4 Queen's Gate Terrace, London S.W. 7.

B. Letter from the Yugoslav Government delegate to the Chairman of the Credentials Committee.

Dr. J. van den Tempel, Minister of Social Affairs, Representative of the Netherlands Government on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, Chairman of the Credentials Committee.

Dear Mr. Chairman,

In reply to the above I have the honour to inform you that the Royal Yugoslav Government in exile is the only legitimate authority that can appoint delegates to the Conference and that this Government has appointed its delegates to the Conference and that this Government has appointed its delegates in full accordance with the Constitution of the International Labour Conference.

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) Ivan V. SOUBBOTITCH, Government delegate of Yugoslavia.

C. Text of objection concerning the nomination of the Workers' delegate of Yugoslavia and his adviser.

Cable dated 17 April, received 18 April 1944.

London representatives of Yugoslav Seamen's Union only Yugoslav trade union abroad strongly protest against admission of any Workers' delegation appointed by Yugoslav emigré Government. Genuine representatives of working class of Yugoslavia are only trade unionists working in territories liberated and administered by National Liberation Committee headed by Marshal Tito. For Yugoslav Seamen's Union.

Vicko SANTIC, 63 Queen's Gate, London, S.W. 7.

D. Letter from the Government delegate of Yugoslavia to the Chairman of the Credentials Committee.

Dr. J. van den Tempel, Minister of Social Affairs, Representative of the Netherlands Government on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, Chairman of the Credentials Committee.

Dear Mr. Chairman,

I am in receipt of your letter of April 24, 1944, with which you have communicated to me, on behalf of the Credentials Committee, the text of an objection to the credentials of the Yugoslav Workers delegate and Workers' adviser to the Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labour Conference, which was lodged by Mr. Vicko Santic, a London representative of the Officers' and Seamen's Union of Yugoslavia, the full text of which objection reads as follows:

Cable dated 17 April, received 18 April 1944.

London representatives of Yugoslav Seamen's Union only Yugoslav trade union abroad strongly protest against admission of any Workers' delegation appointed by Yugoslav emigré Government. Genuine representatives of working class of Yugoslavia are only trade unionists working in territories liberated and administered by National Liberation Committee headed by Marshal Tito.

For Yugoslav Seamen's Union.

Vicko SANTIC, 63 Queen's Gate, London, S.W. 7.

In reply to the above I have the honour to communicate to you and to the Credentials Committee the following facts:

(1) Mr. Cezar Milos, who is a representative of the Officers' and Seamen's Unions of Yugoslavia (of 11 Broadway, New York City), was appointed by the Royal Yugoslav Government as Workers' delegate, and Mr. Marijan Jelicic who is a seaman and a member of the same union, was appointed as adviser to the Workers' delegate.

(2) As a representative of the same union Mr. Cezar Milos was appointed by the Royal Yugoslav Government as Workers' delegate also to the International Labour Conference of 1941 and he took part in the work of that Conference, no objection having been raised by anyone.

(3) The abovementioned Officers' and Seamen's Union of Yugoslavia is the only Yugoslav trade union abroad, a fact which was acknowledged also by Mr. Vicko Santic himself in his abovementioned cable.

Mr. Santic and another seaman were sent to London by the said Officers' and Seamen's Union for the purpose of discussing with the Royal Yugoslav Government those matters concerning the union. They also received instructions from the union to establish an office of this union in London in order to take care of Yugoslav seamen who call in that or some neighbouring port.

(4) In his abovementioned cable Mr. Santic raised two objections:

(a) that the Yugoslav Workers' delegate and adviser have been appointed by the Yugoslav "emigré Government"; and

(b) that this Government had appointed representatives from among men belonging to the Yugoslav trade union abroad instead of from among trade unionists working in territories of occupied Yugoslavia which, as he puts it, "are liberated and administered by the National Liberation Committee headed by Marshal Tito".

With regard to the first objection I would like to point out that the Yugoslav emigré Government (Royal Yugoslav Government in London) is the only legitimate authority that can appoint delegates to this Conference, including Workers' delegates.

With regard to the second objection, I am of the opinion that the Royal Yugoslav Government acted in full accordance with the Constitution of
the International Labour Organisation when it appointed the Workers' delegate and the Workers' adviser from among men belonging to the only Yugoslav trade union abroad.

Enclosed please find the data on the Officers' and Seamen's Union of Yugoslavia.

Believe me, yours very sincerely,
(Signed) I. V. SOUBBOTITCH, Government delegate of Yugoslavia.

ENCLdSURE

Facts about the Yugoslav Officers' and Seamen's Union, 11 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

When Yugoslavia was invaded by Germany in spring, 1941, all the free trade unions in the country were suppressed by the enemy. At that time a fairly large number of Yugoslav vessels, fully manned by Yugoslav crews, which happened to be in friendly waters, took refuge in ports of the Allied countries. The Yugoslav seamen who were thus deprived of their trade unions proceeded with forming their own organisation in exile. Since most of the Yugoslav merchant fleet was in the ports of the United States, a trade union was established in New York, under the name of the "Officers' and Seamen's Union of Yugoslavia".

The purpose of this union was to continue the work and the functions of the suppressed trade unions in the homeland and to assume the protection of the interests of all the Yugoslav seamen outside their country.

The Yugoslav Seamen's Union, with its headquarters in New York, is the only trade union of Yugoslav officers and seamen abroad. As such the Union is fully recognised both by the Royal Yugoslav Government and by the Governments and authorities of the United States and of all the other Allied countries. It is considered to be the continuation of the enemy-dissolved union in the country, and it continues abroad the work of the suppressed trade unions in the occupied country. It also continues the membership of the suppressed trade unions in the different free international workers' organisations abroad.

This union has been working without interruption ever since it was established in April 1941. It is exercising all the functions and powers of a free trade union, such as: passing of collective agreements, sitting in the Joint Maritime Commission, representing the interests of Yugoslav seamen before the shipowners' and other authorities of Yugoslavia and of Allied countries.

The Yugoslav Seamen's Union is headed by a committee consisting of four persons, one of which is Mr. Cezar Milos, who is the eldest in rank and age.

1. V. S.

(4) Third report of the Credentials Committee.

Composition of the Conference.

Since the submission of its First report the Credentials Committee has recorded the following nominations:

Canada:

Ireland:

Liberia:

Yugoslavia:
1. Employers' adviser.

In the case of the British Empire, the name of one person appointed as a Government adviser has been withdrawn from the list.

The total numbers of advisers are now as follows:

Government: 133
Employers: 44
Workers: 51

The accredited membership of delegations is therefore 359 (including secretaries).

Objection concerning the nomination of the Greek Workers' delegate and his adviser, lodged by the representative of the Panhellenic Federation of the Maritime Trade Unions.

The Credentials Committee transmitted to the representative of the Greek Government the text of the objection lodged by the representative of the Panhellenic Federation of the Maritime Trade Unions concerning the nomination of the Greek Workers' delegate and his adviser.

Annexed to the present report the members of the Conference will find the text of the objection and of the reply of the Government delegate.

The objection alleges that the Greek Workers' delegate and his adviser have not been appointed in agreement with the legal representatives of the Greek trade unions acting in collaboration with the underground movement of trade unions inside Greece.

In reply to this allegation the Greek Government delegate states that the Federation of Seamen's Unions, in agreement with which the Greek Workers' delegate and his adviser were appointed, is the most representative trade union of Greek workers functioning freely outside occupied Greece, and comprises the Union of Deck Officers, Marine Engineers, Wireless Operators, and the Union of Sailors and Firemen whose members serve actually on board the ships of the Greek merchant marine.

The facts set forth in the text of the objection concerning the repression of the Greek trade unions during the period of German occupation are in themselves sufficient proof of the great difficulties which have confronted the Greek Government in making proper provision for the representation of the Greek trade unions at the present session of the Conference. The Credentials Committee is accordingly unanimously of the opinion that the Workers' delegate appointed by the Greek Government and his adviser should be regarded as duly accredited.

(Signed) J. van den TEMPEL, V. LOMBARDO TOLEDANO, Henry I. HARRIMAN.
ANNEX

GREECE

A. Text of the objection concerning the nomination of the Workers' delegate and adviser of Greece.

The Director-General of the International Labour Office, the Secretary-General of the International Federation of the Trades Unions, and the Labour Delegates of the United Nations.

Gentlemen,

As the sole duly authorised representative abroad of the Panhellenic Federation of the Maritime Trades Unions, and also as member of the administrative Council of the General (National) Confederation of Greek Labour, I consider it my duty to inform you that the labour representatives of the Greek delegation to the International Conference of the I.L.O., to be held at Philadelphia, have not been legally appointed and, therefore, they cannot properly represent my Greek country. Their appointment is not a legal one, in view of the fact that these delegates have not been designated by the lawful representatives of the Greek trades union—i.e., by the Secretary-General of the General (National) Confederation of Greek Labour, in collaboration with the underground movement of the trades unions inside Greece—and because, in any case, these "labour" representatives never had nor have any connection whatsoever with the trades unions in my country.

For all these reasons, I protest the participation in the International Labour Conference of spurious delegates, pretending that they represent the Greek trades unions, and I ask that they be completely barred from the said Conference. Their recognition would not only be an insolent stain on the Conference of the I.L.O., but also an insult to Greek labour and to the white-collar workers of Greece, who are now struggling for their national freedom.

I take this opportunity to inform you further of the following facts pertaining to the responsible leadership of the General (National) Confederation of Greek Labour—the said leadership has been substituted, sometime ago, by underground leadership within Greece:

The Secretary-General ARISTIDES DEMETRATOS is abroad since the battle of Crete.

The Secretary JOHN CALOMIRIS has been arrested by the Italians and deported to Arcadia.

The Second Secretary DENIS BARKAS (Secretary-General, Builders' Federation) has been arrested by the Italians and sent to a concentration camp in Larissa.

The Executive FOTIS MORFIDES (Secretary-General, Tobacco Workers' Federation) has been executed by the Gestapo, in Athens, without any trial. His assistant, NICOLAOS VALMAS (Second Secretary, Tobacco Workers' Federation) has been condemned by German court-martial and executed in Piraeus.

The Executive JOHN TSAPIS (President of the Piraeus Trades Unions Locals Centre) has been arrested by the Germans and sent to a concentration camp in Tatoi.

The Executive ANASTASIOS THEIOPoulos (Secretary-General, Longshoremen's Federation) has been arrested by the Germans and sent to an undisclosed place; his fate is not known.

The Executive BASIL RAPTIS (Secretary-General, Hotel and Restaurant Personnel Federation) has been arrested by the Germans and executed — later information indicates that his brother, CHRISTOS RAPTIS, has been executed for his activity in strikes.

The Executive TAKIS THEODOROU (Secretary-General, Machinists' Federation) has been condemned to life imprisonment by German court-martial in Salonica.

The Executive JOHN PATSATZIS (Secretary-General Office Employees' Federation) has been arrested by the Germans; his fate is unknown.

The Executive MICHAEL GOLEMIS (President of the Heralceion-Crete-Trades Unions Locals Centre) has been condemned to death by German court-martial and executed.

The member of the General Council THEODOROS PAPADOPOULOS (President of the Callithes Trades Unions Locals Centre) has been condemned by Italian court-martial and executed in Athens.

The member of the General Council CONSTANTINOS VOUTSINUS (President, Longshoremen's Union, Corfu), has been condemned to ten years' imprisonment by Italian court-martial.

The member of the General Council CHARALAMBOS KELENIS (President of the Florina Trades Unions Locals Centre) has been condemned to death by German court-martial and executed.

The member of the General Council NICOLAOS APERGHIS (President, Carddrivers' Union, Athens) has been executed by the Gestapo, without any trial.

The substitute member of the General Council PANAGHIS KARAKATSANIS (President, Tunnel and Sewer Builders' Union, Athens) has been condemned to death by German court-martial and executed.

Hopeing that the present protest will be accepted, so that the voice of the real representatives of the workers of Greece be heard, I remain,

Very truly yours,

(Signed) Evangelos CHRISTOFORATOS, Representative of the Panhellenic Federation of the Maritime Trades Unions, and Executive Member of the Administrative Council of the General (National) Confederation of Greek Labour.

New York, 18 April 1944.

B. Letter from the Government delegate of Greece to the Chairman of the Credentials Committee.

Royal Greek Embassy, Washington, D. C.,
28 April 1944.

No. 1510

Mr. Chairman,

In answer to your letter of the 26th instant, I have the honour to inform you that the Workers' delegate to the present session of the International Labour Organisation Conference has been appointed by the Greek Government in accordance with the Constitution of the said organisation. In fact, the abovementioned delegate has been chosen from names proposed by the Federation of Seamen's Unions which has its headquarters in Cardiff, England, and maintains branches in several large ports abroad.

This Federation is the most representative trade union of Greek workers functioning freely outside occupied Greece, and comprises the Union
Appendix I: Credentials

of Deck Officers, Marine Engineers, Wireless Operators, and the Union of Sailors and Firemen whose members serve actually on board the ships of the Greek merchant marine.

I trust the above information will prove sufficient but should you require any further explanation I shall be very happy to hear from you.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) C. DIAMANTOPOULOS,
Ambassador of Greece.

(5) Fourth report of the Credentials Committee.

Composition of the Conference.

Since the submission of its third report, the Credentials Committee has recorded the following nominations:

Chile:
One Employers' adviser has been appointed Employers' delegate in place of Mr. Heiremans Brockmann, deceased.

Egypt:
One Government adviser has been appointed Government delegate in place of Dr. Abdelmagid Ramzy, deceased.

France:
One Government adviser has been appointed Government delegate.

The number of delegates has thus been increased by one. The total number of delegates for the purpose of the calculation of the quorum is therefore now 130, the quorum, which remains unchanged, being 65.

1 See Proceedings, p. 254.

Objection concerning the nomination of the Argentine Workers' delegate and his advisers.

The Credentials Committee has received the following communication from the Secretary of the Workers' group at the Conference, which lodged the objection concerning the nomination of the Argentine Workers' delegate and his advisers:

11 May 1944.

I have much pleasure in informing you that the Workers' group has passed the following motion concerning the credentials of the Workers' delegation of Argentina about which it had tabled, on the 22nd of April, a contestation.

The Workers' group unanimously desires to withdraw its request for invalidation of the credentials of the Argentine Workers' delegation at the Conference, in view of the fact that the aforesaid delegation has not participated in the work of the Conference.

Yours faithfully,
(Signed) Walter SCHEVENELS,
Secretary, Workers' group.

The objection having been withdrawn, there is no longer any question pending before the Committee or the Conference.

Philadelphia, 11 May 1944.

(Signed) J. van den TEMPEL,
Henry I. HARRIMAN,
Vicente LOMBARDO TOLEDANO.
APPENDIX II

Reports of the Selection Committee

(1) First report of the Selection Committee.

The Selection Committee has held its first meeting and appointed the undersigned as Chairman, Mr. Harriman as Employers' Vice-Chairman, and Mr. Hallsworth as Workers' Vice-Chairman.

The Committee, on consideration of the documents submitted to the Conference concerning the readmission of Costa Rica to membership of the Organisation, unanimously agreed to recommend to the Conference that the provisional decision taken by the Governing Body should be confirmed. The Committee accordingly suggests to the Conference that the decision of the Governing Body might be confirmed in the following terms:

Proposed resolution to confirm the readmission of Costa Rica to the International Labour Organisation.

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Taking note of the decision of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office that the Republic of Costa Rica should be entitled to the full rights of membership of the Organisation from 12 November 1942, pending formal confirmation of her readmission to the Organisation by the Conference,

Hereby confirms the readmission of Costa Rica to the International Labour Organisation with the same rights and obligations as the other Members of the Organisation.

(2) Second report of the Selection Committee.

The second report of the Selection Committee was submitted orally to the Conference at its fourth sitting.

(3) Third report of the Selection Committee.

Composition of the Committees on Items III, IV and V on the Agenda.

The Selection Committee recommends that these Committees, the constitution of which has already been decided by the Conference, should be as follows:

Committee on Employment—as shown in annex A.

Committee on Social Security—as shown in annex B.

Committee on Dependent Territories—as shown in annex C.

The duty of each of these Committees, as already decided by the Conference in adopting the second report of the Selection Committee, will be to place before the Conference general guiding principles on the subject with which it deals.

Constitution and composition of two additional committees.

The Selection Committee recommends that the Conference set up a Committee on the Application of Conventions, to which Conference Report VI would be referred, and a Committee on Resolutions, to examine resolutions in pursuance of the Standing Orders of the Conference.

The Selection Committee further recommends that these Committees be composed as follows:

Committee on the Application of Conventions—as shown in annex D.

Committee on Resolutions—as shown in annex E.

General discussion on Items I and II on the agenda.

The Selection Committee recommends that the general discussion of Items I and

1 See Proceedings, p. 15.
2 See Proceedings, p. 21.
II in plenary sitting be terminated on Wednesday, 26 April. The Committee will at a later stage make proposals on the procedure for the further consideration of these two items.

ANNEX A

Committee on Employment

Proposed composition:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Governments</th>
<th>Employers</th>
<th>Workers</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Voting system: Riddell-Tzaut — Each Government member has 2 votes; each other member has 3 votes.

Government members:

- United States of America
- Argentina Republic
- Australia
- Belgium
- Brazil
- British Empire
- Canada
- Chile
- Colombia
- Cuba
- Czechoslovakia
- Dominican Republic
- Ecuador
- Egypt
- France
- Greece
- Haiti
- India
- Iran
- Luxembourg
- Mexico
- Netherlands
- New Zealand
- Norway
- Peru
- Poland
- Union of South Africa
- Turkey
- Uruguay
- Venezuela
- Yugoslavia

Employers' members:

- Mr. Antoine; substitutes: Mr. Gentil and Mr. Philippon (France).
- Mr. Bulpin (New Zealand).
- Mr. Chapa; substitutes: Mr. García López, Mr. Yllanes Ramos and Mr. Fernández del Castillo (Mexico).
- Mr. Condé (Australia).
- Mr. Cowley Hernández; substitute: Mr. Brito (Cuba).
- Mr. Coulter; substitutes: Mr. Cameron and Mr. Fressgrave (Canada).
- Mr. Kulukundis; substitute: Mr. Gratsos (Greece).
- Mr. Dahl; substitute: Mr. Holter (Norway).
- Mr. Falter (Poland).
- Sir John Forbes Watson; substitutes: Mr. Low and Mr. Farrar (British Empire).
- Mr. González Artigas (Ecuador).
- Mr. Harriman; substitutes: Mr. Hoffman and Mr. Myers (United States of America).
- Mr. von Heidenstam; substitute: Mr. Wahlström (Sweden).
- Mr. Heiremans Brockmann; substitute: Mr. Diaz Salas (Chile).
- Mr. Joassart; substitute: Mr. van Esche (Belgium).
- Mr. Lamuraglia; substitute: Mr. Noé (Argentina Republic).
- Mr. Li Ming (China).
- Mr. Morawetz; substitutes: Mr. Basca and Mr. Hecker (Czechoslovakia).
- Mr. Skoles (Union of South Africa).
- Mr. Vidal (Peru).
- Mr. Vidal Leite Ribeiro (Brazil).
- Mr. Warning (Netherlands).

Workers' members:

- Mr. Aftab Ali (India).
- Mr. Allerby (New Zealand).
- Mr. Benau (Czechoslovakia).
- Mr. Brown (British Empire).
- Mr. Burt (Canada).
- Sir Walter Citrine (British Empire).
- Mr. Fraser (United States of America).
- Mr. Ingles (Canada).
- Mr. Larson (Sweden).
- Mr. Lie (Norway).
- Mr. Lim Apo (Netherlands).
- Mr. Malinowski (Poland).
- Mr. Midel (France).
- Mr. Nordahl (Norway).
- Mr. Rens; substitute: Mr. Keuwet (Belgium).
- Mr. Schotman (Netherlands).
- Mr. Soliman (Egypt).
- Mr. González Tellechea (Cuba).
- Mr. Valo (Czechoslovakia).
- Mr. Velásquez Quiroga (Chile).
- Mr. Wasser (Poland).
- Mr. Woll (United States of America).

ANNEX B

Committee on Social Security

Proposed composition:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Governments</th>
<th>Employers</th>
<th>Workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Voting system: Riddell—Each Government member has 1 vote; each other member has 2 votes.

Government members:

- United States of America
- Argentine Republic
- Australia
- Belgium
- Bolivia
- Brazil
- British Empire
- Canada
- Chile
- China
- Colombia
- Costa Rica
- Cuba
- Czechoslovakia
- Dominican Republic
- Ecuador
- Egypt
- France
- Greece
- Haiti
- India
- Iraq
- Luxembourg
- Mexico
- Netherlands
- New Zealand
- Norway
- Peru
- Poland
- Union of South Africa
- Sweden
- Turkey
- Uruguay
- Venezuela
- Yugoslavia

Employers' members:

- Mr. Chapa; substitutes: Mr. García López and Mr. Yllanes Ramos (Mexico).
- Mr. Coulter; substitutes: Mr. Ross and Mr. MacDonnell (Canada).
- Mr. Kulukundis; substitute: Mr. Gratsos (Greece).
- Mr. Cowley Hernández; substitute: Mr. Brito (Cuba).
- Mr. Dahl; substitute: Mr. Hagerup-Larsen (Norway).
- Mr. Falter; substitute: Mr. Slawik (Poland).
- Sir John Forbes Watson; substitutes: Mr. Ashurst, Mr. Rean and Mr. Kirkaldy (British Empire).
- Mr. Harriman; substitutes: Mr. Fošom, Mr. Myers and Mr. West (United States of America).
- Mr. von Heidenstam; substitute: Mr. Wahlström (Sweden).
- Mr. Heiremans Brockmann; substitute: Mr. Diaz Salas (Chile).
- Mr. Joassart; substitute: Mr. van Esche (Belgium).
- Mr. Lamuraglia; substitute: Mr. Noé (Argentina Republic).
- Mr. Li Ming; substitute: Mr. Shaw (China).
- Mr. de Marchena Dujarric (Dominican Republic).
- Mr. Mulherkar (India).
- Mr. Skeeles; substitute: Mr. Williams (Union of South Africa).
Appendix II: Reports of the Selection Committee

Mr. Warning; substitute: Mr. Vromans (Netherlands).

Substitutes:
Mr. Morawetz (Czechoslovakia).
Mr. Antoine (France).
Mr. Vidal (Peru).

Workers' members:
Mr. Best (Canada).
Mr. Bhote (India).
Mr. Buisson (France).
Mr. Carlin (Canada).
Mr. Fürth (Czechoslovakia).
Mr. Gross; substitute: Mr. Szumski (Poland).
Miss Hancock (British Empire).
Mr. Hedges (United States of America).
Mr. Johansen (Norway).
Mr. Keuwet (Belgium).
Mr. Kosina (Czechoslovakia).
Mr. Liu Hsuan-tsu (China).
Miss Hancock (British Empire).
Mr. Hedges (United States of America).

Substitutes:
Mr. Mehta (India).
Mr. Moraí (Dominican Republic).
Mr. Novak (Czechoslovakia).

ANNEX C
Committee on Dependent Territories

Proposed composition:
Governments: 16
Employers: 8
Workers: 8

Voting system: Riddell—Each Government member has 1 vote; each other member has 2 votes.

Government members:
United States of America
Australia
Belgium
Brazil
British Empire
China
Cuba
Egypt

Employers' members:
Mr. Antoine; substitute: Mr. Castaing and Mr. Mas (France).
Mr. Chapa; substitutes: Mr. Garcia López and Mr. Fernández del Castillo (Mexico).
Mr. Coulter; substitute: Mr. MacDonnell (Canada).
Sir John Forbes Watson; substitute: Mr. Murray (British Empire).
Mr. Harriman; substitutes: Mr. Redding and Mr. McDavitt (United States of America).
Mr. Jousart; substitute: Mr. Ralek (Belgium).
Mr. Li Ming; substitute: Mr. Lin Lin (China).
Mr. Warning; substitute: Mr. Vromans (Netherlands).

Substitutes:
Mr. Skeele (Union of South Africa).
Mr. Dahl (Norway).

Workers' members:
Mr. Chu Hsiang-yung (China).
Mr. Finet (Belgium).
Mr. Garrido (Panama).
Mr. Haas; substitute: Mr. Hedges (United States of America).

Mr. Lim Apo; substitute: Mr. Schotman (Netherlands).
Mr. Magatte or Mr. Midol (France).
Mr. Mehta (India).
Mr. Thomson; substitute: Mr. Esua (British Empire).

Substitute:
Mr. Johansen (Norway).

ANNEX D
Committee on the Application of Conventions

Proposed composition:
Governments: 14
Employers: 14
Workers: 14

Voting system: Each member has one vote.

Government members:
United States of America
Argentina
British Empire
Chile
Cuba

Employers' members:
Mr. Chapa; substitute: Mr. García López (Mexico).
Mr. Kulukundis; substitute: Mr. Gratsos (Greece).
Mr. Cowley Hernández; substitute: Mr. Brito (Cuba).
Mr. Dahl (Norway).
Mr. Fajardo (Bolivia).
Sir John Forbes Watson (British Empire).
Mr. Harriman; substitute: Mr. Dennison (United States of America).
Mr. von Heldenstam; substitute: Mr. Wahlström (Sweden).
Mr. Heilemans Brockmann; substitute: Mr. Diaz Salas (Chile).
Mr. Lamuraglia (Argentina).
Mr. Li Ming; substitute: Mr. Lin Lin (China).
Mr. Vidal (Peru).
Mr. Vidal Leite Ribeiro (Brazil).
Mr. Warning (Netherlands).

Workers' members:
Mr. Buisson (France).
Mr. Burt (Canada).
Mr. Fraser (United States of America).
Mr. Gross (Poland).
Mr. Haas (United States of America).
Miss Hancock (British Empire).
Mr. Kosina (Czechoslovakia).
Mr. Lim Apo (Netherlands).
Mr. Martinez Adame (Mexico).
Mr. Mattos Lima (Brazil).
Mr. Novak (Czechoslovakia).
Mr. Ocampo Pastene (Chile).
Mr. Schotman (Netherlands).
Mr. Thelin (Sweden).

Substitutes:
Mr. Aftab Ali (India).
Mr. Dowd (Canada).
Mr. Finet (Belgium).

ANNEX E
Committee on Resolutions

Proposed composition:
Governments: 16
Employers: 8
Workers: 8

Voting system: Riddell—Each Government member has 1 vote; each other member has 2 votes.
Appendix II: Reports of the Selection Committee

Government members:
Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, France, Iraq, Luxemburg, Mexico, Norway, Panama, Poland, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

Employers' members:
Mr. Chapa; substitute: Mr. Yllanes Ramos (Mexico).
Mr. Coulter; substitute: Mr. MacDonnell (Canada).
Sir John Forbes Watson; substitute: Mr. Kirkaldy (British Empire).
Mr. Harriman; substitute: Mr. McDavitt (United States of America).
Mr. Lamuraglia; substitute: Mr. Noé (Argentina).
Mr. Li Ming; substitute: Mr. Shaw Kinn-wei (China).
Mr. Mulherkar (India).
Mr. Vidal (Peru).

Substitutes:
Mr. Antoine (France).
Mr. Vidal Leite Ribeiro (Brazil).

Workers' members:
Mr. Benau; substitute: Mr. Kosina (Czechoslovakia).
Mr. Dowd (Canada).
Mr. Finet (Belgium).
Mr. Malinowski (Poland).
Mr. Morales (Dominican Republic).
Mr. Oldenbroek; substitute: Mr. Schotman (Netherlands).
Mr. Rens (Belgium).
Mr. Sabroso (Peru).

(4) Fourth report of the Selection Committee.

The fourth report of the Selection Committee was submitted orally to the Conference at its tenth sitting.

(5) Fifth report of the Selection Committee.

The fifth report of the Selection Committee was submitted orally to the Conference at its eleventh sitting.

(6) Sixth report of the Selection Committee.

The Officers of the Conference have referred to the Selection Committee a request from the General Federation of Jewish Labour in Palestine for the appointment of Mr. Israel Mereminski to two committees of the conference as a technical expert in accordance with Article 18 of the Constitution of the Organisation.

Article 18 of the Constitution provides that "The Conference may add to any committees which it appoints technical experts, who shall be assessors without power to vote".

The Selection Committee recommends that Mr. Mereminski be added, under this provision, as a technical expert to the Committee on Items I and II on the Agenda of the Conference and to the Committee on Dependent Territories.

(7) Seventh report of the Selection Committee.

CONSTITUTION OF THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE OF THE CONFERENCE

In accordance with the provisions of Article 9, paragraph D, of the Standing Orders of the Conference, the Selection Committee proposes that the Drafting Committee of the Conference should be composed as follows:

The President of the Conference;
The Secretary-General of the Conference;
Mr. Waelbroeck, Assistant Secretary-General of the Conference;
Mr. Jenks, Legal Adviser of the Conference;
Mr. Lafrance, Chief of the Secretariat Services.

The Selection Committee thinks it desirable to remind the Conference that the special drafting committees, appointed by committees under the Standing Orders and consisting of one Government delegate, one Employers' delegate and one Workers' delegate, together with the Reporter or Reporters of the Committee and the Legal Adviser of the Conference, form part of the Drafting Committee of the Conference when proposals submitted to the Conference by the committee concerned are under consideration.
APPENDIX III

Resolutions

(1) Draft resolutions deposited under Article 14 (7) of the Standing Orders of the Conference.

Delegates are informed that the resolutions of which the texts are given below have been deposited by delegates under Article 14 (7) of the Standing Orders of the Conference. The Chairman of the Governing Body (the other Officers not being available) has authorised distribution to the delegates of the texts of these resolutions, which will be referred for examination to the Committee on Resolutions in accordance with Article 9, Section F, of the Standing Orders.

Draft resolution submitted by Mr. Percy R. Bengough, Workers' delegate, Canada, concerning the action of federal States on Conventions and Recommendations.

Whereas the Constitutions of a number of federal States, Members of the International Labour Organisation, prevent their ratification of I.L.O. Conventions dealing with matters within the competence of their constituent State Governments, and in such circumstances the usual procedure for dealing with Conventions and Recommendations cannot be adopted;

And whereas it is desirable that a method be established whereby Conventions and Recommendations may be dealt with, pending any necessary change in the Constitution of the International Labour Office;

Therefore, be it resolved, that the Acting Director be instructed to communicate with Governments of such federal States, in the period between the Twenty-sixth and Twenty-seventh Sessions of the International Labour Conference, suggesting that arrangements be made whereby draft Conventions or Recommendations which apply to matters within the competence of the constituent State Governments would be referred to such Governments by the federal authority, with the request that they deal with the Conventions or Recommendations in the same manner as is prescribed for action by a Member State;

And further, that the federal Governments be requested to obtain in due course a report regarding the action taken with respect to the Recommendation or the ratification of a Convention, and convey such information to the Secretary-General.

Draft resolution submitted by the Government delegates of Czechoslovakia, concerning the membership of Austria.

The Conference takes note with satisfaction of the Moscow Declaration expressing the wish of the signatories to see re-established a free and independent Austria, recalls the active participation of Austria in the International Labour Organisation from 1919 to 1938, and expresses the hope that a free and independent Austria will soon resume her participation in the International Labour Organisation.

Draft resolution submitted by the Government delegates of Costa Rica and Uruguay, concerning the use of Spanish as an official language.

Whereas the use of the Spanish language as a practice adopted at the International Labour Conference of 1919 has been continued in all succeeding Conferences; and the draft Conventions, Recommendations and resolutions, together with the corresponding explanatory reports submitted to the Conference, are regularly prepared and distributed in Spanish;

Whereas the rapid and spontaneous social development of the Spanish-speaking countries in the inter-war period has resulted in an ever increasing interest on
Appendix III: Resolutions

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their part in the activities of the International Labour Organisation, an interest which will be further encouraged by legal recognition within the framework of the Organisation of the common language of thirteen States Members;

Whereas the Spanish language has in practice been employed in International Labour Conferences, together with the official languages of the Conference, and consequently the legalisation of this situation would not impose additional burdens on the International Labour Office;

Whereas despite present legal provisions regarding languages, the International Labour Office has in fact edited in Spanish almost all the publications originating in English and/or French;

Whereas the financial contributions which the Spanish-speaking countries make to the funds of the International Labour Organisation, either through normal procedure or through direct contribution, as the case may be, indicate the confidence of those countries in the activities of the Organisation;

Whereas the amendment of the rules of the International Labour Organisation to make Spanish an official language will in general permit greater contributions by the Spanish-speaking Member States to the activities of the Organisation;

The Conference resolves to make Spanish an official language of the International Labour Organisation, either through normal procedure or through direct contribution, as the case may be, indicate the confidence of those countries in the activities of the Organisation;

The Conference resolves to make Spanish an official language of the International Labour Organisation, either through normal procedure or through direct contribution, as the case may be, indicate the confidence of those countries in the activities of the Organisation;

The draft resolution submitted by Mr. J. Mehta, Workers' delegate, India, concerning full delegations to the Conference.

Draft resolution submitted by Mr. J. Mehta, Workers' delegate, India, concerning full delegations to the Conference.

Draft resolution concerning the action of federal States on Conventions and Recommendations, submitted by Mr. Bengough, Workers' delegate, Canada.

After having heard a representative of the proposer of this resolution, the Committee noted that it was connected with the question of the constitutional practice of the International Labour Organisation, which falls within the competence of the Committee on Items I and II on the Agenda of the Conference.

The Committee has accordingly decided to remit this resolution for consideration to the aforementioned Committee and for this purpose the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee has sent a communication to the Committee on Items I and II.

During the preliminary examination of this resolution by the Resolutions Committee, several changes in the drafting of the original text were proposed on behalf of the author himself. The text transmitted to the Committee on Items I and II is the text thus amended.

The text was as follows:

Whereas the Constitutions of a number of federal States, Members of the International Labour Organisation, prevent their ratification of I.L.O. Conventions dealing with matters within the competence of their constituent State Governments, and in such circumstances the usual procedure for dealing with Conventions and Recommendations cannot be adopted;

And whereas it is desirable that a method be established whereby Conventions and Recommendations may be dealt with, pending any necessary change in the Constitutions of the countries concerned or in the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation;

Therefore, be it resolved, that the Acting Director be instructed to communicate with the Governments of such federal States, in the period between the Twenty-sixth and Twenty-seventh Sessions of the International Labour Conference, suggesting that arrangements be made whereby draft Conventions or Recommendations which apply to matters within the competence of the constituent State Governments would be referred to such Governments by the federal authority, with the request that they bring the Recommend-
Draft resolution concerning the membership of Austria in the International Labour Organisation, submitted by the Government delegates of Czechoslovakia.

After having heard a representative of the proposers of this resolution, the Committee decided to transmit the text to the Conference with a slight modification requested by the proposers.

The amended text reads as follows:

"The Conference takes note with satisfaction of the Moscow Declaration expressing the wish of the signatories to see re-established a free and independent Austria, recalls the active participation of Austria in the International Labour Organisation from 1919 to 1938 and expresses the hope that a free, independent and democratic Austria will soon resume her participation in the International Labour Organisation."

(3) Second report of the Resolutions Committee.

The Resolutions Committee continued its discussion on 9, 11 and 12 May.

The Committee submits to the Conference in its second report the following conclusions with regard to the remaining draft resolutions which had been referred to it in accordance with the Standing Orders.

Draft resolution concerning complete delegations to the Conference, submitted by Mr. Jammadas Mehta, Indian Workers' delegate.

The Committee had to decide on the receivability of this resolution, which had been deposited by Mr. Mehta on his arrival in Philadelphia on 17 April 1944, i.e., three days only before the opening of the session of the Conference, and not seven days, as required by the Standing Orders.

The Committee agreed, without establishing any precedent, to consider the above resolution as receivable in view of the exceptional circumstances under which the Conference had been convened.

After having heard the proposer of the resolution, the Committee decided to transmit to the Conference the text of the draft resolution with verbal modifications accepted by the proposer.

Draft resolution concerning the use of Spanish and Portuguese as official languages, submitted by the Government delegates of Brazil, Chile and Uruguay.

After considering the original draft resolution, the Committee agreed that the resolution should refer to the Portuguese as well as to the Spanish language. A revised text was accordingly prepared and submitted jointly to the Committee by the original movers of the resolution and the Brazilian Government member of the Committee, Mr. de Regó Monteiro.

After a long discussion, the Committee decided unanimously to transmit to the Conference a revised text of the resolution in the following form:

"Considering that the nations of Latin America have made a substantial contribution to the development and universalisation of the International Labour Organisation;

"Considering that the nations of Latin America have unanimously developed, spontaneously and with exceptional rapidity, a social policy based on the generous conceptions of the protection of labour and collective welfare;

"Considering that the prominent position attained by the American republics and the special social conditions of the Western Hemisphere have been demonstrated at the Labour Conferences of the American States which were held in 1936 and 1939, at Santiago de Chile and Havana respectively, and which had far-reaching results;

"Considering that the ethnical unity, historic traditions and ideals characteristic of the peoples of Latin America demonstrate the existence of an authentic culture, the value of which is all the greater the more it extends over the whole of the South American continent and Central America;

"Considering that the social development of Latin America springs from the Iberian civilisation, which is both Spanish and Portuguese and is twofold in its nature, and still maintains this diversity which, so far from being a cause of di-
vision, rather serves to bind them more closely together for the preservation of the characteristics they derive from a common historic source;

"Considering that the Spanish and Portuguese languages spoken by the nations of Latin America are also the languages of the countries of the Iberian Peninsula, of the peoples of a large part of the continent of Africa, and of various regions of Asia;

"Considering also that the Spanish and Portuguese languages are regional transformations and progressive adaptations of Latin and at the same time modern, living languages, with a classical etymology, which can be readily understood and acquired;

"Considering that the original root and the manner of development of the Portuguese and Spanish idioms, which development has taken place in geo-political conditions presenting substantial similarities, have rendered impossible wide divergences between the two tongues, so that today the peoples who speak them can readily understand one another;

"Considering that the Havana Conference, on 12 May 1944, in resolution XXV, expressed itself unanimously in favour of the publication of legal decisions by the International Labour Organisation in Spanish and Portuguese;

"Considering finally that the use of the Spanish language has become an established practice of the International Labour Organisation and that Portuguese has been used for several official publications of the Organisation;

"The Conference requests the Governing Body to consider the possibility of making Spanish and Portuguese official languages of the International Labour Organisation and to submit to the next general session of the Conference any necessary amendments of the Standing Orders of the Conference and of its Committees."

Draft resolution concerning the membership of certain American States in the International Labour Organisation, submitted by the Government delegates of Chile, Colombia and Mexico and by the Workers' delegates of Canada and the Netherlands.

This draft resolution was referred to the Resolutions Committee by the Officers of the Conference in application of Article 14, paragraph 8, of the Standing Orders of the Conference.

The Committee decided unanimously to transmit the resolution to the Conference the text of the draft resolution as follows:

"The International Labour Conference

"Expresses its great satisfaction that Nicaragua and Paraguay are represented at the Twenty-sixth Session of the Conference by observers;

"Requires the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to consider, in consultation with those States, as well as other States of the American continent, which are not at present Members of the Organisation, how the resumption of active membership of the Organisation by all of the States of the American continent could best be achieved; and

"Expresses the earnest hope that all the States of the American continent will be represented at the next session of the International Labour Conference as Members of the Organisation."

Draft resolution presented by Mr. Jan Stanczyk and Mr. Sylwim Strakacz, Polish Government delegates, Mr. Alfred Falter, Polish Employers' delegate, and Mr. Alojzy Adamczyk, Polish Workers' delegate.

This draft resolution was referred to the Resolutions Committee by the Officers of the Conference, in accordance with Article 14 (8) of the Standing Orders of the Conference.

The Committee unanimously agreed to transmit the resolution to the Conference with amendments agreed to by its proposers. The amended text is as follows:

"Whereas the Declaration concerning the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation, adopted by the Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labour Conference, includes the reaffirmation of the following fundamental principle on which the Organisation is based;

"that all human beings irrespective of race, creed or sex have the right to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development under conditions of freedom and dignity';

"Whereas Nazi Germany and its satellites are continuing the criminal persecutions of all Axis-occupied countries, aiming particularly at annihilation of the Jews of Europe;

"Whereas especially in occupied Poland mass murder of populations is being committed on a scale hitherto unknown in modern history;

"The International Labour Conference adopts the following resolution:

"The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation, convened in its Twenty-sixth Session at Philadelphia, on 12 May 1944,

"1. Protests against Nazi crimes which violate the fundamental principles of humanity and of international law;

"2. Welcomes the statement on atrocities signed by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin, announced on November 1, 1943, following the Three Power Conference in Moscow, and the Joint Declaration against extermination of the Jewish people announced on 17 December 1942, in London, Moscow and Washing-
ton by the Governments of Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and Yugoslavia, and the French National Committee; and expresses its firm conviction that all guilty of such crimes must be tried and punished;

“3. Requests that the United Nations take immediately all possible steps to stop mass slaughter of the population of the occupied countries of Europe;

“4. Expresses its deepest sympathy for all victims of Nazi terror and its great admiration for the underground fighters of all occupied countries, including the defenders of the Ghettos of Warsaw and other cities who have been fighting and dying together for the common cause of the United Nations.”
APPENDIX IV

Application of Conventions

(1) Report of the Committee on the Application of Conventions.

1. The Conference set up a Committee of fourteen members from each of the three groups to consider and report on item VI on its agenda, entitled "Reports on the Application of Conventions (Article 22 of the Constitution)". In addition to the titular members, the workers' group appointed three substitutes on the Committee.

2. The Committee appointed as its Chairman Mr. Ohlin, Swedish Government member, and as its Vice-Chairmen Mr. Vidal Leite Ribeiro, Brazilian employers' member, and Mr. Kosina, Czechoslovak workers' member. Mr. Prior, Indian Government member, was appointed Reporter.

The Representative of the Secretary-General was Mr. Kuriyan.

The Committee held four sittings.

3. The Committee, like the Conference itself, met after an interval of four years (1939-1943), during which the full operation of the normal procedure for the supply and examination of annual reports on the application of Conventions required by Article 22 of the Constitution was rendered impracticable by the preoccupations and difficulties caused by the war.

Article 22 imposes three distinct obligations:

(1) An obligation on Governments to make annual reports to the Office on the measures which have been taken to give effect to the provisions of the Conventions which their respective countries have ratified and to which they are parties;

(2) An obligation on the Governing Body to prescribe the form of such reports and the particulars which they should contain;

(3) An obligation on the Director of the Office to lay a summary of the reports before the next meeting of the Conference.

Under the established procedure, these reports used to be first examined by a Committee of Experts appointed by the Governing Body, who forwarded to the Conference their report, together with the replies of the Governments concerned in response to the experts' comments, and a summary of the annual reports prepared by the Office.

4. In spite of the obstacles which made the full operation of the normal procedure impossible, obligations (1) and (2) referred to above have been substantially fulfilled. The Office requested Governments to supply reports wherever possible in as complete a form as in previous years; but, in cases where a full report was impracticable, to adopt a simplified form of report.

The information received by the Office in response to this request is summarised in Report VI—Reports on the Application of Conventions (Article 22 of the Constitution); and since that report was prepared, further reports numbering 110 in respect of the application of 44 Conventions from the Governments of Australia, Brazil, Chile, China, Cuba, Egypt, India and South Africa have been received. In addition the British Government has supplied information on the application of Convention No. 29 (Forced Labour) in the colonies. Whereas in 1940 the Committee of Experts had before them 600 reports, the Office had received so far this year some 300 reports.

The response of the Governments has therefore been gratifying. A number of Governments have supplied annual reports for the whole period on all the Conventions to which their countries are parties. Other Governments have covered a substantial part of the period in respect of all or most of the Conventions concerned. Even the Governments of coun-

See Proceedings, p. 186.
tries under military occupation have endeavoured to follow the course of legislation introduced by the occupying Power and report upon it to the Office. A certain amount of information has also been furnished on the application of Conventions in colonies, possessions and protectorates. In two cases (Australia and Mexico) Governments have submitted voluntary reports on Conventions which had not yet come into force for want of the necessary ratifications. The Committee drew from this the conclusion that Governments are prepared to maintain unimpaired the system of mutual supervision of the application of Conventions, the value of which had been proved before the war.

5. The Committee, nevertheless, considered it impossible for the following reasons to undertake at the present session of the Conference an adequate examination of the application of Conventions. In the first place the information available covers a period of four years, and the Office, with its greatly depleted staff, has been unable to undertake anything more than a brief outline of the position as regards the supply of annual reports. Secondly, no reports by the Committee of Experts have been made since 1939, and although the Conference Committee has the right at all times to examine the application of Conventions in detail, such examination cannot be carried out adequately without the preliminary technical examination previously carried out by the Committee of Experts. The Committee of Experts must first examine (in conjunction with the Office) the numerous laws, regulations and orders implementing the various Conventions and make a report, before the delegates to the Conference, who represent Governments and occupational interests, can properly appreciate the degree of application which the Conventions are receiving in various countries. Although, therefore, the reports that had been received were available for examination by the Committee, the members of the Committee were unanimous in considering that nothing would be gained by an examination of those reports until such time as adequate preparatory work had been carried out by a Committee of Experts.

The Committee, however, considered it important that the normal procedure should be re-established as early as possible and therefore recommends that:

(a) The Committee of Experts be re-appointed at the earliest possible date, and
(b) The Office itself be sufficiently reinforced in personnel to enable it to undertake the statutory duty imposed upon the Director by Article 22 of the Constitution to compile a summary of the annual reports for submission to the Conference. The Committee considered that the summary to be submitted to the next ordinary session of the Conference should be as complete as possible, covering the whole period from 1939; should also include as complete information as possible upon the application of the ratified Conventions with or without modifications in colonies, possessions and protectorates; and should deal specifically with improvements that may or may not have taken place in respect of countries whose implementation of ratifications had been found defective by previous Committees; and should include a chart of ratifications.

6. The Committee found that it had not been possible to do much to implement the recommendations made by the Committee on the Application of Conventions in their report to the Conference in 1939 and therefore wished to reiterate the recommendations made in the following respects:

(a) The importance of Governments supplying their annual reports in time for examination by the Committee of Experts, because in the opinion of the Committee it is the double examination of these reports, first by the Committee of Experts and then by the Conference Committee, that places States Members of the Organisation on a footing of equality in respect of the supervision of the application of the ratified Conventions.

(b) The importance of a realisation that “there is no legal basis for delay on the part of a State in giving effect to a Convention which it has ratified”, and “that the international labour Conventions must be regarded as imposing specific obligations, and not mere programmes of future reform on the contracting parties. The contrary view is in its opinion calculated to shake confidence in international agreements in general, and in particular to discourage collaboration in the work of the International Labour Organisation on the part of countries which interpret their international obligations with the greatest strictness.”

(c) “That in securing the proper enforcement of the national legislative and other measures implementing the ratified Conventions, labour inspection, operated by a staff adequate in numbers, training and organisation, plays a fundamental role”, and that “a comprehensive Convention on labour inspection, widely ratified and properly enforced, could only strengthen confidence in the legislative work of the International Labour Organisation.”
The Committee regards these Recommendations as being of importance, and hopes, in particular, that the Governing Body will regard the question of inspection as of urgency and will place the question of labour inspection on the agenda of an early session of the Conference with a view to the adoption of a draft Convention. The adoption by all countries of an adequate standard of inspection is a matter which should lead not only to a better implementation of ratified Conventions but also to the establishment of conditions which will lead to an earlier ratification of unratted Conventions than would otherwise be possible.

7. In 1939 the Conference was informed that the Office intended to submit to an early session of the Conference a report on the effect given to Recommendations. The Committee trusts that this report will be submitted as soon as the resources of the Office permit. Recommendations are too apt to be lost sight of and are of interest to this Committee in view of the intimate connection between Recommendations and Conventions and because certain

8. The Committee was informed that the Committee of Experts, which met in April-May 1940 and whose report could not be forwarded to the Governments or submitted to the Conference, took note of certain cases in which Governments had taken advantage of the clause which permits the suspension of Conventions in a national emergency and of others in which Governments had taken action in the absence of the suspension clause. It is probable that the number of cases of this kind has increased with the progress of the war and the widening of the area of the conflict. The Committee understands that the legal questions involved in this connection are engaging the attention of the Governing Body.

Philadelphia, 5 May 1944.

(Signed) BERTIL OHLIN,
Chairman.

H. C. PRIOR,
Reporter.
First and Second Items on the Agenda:
Future Policy, Programme and Status of the International Labour
Organisation; Recommendations to the United Nations for
Present and Post-War Social Policy

(1) Draft resolution submitted by Mr. Beasley, Australian Government delegate.

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

ANNEX A
A Draft International Employment Agreement

(i) Each of the signatory Governments, being determined to do its part to ensure that the victory of the United Nations shall be followed by freedom from want, recognises that this objective cannot be achieved unless its people are given the fullest opportunities to work and enjoy the rewards of their labour.

(ii) Moreover, each signatory Government recognises that a high level of employment among its people is not only fundamental to their material well-being, but will also contribute through the channels of trade to the creation of employment for the peoples of other countries and to an increase in their well-being.

(iii) Therefore each signatory Government recognises and hereby undertakes a national obligation to its own people and an international obligation to the other signatory Governments henceforth to take such measures as may be necessary and practicable to fulfil this purpose.

(iv) Each signatory Government declares to its own people and to other signatory Governments that it will take all measures within its powers to carry out this obligation and, in particular:

(a) To secure the provision of opportunities for work of a kind which will maintain and improve the standard of living of the community.

(b) To mitigate the unemployment due to fluctuations in activity to which certain trades, industries and services are liable.

(v) In addition, each signatory Government undertakes:

(a) To consult with other Governments and with appropriate international authorities as to methods of collecting on an agreed plan detailed statistics of national employment and unemployment.

(b) To take such internal measures as may be practicable and within its powers to collect statistics relating to its own country required by the agreed plan.

(c) To submit such statistics to other Governments, through an appropriate international organisation, at intervals not exceeding three months.

(d) To make a report, for the purpose of an annual conference of the member countries, on the state of employment of its people and on the economic policies which have been used or are contemplated to combat unemployment.

(e) To send representatives concerned with the economic and social policy of the Government to meet with representatives of other Governments and international authorities at a special conference called by the appropriate organisation, if, in the opinion of that organisation, a serious decline in employment is developing in any of the signatory countries (for causes whether avoidable or unavoidable by the Governments of the countries concerned), for the purpose of examining and reporting upon possible national and international measures to restore the level of employment and to prevent the spread of unemployment to other countries.

(vi) In the event of a serious decline in the level of its employment, a member Government undertakes to consider measures to restore the level of employment such as:

(a) Stimulation of private investment.

(b) Increase in public investment.

(c) Increased consumption expenditure.
(d) Expansion of overseas investment where appropriate.

ANNEX B

Draft Agenda for Proposed Conference on Employment and Living Standards

1. The objectives of post-war planning.

The objectives are rising living standards, of which high and stable employment and rising consumption levels are essential conditions.

2. Significance of domestic economic policies in international relations.

(a) The influence on consumption (and, therefore, on effective demand for goods traded internationally) of economic factors under national control, e.g., employment, investment, social security payments, and wage rates.

(b) Corresponding dependence of trading countries on the domestic policies of others.

3. The international nature of the problem.

(a) Maintenance of domestic policies in each country which will give full employment and rising standards to its own people, and contribute to achievement of these conditions in other countries;

(b) International agreement to maintain living standards or consumption above an agreed level;

(c) International agreement to prevent or alleviate unemployment, and encourage acceptance by Members of obligations to provide for full employment and rising standards to their own people.

(i) Maintenance of both a high level of employment and equitable distribution and rising living standards in the balance of payments in any one country;

(ii) National measures by which external imbalances and differences can be maintained together with high employment: effects on consumption standards;

(iii) Safeguards required to prevent such national measures placing a net additional burden on other countries;

(iv) The problem of adequate criteria for guidance of international monetary, commercial or commodity authorities which may be empowered to control use of national protective measures, and to preserve equilibrium in national balances of payments.

(v) The problem of assuring individual countries which conform to international agreements that they will receive adequate protection from external influences which make maintenance of employment difficult or impossible.

4. Possible international action.

(a) High level of employment in each country to be made fundamental objective:

(i) Because it conforms with the aims of the Atlantic Charter, and

(ii) Because it is a test of conformity to obligations suggested in 3 (a) above (consider alternatives, such as national income, levels of consumption).

(b) International agreement to maintain full employment below an agreed-upon maximum for each country;

(c) International agreement to maintain living standards or consumption above an agreed level;

(d) International agreement to prevent (or on methods of disposal of) creditor balances on international account (current plus long-term investment);

(e) International agreement to exchange of statistics recording measure of adherence to obligations;

(f) Implications of failures to adhere to obligations regarding employment:

(i) For international commercial, monetary, commodity authorities with discretionary powers, e.g., powers to relax prohibitions on national protective policies.

(ii) For individual countries bound by such rules through international agreements.

5. International consultation and exchange of information on employment and associated policies.

(a) Publication of statistics;

(b) Reports by members on national employment policies;

(c) Regular consultations on employment policies;

(d) Special consultations to be called when employment policies in significant countries threaten general world levels of employment and incomes.

6. International organisation required for the above purposes.

ANNEX C

International Labour Office Agreements on Employment Policy and Employment Statistics

The International Labour Office has devoted considerable attention to improvement and standardisation of national employment and other labour statistics. It has also recommended action to prevent or alleviate unemployment, and encouraged acceptance by Members of obligations to report upon the application of I.L.O. Recommendations. The difficulties experienced by the Office should be a useful guide for future attempts to foster a greater sense of international responsibility on the part of each country towards employment levels.


The following references to some of the more important conferences and committees since the inception of the I.L.O. indicate the developing scope of statistics and information assembled:

(a) 1925 Conference: A special report recommended the following as sources of unemployment figures:

(i) Unemployment insurance schemes;

(ii) Workers' organisations;

(iii) Public employment offices.

With reference to employment (as distinct from unemployment) the Conference recommended that "information as to the state of employment should also be published periodically, if possible monthly, based on returns made by a representative number of employers".

(b) Conferences of Labour Statisticians, 1925, 1926: These made recommendations on other aspects of labour statistics, e.g., wages, hours of work, cost of living, etc.

(c) I.L.O. Committee of Statistical Experts: This body has also advised on international comparisons of wages, cost of living, food costs and rents; and engaged in preparatory work for international statistical conferences.

(d) International Conference, 1928: This meeting adopted a Convention, concerning statistics of wages and hours of work.

Several other international meetings in recent years stressed the need for improved international statistics, and resolutions of conferences call for better and more uniform figures.
Various conferences considered the question of money wages. In 1931, the 4th Conference of Labour Statisticians recommended that a Convention be considered which would bind Governments to collect and supply information at regular intervals. In 1938, a draft Convention was adopted, and made it obligatory on ratifying States to provide such statistics. In 1942 the Convention was in force only for ten countries and was accepted with considerable reservations.

2. Undertakings by Members to supply statistics on unemployment.

Articles 1 and 2 of the Unemployment Convention 1919 provide as follows:

"Each Member to which this section applies shall communicate to the I.L.O., at intervals as short as possible and not exceeding three months, all available information, whether spontaneous or otherwise, concerning unemployment, including reports on measures taken or contemplated to combat unemployment. Whenever practicable, the information shall be made available for such communication not later than three months after the end of the period to which it relates."

In 1927 the Committee of Experts pointed out that very few States had regarded this article as imposing an obligation to make formal communications. On publishing the periodical statistics of numbers unemployed, the Office emphasises that they relate only to recorded unemployment. A brief survey of the statistics suggests that statistics in most countries are limited in one respect or another.

3. Progress in coverage of employment and unemployment statistics by I.L.O.

The following table gives some indication of the coverage of statistics in employment and other statistical fields:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of countries for which statistics are shown on the specified topics:</th>
<th>1935-6</th>
<th>1939</th>
<th>1942</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Population</td>
<td>Gainfully occupied</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure of the gainfully occupied population; industrial status and industry or occupational groups</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex and age groups</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Employment and unemployment</td>
<td>General level of employment</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indices of numbers employed</td>
<td>A. Mines, industries, transport, commerce, etc.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Industries</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indices of total hours worked in industries</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment by industries</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General level of unemployment</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment by industries</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Hours of work</td>
<td>General level of hours of work</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Average hours actually worked per worker</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Range of hours actually worked; percentage distribution</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Normal hours</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hours worked by industries</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Average hours actually worked</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Range of hours actually worked; percentage distribution</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Normal hours</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hours of work in October (normal)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IV. Wages

General level of wages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>26</th>
<th>31</th>
<th>34</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Hourly rates or earnings</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Daily, weekly or monthly earnings</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wages by industry or occupational groups</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Hourly rates or earnings</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Daily, weekly or monthly earnings</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wages per hour in October, in selected occupations | 21 | 27 | 20 |
| Total wages and salaries | 21 | 27 |

1 In 1937 & 8, a special summary table showed the gainfully occupied according to industrial status, 19 and 24 countries respectively.
2 In 1937 the gainfully occupied were shown for different age and sex groups; in 1941, the percentages gainfully occupied by sex, for three age groups, 15-19, 20-64 and 65 and over.
3 In addition, world indices of employment were given for 1937 to 1941, and world indices of unemployment for 1938-36 to 1941.
4 In addition, national indices (of degree of unemployment) are given for 16 countries for 1936-37 and 1937 and 1938.
5 In 1937 and 1938, figures of unemployed by sex were given for 18 countries.
6 Including earnings per shift, and insured daily or weekly wages.

Wages in agriculture, 21 countries in 1935-6, 22 countries in 1938; wages in coal mines, 7 countries in 1938.

The employment statistics are derived mainly from:

(a) Sickness insurance statistics of persons covered;
(b) Unemployment insurance;
(c) Employers.

Statistical series show:

(a) Changes in numbers of employed persons;
(b) Changes in hours worked.

Unemployment statistics represent recorded levels of unemployment by country. In addition the Office runs an index covering fluctuations in 15 countries (recently 13) weighted to show general movements in unemployment.

Some of the problems involved in compilation of unemployment statistics are discussed in the following I.L.O. articles:

"An Attempt to Construct International Measures of Unemployment"

XXVI I.L.R. 491-512

"Some Problems in the Construction of Index Numbers of Unemployment"

XXIX I.L.R. 472-499

"Estimates of Unemployment in the United States 1929-1932"

XXXIII I.L.R. 49-73

"Some Problems of International Employment Statistics"

XXIV I.L.R. 608-642

"National and International Index Numbers of the General Level of Unemployment"

XXX I.L.R. 597-671

"World Index Numbers of Unemployment"

XXXIX I.L.R. 118-129

"World Level of Unemployment"

XXXI I.L.R. 812-813

The I.L.O. has found that it is possible to compare fluctuations in national unemployment levels through the medium of indices; but there are the greatest difficulties in comparing figures purporting to show national levels of unemployment. The main reason is that unemployment statistics are usually derived from secondary sources, and their collection is generally for administrative purposes of one kind or another, such as for an employment exchange system or for an unemployment insurance scheme. As between countries there will be differing treatment of:

(a) Persons out of work, but in the "waiting" period before benefits apply;
(b) Unemployed due to sickness, strikes, etc.

References are to the International Labour Review.
In addition there will be differences in:

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

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

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

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

4. Undertakings to report on measures to combat unemployment.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Colombia
Estonia
Great Britain
Luxembourg
Netherlands

Poland
Union of South Africa
Sweden
Switzerland
U. S. A.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I

The Conference reaffirms the fundamental principles on which the Organisation is based and, in particular, that:
labour is not a commodity;

(b) freedom of expression and of association are essential to sustained progress;

(c) poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere;

(d) the war against want requires to be carried on with unrelenting vigour within each nation, and by continuous and concerted international effort in which the representatives of workers and employers, enjoying equal status with those of Governments, join with them in free discussion and democratic decision with a view to the promotion of the common welfare.

II

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

(a) all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity;

(b) the attainment of the conditions in which this shall be possible must constitute the central aim of national and international policy;

(c) all national and international policies and measures, in particular those of an economic and financial character, should be judged in this light and accepted only in so far as they may be held to promote and not to hinder the achievement of this fundamental objective;

(d) it is a responsibility of the International Labour Organisation to examine and consider all international economic and financial policies and measures in the light of this fundamental objective;

(e) in discharging the tasks entrusted to it the International Labour Organisation, having considered all relevant economic and financial factors, may include in its decisions and recommendations any provisions which it considers appropriate.

III

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

(a) full employment and the raising of standards of living;

(b) the employment of workers in the occupations in which they can have the satisfaction of giving the fullest measure of their skill and attainments and make their greatest contribution to the common well-being;

(c) the provision, as a means to the attainment of this end and under adequate guarantees for all concerned, of facilities for training and the transfer of labour, including migration for employment and settlement;

(d) policies in regard to wages and earnings, hours and other conditions of work calculated to ensure a just share of the fruits of progress to all, and a minimum living wage to all employed and in need of such protection;

(e) the effective recognition of the right of collective bargaining, the co-operation of management and labour in the continuous improvement of productive efficiency, and the collaboration of workers and employers in the preparation and application of social and economic measures;

(f) the extension of social security measures to provide a basic income to all in need of such protection and comprehensive medical care;

(g) adequate protection for the life and health of workers in all occupations;

(h) provision for child welfare and maternity protection;

(i) the provision of adequate nutrition, housing and facilities for recreation and culture;

(j) the assurance of equality of educational and vocational opportunity.

IV

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

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

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

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

The officers appointed by the Committee were as follows:

Chairman: Miss Frances Perkins, United States Government member.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS

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

Chairman: Miss Miller, United States Government member.

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

I

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

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

The General Conference resolves that:

1. During periods of emergency when, in the judgment of the Governing Body, the efficient operation of the Organisation or of the Office will be advanced thereby, and the Governing Body so notifies the Members of the Organisation, it shall pro-
vide that, supplementary to the normal procedure, the following communications should be transmitted through the Director:

(a) the communication to Members of certified copies of Recommendations and Conventions in accordance with paragraph 4 of Article 19 of the Constitution of the Organisation;

(b) the communication by Members of the information concerning the action taken in regard to Recommendations required by paragraph 6 of Article 19 of the Constitution;

(c) the communication by Members of the formal ratifications of International Labour Conventions in accordance with paragraph 7 of Article 19 of the Constitution and the relevant provisions of the individual Conventions;

(d) the communication to Members of all notifications required by the terms of International Labour Conventions.

2. The Conference requests the Governing Body:

(a) to take effective steps as promptly as possible to deal with problems common to a region or to a particular industry, with due regard to the Constitution and principles of the Organisation, and its competence; and

(b) to report to the next general session of the Conference the steps taken and plans for the further regionalisation of the Office and of the Organisation and for special consideration of the problems of particular industries.

3. The Conference requests the Governing Body during the period of the deliberations of the Committee to be established under the terms of this resolution and of the development of an overall pattern of international institutions, to take appropriate steps to assure close collaboration with and a full exchange of information between the I.L.O. and any other public international organisations which now exist or may be established for the promotion of economic and social well-being, and in the furtherance of this objective it may instruct the Director to arrange with such organisations, on conditions mutually agreeable, for:

(a) the exchange of information, views, reports, studies and other documents regarding policies and measures of mutual interest and concern at appropriate stages in their formulation and execution; and

(b) the exchange of representatives without vote, at meetings convened by this Organisation and such other organisations; and

(c) the creation and maintenance of such joint committees as may facilitate their effective co-operation.

4. The Conference requests the Governing Body:

(a) to appoint a committee as soon as possible to consider the future constitutional development of the Organisation. The Committee shall particularly consider the following matters in active collaboration with the Office, and in the light of the report on item I submitted by the Office, the resolutions and amendments submitted to the Conference, the views expressed in the Conference and any suggestions which may be communicated to the Office by Governments:

1. the relationship of the Organisation to other international bodies;

2. the constitutional practice of the Organisation and its clarification and codification;

3. the status, immunities and other facilities to be accorded to the Organisation by Governments as necessary to the efficient discharge of the responsibilities of the Organisation;

4. the methods of financing the Organisation;

(b) after receiving and considering the report of the Committee to bring to the attention of the Conference at its next general session such matters as in its judgment require action by the Conference.

5. The Conference requests the Governing Body to appoint representatives with power to negotiate, if necessary prior to the next general session of the Conference, with international authorities on behalf of the Organisation concerning any constitutional questions which at any time require immediate action, including the matters referred to in paragraph 4.

6. The Conference authorises the Governing Body to decide the place at which the Twenty-seventh Session of the Conference shall be held. In the event of a maritime session being convened in the near future, this authorisation shall apply to the Twenty-seventh and Twenty-eighth Sessions.

* * *

It was made clear during the discussions of the Subcommittee that the material referred to the committee to be appointed by the Governing Body would include the report on item I on the agenda submitted by the Office, with the resolutions con-
tained in that report, the resolutions submitted to the present session of the Conference, including the resolution on federal States referred to the Committee on Items I and II by the Resolutions Committee, and the views expressed in the course of the Conference, together with any suggestions that may be communicated to the Office by Governments.

The Subcommittee, in adopting the above text, took note of a request made by Mr. Prior, Indian Government member, that Governments be given adequate opportunity to consider the proposals which have been under examination at the present session of the Conference and to communicate their observations thereon to the Governing Body before any final decisions are taken by the Governing Body.

The Subcommittee also agreed to note in its report the statement made by Mr. Gajardo Villarroel, Chilean Government member, that his Government attaches particular importance to paragraph 2 (b) of the resolution and considers that regional centres of investigation could be established immediately.

II

The Subcommittee gave separate consideration to paragraph 19 of resolution II, submitted to the Conference by the Office in Report I, which reads as follows:

19 (1) The Director of the International Labour Office shall, on appointment, make a solemn declaration before the Governing Body that he will discharge the duties committed to him with the interests of the International Labour Organisation alone in view, will not seek or receive instructions in regard to the discharge thereof from any authority external to the Organisation, and will at all times uphold the provisions of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation.

(2) The responsibilities of the staff of the International Labour Office shall be exclusively international in character. Members of the staff shall on appointment make a solemn declaration in the form and manner approved by the Governing Body that they will not seek or receive instructions in regard to the discharge of their responsibilities from any authority external to the Organisation.

(3) The Conference affirms it to be the duty of the Members of the Organisation to respect fully the international character of the responsibilities of the Director and staff of the International Labour Office and not to seek to influence any of their nationals in the discharge of such responsibilities.

III

The resolutions referred to the Committee included the resolution submitted by the Iraq Government delegate concerning the holding of a regional conference of the countries of the Near and Middle East. It was agreed unanimously to draw this resolution to the attention of the Committee on Items I and II with a view to its adoption by the Conference in the course of its present session.

DRAFT RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE HOLDING OF A REGIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

Whereas the International Labour Organisation, during the coming years, will have to pay closer attention to the various regions of the world where similar social and economic conditions exist; and whereas the raising of the social standards of the workers in town and country will largely depend upon appropriate solutions being sought to the specific problems of the regions concerned; and

1 See p. 305.
Appendix V: First and Second Items on the Agenda

Whereas the Near and the Middle East constitute a vast region of particular importance, where similar conditions prevail as regards the working and living conditions of great masses of agricultural workers, whether independent, semi-independent, or wage-paid; and

Whereas these conditions as well as the problems with which the countries concerned are confronted in their effort towards systematic development of resources and industrialisation, require special study, exchange of experience and joint action; and

Whereas particular attention should be directed to the working and living conditions in the oil producing areas of this region;

The Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labour Conference resolves to invite the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to examine the possibility of convening at an early date a regional conference of the countries of the Near and Middle East, with a view to giving effect to the consideration of the specific problems of that region.

Philadelphia, 9 May 1944.

(Signed) FRIEDA S. MILLER,
Chairman.

H. S. KIRKALDY,
Vice-Chairman.

JOSEPH HALLSWORTH,
Vice-Chairman.

INDUSTRIAL COMMITTEES

The Subcommittee on Industrial Committees appointed by the Committee on Items I and II at its meeting on 6 May 1944 met on 8 May 1944 and elected the following officers:

Chairman: Mr. Fontes, Brazilian Government member.

Vice-Chairmen: Mr. West, United States employers' member; Mr. Oldenbroek, Netherlands workers' member.

The Subcommittee had before it as a basis of discussion the passage headed "Proposals concerning Industrial Committees" on pp. 71-77 of Report I. An exchange of views took place, which revealed the unanimous desire of members of the Subcommittee that action should be taken as rapidly as possible with a view to defining a policy for the constitution of industrial committees and for translating that policy into action.

The Subcommittee deliberately refrained from attempting to reach any definite conclusion as to whether the constitution of such committees should be bipartite or tripartite. It was felt that this question would need further discussion by the Governing Body, and one member expressed the view that no single formula would cover the requirements of all committees or of all circumstances. Workers' members expressed a definite preference for a tripartite constitution, and it was also pointed out in the course of the discussion that such a constitution would offer the only means of ensuring representation to areas where occupational organisation is still undeveloped.

With regard to the composition of the committees, stress was laid upon a number of difficulties that would have to be faced by the Governing Body—for instance, the problem of determining the countries to be represented, and the number of representatives to which they would be respectively entitled on the various committees. It was urged that the Governing Body should give the clearest possible guidance to those upon whom would fall responsibility for selecting employers' and workers' representatives.

The Subcommittee did not attempt to reach conclusions as regards the possible scope of the activities of such committees that might be set up. It took note, however, of a statement by the Indian Government member that it would be desirable for the committees, in so far as economic issues came up for their consideration, to confine their attention to the social aspects of those issues and of a statement by the French workers' member that each committee should confine its attention to problems peculiar to its own particular industry, and should not attempt to deal with social problems of a general nature.

As a method of procedure, it was suggested that the Governing Body might appoint a special committee to work out plans for the constitution of industrial committees, on the understanding that such a committee might include representatives of the organisations of employers and workers concerned with the particular industries under consideration.

The Subcommittee concluded its discussion by unanimously adopting the following resolution moved by Mr. Oldenbroek:

"That this meeting is of the opinion that the International Labour Office should proceed forthwith with the setting up of industrial sections and invites the Governing Body to elaborate regulations governing the activities of industrial committees."

Philadelphia, 8 May 1944.

(Signed) LOURIVAL FONTES,
Chairman.

ROBERT WEST,
Vice-Chairman.

J. H. OLDENBROEK,
Vice-Chairman.
(6) Second report of the Committee on Items I and II.

At its meeting on 10 May 1944, the Committee on Items I and II approved the report of its Subcommittee on Social Policy in Occupied Axis Territories. The following is the text of the report in question:

The Subcommittee was set up by a decision of the Committee on Items I and II on 5 May 1944 to consider the matters covered by Chapter III of Report II (Recommendations to the United Nations for Present and Post-War Social Policy) submitted by the Office to the Conference.

The Subcommittee held three sittings, on 6 and 9 May 1944. It elected the following officers:

Chairman: Mr. Stolz, Government member, Czechoslovakia.

Vice-Chairmen: Col. Antoine, French employers' member, and Mr. Watt, United States workers' member.

I. Draft resolution concerning government and administration by the United Nations of Germany and other totalitarian countries in Europe (pages 82-85 of Report II).

The Office text was as follows:

Whereas the victory of the United Nations, the subsequent occupation of Axis territory, and the necessary abolition of totalitarian domination over the workers of the Axis countries will confront the occupying authorities with grave problems of social policy; and

Whereas the International Labour Conference is called upon by item II on the agenda of the present session to make recommendations to the United Nations for present and post-war social policy and more especially social policy in the territories of Axis countries occupied by the forces of the United Nations;

The Conference recommends as follows:

A. Liquidation of Totalitarian Institutions and Removal of Totalitarian Influences

1. The German Labour Front and any other occupational associations constituted on a totalitarian basis should be immediately liquidated.

2. Persons who were conspicuously and actively identified with the former totalitarian regime should be eliminated from all posts in the labour and social administration of the territory concerned.

3. All discrimination in the field of social and economic legislation and administration on grounds of race or religion should be immediately abolished.

4. All persons imprisoned or detained on account of their trade union activities should be immediately released.

5. Any legislation or regulations that are incompatible with freedom of association and its effective exercise should immediately be declared invalid.

B. Administrative Control on behalf of the United Nations

6. As soon as the occupation of any Axis territory appears imminent, there should be appointed a United Nations Labour Commissioner, to be responsible for the administration of social and labour laws and regulations including all laws and regulations concerning such matters as: the regulation of conditions of employment, determination of rates of remuneration, industrial health and safety, protection of particular categories of employed persons, freedom of association, industrial relations, settlement of labour disputes, questions of employment and manpower, vocational training, guidance and selection, provision for unemployment, social insurance, factory and general labour inspection, and the co-operative movement. Subject to military exigencies, the Commissioner should have power to modify existing laws and regulations on such subjects and to promulgate new ones. He should be provided with a staff composed of persons qualified by experience in the administration of social and labour laws and regulations to assist him.

C. Positive Measures of Social Policy

9. The United Nations Labour Commissioner should give every reasonable facility and encouragement to the reconstitution of free organisations for the promotion of the occupational and economic interests of the workers.

10. At the time when the German Labour Front and other totalitarian occupational groupings are liquidated the occupying authority should take steps, in consultation with the United Nations Labour Commissioner, to ensure the continuation, under his supervision, of those activities previously carried on by such institutions which may be of genuine social value. The property and funds of such institutions should be held in trust by the Commissioner, who after taking the advice of the Advisory Board, should be entitled to draw upon them for the purpose of assisting the reconstitution of free workers' organisations and for other appropriate purposes.

11. The United Nations Labour Commissioner should take steps to ensure the continued operation of all administrative services required for the effective application of labour and social legislation and in particular of employment services, social insurance institutions, and the labour inspectorate. To promote the smooth and efficient working of employment services and social insurance institutions, and in other appropriate cases, he should take steps at the earliest possible moment to set up or reconstitute advisory or administrative bodies including representatives of the workers and the employers. He should endeavour to prevent any interruption in the provision of benefits and the collection of contributions under social insurance schemes. The occupying authority should pay the employer's contribution under social insurance schemes in respect of persons employed by it.

12. The United Nations Labour Commissioner should devote special attention to the adaptation of existing institutions catering for the civic or vocational training of young workers and for the
organisation of their recreation and spare-time pursuits, and to the eradication of totalitarian influences from such institutions.

15. Collective bargaining between free organisations of workers and employers should at the earliest possible moment become a normal basis for the determination of conditions of employment, and wherever this is possible, wage orders and works regulations issued under the former totalitarian régime should be maintained in force subject to any necessary modifications or adaptations.

16. The United Nations Labour Commissioner should take steps to ensure that adequate arrangements exist for the settlement of industrial disputes and, more particularly, for the settlement of any grievances or disputes arising out of employment on behalf of the occupying authority.

17. The United Nations Labour Commissioner should promote the closest possible co-operation between the workers' organisations and the authorities responsible for the application of economic and social policies, and more particularly for housing, urban reconstruction and the restoration of essential public services.

18. The United Nations Labour Commissioner should take steps to ensure the enforcement of the provisions of the international labour Conventions ratified by the country concerned.

19. In framing social and labour laws and regulations in regard to matters not dealt with in the international labour Conventions ratified by the country concerned, the United Nations Labour Commissioner should, so far as possible, be guided by the provisions of The International Labour Code, 1939, and of Conventions and Recommendations adopted by the International Labour Conference since that date.

A general discussion, in which representatives of all three groups took part, was held on the text submitted by the Office as a basis for discussion.

On the motion of Mr. Tixier, French Government member, slightly amended by Sir Frederick Leggett, British Government member, and by Mr. Mulliken, United States Government member, the Subcommittee decided to recommend that the proposals submitted by the Office should be referred back to the Governing Body, and that the minutes of the discussion should be communicated to the Committee on Items I and II and to the Governing Body.

II. Draft resolution concerning measures for the protection of transferred foreign workers and of foreign workers' organisations (pages 86-87 of Report II).

Operative Clauses of the Proposed Resolution

Clause 1.

The Office text was as follows:

1. Precautions should be taken, subject to the removal of all officials who were conspicuously and actively identified with the former totalitarian régime, to ensure that the administrative machinery set up by the former régime for handling questions connected with the dismissal of foreign labour power, together with all its records and documents, is for the time being preserved intact. In particular, the United Nations and the occupying authorities should make it clear that the local personnel concerned will be held individually responsible for the preservation of such documents and records and that persons convicted of destroying or concealing them will be severely punished.

On the proposal of Mr. Schjodt, Norwegian Government member, the Subcommittee unanimously decided to delete the words "who were conspicuously and actively" in line 2 of the Office's text of the clause, as it was considered advisable to leave entirely to the discretion of the occupying authority the decision as to which officials should be removed.

On the proposal of Sir Frederick Leggett, the Subcommittee unanimously decided to delete the word "local" in line 8 of the Office's text of the clause, in order not to appear to wish to limit the discretionary powers of the occupying authority.

Clause 2.

The Office text was as follows:

2. The United Nations Labour Commissioner should take all possible steps to prevent the involuntary unemployment of foreign workers pending their repatriation. The dismissal of such workers should in every case be subject to the approval of an agent of the Commissioner, to be attached to the regional employment offices for the purpose of protecting their interest both in respect of maintenance of employment and in regard to their feeding, accommodation, etc. In cases where it is impossible to assure the continued employment of foreign workers, they should continue to receive their full wages in cash and kind at the cost of the public authority.

A general discussion took place on the text submitted by the Office, in the course of which it was pointed out: that the decision of the Subcommittee in regard to the proposed resolution concerning government and administration by the United Nations of Germany and other totalitarian countries in Europe automatically involved the deletion of any reference to a "United Nations Labour Commissioner"; that the only desire of all deported workers would be to be repatriated as quickly as possible; that most of them would be in no mood to continue to work for German employers, and that a text that might be interpreted as suggesting that they might be expected to continue in such employment would create a most unfortunate impression; that, in view of the conditions under which the deported workers were employed, the first need of many of them would be for medical care; and that it would be advisable that any suggestions that the Subcommittee might wish to formulate concerning the repatriation of workers be made for deported workers pending their repatriation should be phrased in the widest and most generous manner pos-
sible. In order to take account of these arguments, the Subcommittee unanimously decided to redraft the clause in the following manner:

“Pending the repatriation of foreign workers, which should be carried out with the greatest possible speed, the competent occupation authority should take appropriate action for the purpose of protecting such workers in regard to their feeding, accommodation, health, safety, welfare and general interests.”

Clause 3.

The Office text was as follows:

3. All discriminatory treatment in respect of remuneration, right to employment, conditions of employment, wearing of distinctive badges, etc., on account of race, national or local origin, or religion should be immediately abolished.

The Subcommittee unanimously approved the text submitted by the Office without modification.

Clause 4.

The Office text was as follows:

4. The United Nations should take steps to make binding upon Germany the provisions of any draft Convention that may be adopted by the Conference at its present session for the protection of the social insurance rights of workers transferred during the period of Axis occupation to work in a foreign country.

The Subcommittee unanimously decided to delete this clause, leaving the subject matter with which it deals to the discretion of the Social Security Committee set up by the Conference at its present session.

Clause 5.

The Office text was as follows:

5. Arrangements should be made, within the framework of general restitution arrangements, for the restitution of any funds or property that may have been confiscated in Germany or elsewhere from international and foreign trade union organisations by Axis agents.

A general discussion took place on this clause. The British Government member and the Norwegian employers’ member proposed the deletion of the clause, on the ground that at the end of the war there would be very many competing claims for restitution and compensation in respect of property confiscated by Axis agents, and that in drawing attention to the particular claims, however just, of any individual group, the Subcommittee would in fact be demanding preferential treatment for the claims of that group. The British Government member said that his Government must reserve entire freedom to determine its attitude with regard to restitution claims. The Norwegian employers’ member pointed out that the employers whom he represented would not understand his action if he voted in favour of any claim for restitution without mentioning the employers’ claim for restitution of their property.

The deletion of the clause was opposed by the workers’ members and by the United States Government member. It was urged that the text submitted by the Office did not suggest that any priority be accorded to the claim of trade union organisations, that, whereas national bodies could rely on their own Governments to protect their interests, international bodies, such as the international trade union organisations, could not rely on the protection of individual Governments; that the International Labour Organisation had a direct interest in encouraging the restoration to full activity of the international trade union organisations, which had played so important a part in its work; and that the international trade union organisations and the trade union organisation of the Allied countries at present occupied by Axis forces could give valuable help to the United Nations occupying authority in sustaining the morale of deported workers pending their repatriation.

The workers’ members suggested that the scope of the clause should be enlarged by inserting a mention of co-operative organisations among those whose claim for restitution should be endorsed.

Finally, Mr. Watt proposed, with a view to meeting the objections that had been expressed, to delete the word “any” in the second line of the Office’s text of the clause and to insert the words, “co-operatives, and employers’ organisations” after the word “organisations” in the fourth line of the Office’s text.

The text thus amended was approved by 5 votes to 2.

Proposed additional clauses.

The Polish workers’ member moved to insert a clause to the following effect:

“Unpaid salaries, because of previous discriminations, should be repaid by Germany.”

He pointed out that the discrimination against foreign workers in respect of wage rates was notorious, and argued that the payment of compensation to the foreign workers on account of the wages that they had earned but had not received, was a matter of elementary justice.

However, after attention had been drawn by the United States and British Government members to the extremely great practical difficulties that his proposal would involve, he agreed to withdraw it.

The Polish workers’ member also moved to insert the following additional clause:

“The competent occupation authority should in the matters concerning foreign workers in the Axis nations collaborate with the Governments and trade unions of Allied countries.”

A general discussion took place upon
this proposal. In its favour, it was argued that as soon as Germany was defeated and occupied, the deported foreign workers would be very strongly tempted to disperse spontaneously with a view to reaching their homes by any available means. If they did this on a large scale, very serious problems would arise for the occupying authority.

However, the Governments and the trade union organisations of these workers' countries of origin might be able to persuade them to have patience pending the taking of steps for their orderly and systematic repatriation.

The British Government member urged that in this as in other cases it would be unwise for the Subcommittee to attempt to prejudge the decisions which must in any case be left to the entire discretion of the occupying authority. He suggested that the proposed new text should be referred to the full Committee as a request that had been submitted by the workers.

On a vote being taken, 5 votes were cast for the motion and none against. It was therefore carried.

Preamble to the Proposed Resolution

The Office text was as follows:

Whereas the International Labour Conference is called upon by item II on the agenda of the present session to make recommendations to the United Nations for present and post-war social policy, and more particularly for social policy in the territories of Axis countries occupied by the forces of the United Nations; and

Whereas some of the gravest problems of social policy that will confront the United Nations when they come to occupy certain portions of Axis territory will be those that arise in connection with the millions of foreign workers who have been transferred to work in Axis countries; and

Whereas the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration has assumed responsibility for the measures to be taken to repatriate such workers; and

Whereas it is desirable that provision should be made for the continued employment, maintenance and accommodation of such workers pending their repatriation.

First paragraph.

In view of the decision taken by the Subcommittee in regard to the proposed resolution concerning government and administration by the United Nations of Germany and other totalitarian countries in Europe, it was decided to delete the last two lines of the Office's text of the paragraph ("and more particularly...United Nations").

Second paragraph.

Approved without discussion.

Third paragraph.

Approved without discussion.

Fourth paragraph.

In order to bring the text into harmony with the new text of operative Clause 2, it was unanimously agreed to redraft this paragraph as follows:

"Whereas it is desirable that provision should be made for the protection of such workers in regard to their health, welfare and general interests pending their repatriation."

Approval of the Resolution as a Whole.

After discussing the resolution clause by clause, and paragraph by paragraph, the Subcommittee proceeded to consider the form in which it should be referred to the full Committee. The British Government member suggested that the present Conference was not the proper place at which a resolution concerning action to be taken by the United Nations in respect of a problem that would arise when our military forces occupied German territory should be formally adopted, and also pointed out that one of the most important United Nations was not represented at the Conference. He proposed that the text, as amended, should be referred to the Governing Body, along with the minutes of the discussion that had taken place, in the same manner as the proposed resolution concerning government and administration by the United Nations of Germany and other totalitarian countries in Europe.

On a vote being taken, it was decided by 5 votes to 1 to submit the text of the proposed resolution as amended to the full Committee with a view to its adoption by the Conference.

The Subcommittee accordingly submits the following text for transmission to the Conference with a view to its adoption as a resolution:

DRAFT RESOLUTION CONCERNING MEASURES FOR THE PROTECTION OF TRANSFERRED FOREIGN WORKERS AND OF FOREIGN WORKERS' AND EMPLOYERS' ORGANISATIONS

Whereas the International Labour Conference is called upon by item II on the agenda of the present session to make recommendations to the United Nations for present and post-war social policy; and

Whereas some of the gravest problems of social policy that will confront the United Nations when they come to occupy certain portions of Axis territory will be those which will arise in connection with the millions of foreign workers who have been transferred to work in Axis countries; and

Whereas the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Adminis-
Whereas the International Labour Conference is firmly convinced that the free trade union movements of nations occupied by the Axis will be rebuilt at the earliest possible time and all damages wrought by the Axis nations will be repaired at the expense of the Axis nations;

"Whereas the Conference maintains that all persons proved guilty of crimes in the occupied countries should be properly punished."

Speaking in support of this amendment, Mr. Clarey, Australian workers' member, declared that the Conference could not afford to separate without expressing its indignation at the crimes committed by the Axis nations.

The Committee agreed unanimously that the amendment should be referred to the Governing Body along with the text of resolution III as a whole.

In the course of a further brief discussion, Mr. Hallsworth, British workers' member, declared that it was not the desire of the workers that the reference of resolution III (concerning government and administration by the United Nations of Germany and other totalitarian countries in Europe) to the Governing Body should involve its burial. They hoped the Committee as a whole would wish the Governing Body to give the draft resolution full and timely consideration. The workers' group on the Governing Body would act to see that such consideration was given to it. Mr. Clarey said that he and Mr. Watt had voted in the Subcommittee against the reference to the Governing Body because they considered that the text submitted by the Office corresponded to the policy to which the workers' organisations had committed themselves in various resolutions. He would vote for the approval of the report of the Subcommittee on the understanding that the text of the Office's text.

Sir Frederick Leggett, British Government member, speaking as seconder on the Subcommittee on the motion to refer the draft resolution to the Governing Body, declared that he had no intention of allowing the draft resolution to be buried without further consideration. On the contrary, he was in favour of the reference to the Governing Body precisely because he thought that such a resolution could receive more suitable and effective consideration in the Governing Body than in the Conference.

(Signed) FRANCES PERKINS, Chairman.

W. C. COULTER, Vice-Chairman.

J. HALLSWORTH, Vice-Chairman.
ECONOMIC POLICIES FOR THE ATTAINMENT OF SOCIAL OBJECTIVES

A Subcommittee on the proposed resolution concerning economic policies for the attainment of social objectives was appointed by the Committee on Items I and II at its sitting of 5 May 1944.

The Subcommittee held three sittings, on 5, 8 and 9 May 1944.

It elected the following officers:

Chairman: Mr. Pérez Guerrero (Venezuelan Government member).

Vice-Chairmen: Mr. Coulter (Canadian employers' member); Mr. Guigui-Théral (French workers' member).

Reporter: Mr. Hinrichs (United States Government member).

Voting was on the Riddell system, each Government member having one vote and each other member two votes.

The resolutions adopted by the Economic Subcommittee should be viewed against the background of its discussions. Time and again, for example, the dependence of international economic policies upon political arrangements was pointed out. In general the Subcommittee considered the resolution before it on the assumption that adequate political arrangements may be worked out so that the world's resources may be devoted primarily to raising living standards, and in the knowledge that the measures which the Subcommittee endorsed would of themselves facilitate the major task of ensuring world peace.

It was evident that in discharging its responsibility to examine and consider and to make recommendations with reference to the social implications of economic policies, the International Labour Organisation must equip itself to act promptly, as in the case of the Recommendation with respect to international monetary authorities where, in order to be useful, a recommendation had to be made immediately.

It was also apparent, however, that more intensive preparations to consider the social consequence of economic policy would be needed in the future than was possible for this Conference.

Finally, to picture the background against which these resolutions were adopted, we must visualise the diversity of the problems that will be faced by the nations of the world when victory over the Axis has been achieved. In the first place, there are countries whose economy rests fundamentally upon export trade—countries in other words whose prosperity depends upon the prosperity of other nations and the policies they adopt. The need of such countries for co-ordination of national and international programmes to achieve full employment is referred to in paragraph 10 of resolution A. In contrast to these countries are those which are more nearly able within their own national framework to develop rising standards of living. The essential conclusions to be drawn from the discussion of the problems of these contrasting groups are two: (1) There is a general desire at this period in the world’s history, when we are preparing the peace, to develop co-ordinated international and national programmes that will ensure full employment and rising standards of living throughout the world. (2) The international measures necessary to achieve the greatest volume of production and the highest standard of living can certainly be taken in conjunction with appropriate national measures which in combination assure full employment, but it should not be assumed that such international arrangements would survive a serious failure to maintain full employment.

The second pair of contrasting situations is even more apparent. At one extreme are those countries whose productive resources, the heritage of generations of labour, have been laid waste as a result of Axis aggression. At the other, are countries whose physical resources have been developed to a higher level than at any time in history, albeit certain parts of the equipment are useful only for the production of munitions of war.

The problems of the liberated countries are to be brought before the Conference as a whole and were not fully developed before the Economic Subcommittee. It did note the necessary reservations that must be made with reference to the exercise of national controls during the period that their industries are being rebuilt. In paragraph 9 of the resolution, the Subcommittee recognised the special urgency of the problems of those people who have suffered under the scourge of the Axis and whose standard of living cannot be restored except through the rebuilding of the resources that have been destroyed.

While the recommendations for national action have not dealt with many of the specific problems of countries whose resources have been destroyed, the problems of reconversion to peacetime production will be a significant one in every country. An international interest attaches to the accomplishment of this task in those countries in which this problem is of paramount importance, for the loss of their productive resources is necessary not only to maintaining the standard of living of their people but also to the rebuilding of productive plant and equipment in other countries.

In the process of adopting this general resolution the Subcommittee found that the responsibility to examine and consider the social implications of economic policy...
involves more than a process of giving out to the world recommendations with respect to economic policies as they affect social well-being. It has also afforded an opportunity to utilise the representation of the groups in the International Labour Organisation as a means of increasing understanding of the difficult economic and social problems which it is the obligation of this generation to solve.

A. Draft resolution concerning economic policies for the attainment of social objectives (Report II, pp. 71-76).

The Committee took the Office text as a basis for discussion and considered it paragraph by paragraph, together with the amendments submitted, leaving the Preamble to the last.

I. International Policy

Paragraph 1.

The Office text was as follows:

1. Believing that the relief of war-stricken peoples, the protection of prisoners and exiles and the resumption of agricultural and industrial production are matters which will be of the utmost urgency immediately on the liberation of occupied countries and that on the successful handling of these problems the possibility of achieving the long-range objectives of social and economic well-being will largely depend.

The Conference welcomes the creation of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, urges all States concerned to co-operate actively in the achievement of the tasks entrusted to it and assures the Administration of the readiness of the International Labour Organisation to assist it in every appropriate way.

The Swedish Government representative moved the addition of the following new subparagraph:

"The Conference recommends that the United Nations make an effort to secure agreement on relief to starving children in occupied territories even before their liberation."

After some discussion, in the course of which a representative of the Secretary-General expressed the view that the proposal could not be brought within the field of reference of the Subcommittee, the amendment was withdrawn.

The Office text was then adopted without change.

Paragraphs 2, 3 and 4.

The Office text of these paragraphs was as follows:

2. In view of the fact that for varying periods after the end of hostilities, many essential commodities and transport facilities will be in short supply, and that international arrangements will be needed to ensure a fair allocation of available supplies and prevent excessive price movements,

The Conference considers that the Governments of the United Nations concerned should arrange to continue in operation, for such periods as any serious shortages may persist, the existing machinery of international co-ordination and control subject to such modification, and in particular to such enlargement of the membership of the authorities concerned, as may contribute to the equitable and efficient operation of such machinery in the transition from war to peace.

3. The Conference endorses the declaration of the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture held in May 1944, that while the primary responsibility lies with each nation for seeing that its own people have the food needed for life and health, each nation can fully share in the problem only if all co-operate in appropriate international action, and urges the setting up of a permanent international organisation, as recommended by the Conference on Food and Agriculture, to raise the level of nutrition and improve the efficiency of agricultural production and distribution.

4. Recognising that a satisfactory international monetary system is essential to the full development of mutually advantageous economic relations between nations, and consequently to the raising of standards of living,

The Conference attaches great importance to the establishment at the earliest possible moment of effective international machinery for settling balances arising out of international trade and other transactions and for maintaining stability in rates of exchange, notes with satisfaction that the Governments of the United Nations are giving careful attention to this matter and urges that they include in any agreement establishing such machinery a provision requiring the authorities responsible for its application to have regard in framing and applying their policies to the effect of their decisions on employment and living standards.

This text was adopted without change.

Paragraph 5.

The Office text of paragraph 5 was as follows:

5. Noting that imports of capital will be needed for reconstruction development and the raising of living standards in many countries, and believing that the provision of such capital will contribute to the maintenance of full employment in the lending countries,

The Conference:

(a) considers that appropriate international machinery should be established forthwith for the purpose of promoting such international movements of capital;

(b) accordingly welcomes the initiative taken by the United States Treasury in putting forward a Preliminary Draft Outline of a Proposal for a Bank for Reconstruction and Development of the United and Associated Nations, and notes with satisfaction that the powers and discretion to be vested in the proposed bank would be such as to enable it to make capital available for developmental purposes to all countries, including those which have at once the greatest need of capital and the greatest difficulty in securing it;

(c) considers that the promotion of full employment and higher living standards should be regarded as a primary objective of any such international development bank, and that the terms of all contracts for development works financed by loans guaranteed, participated in or made by it should include appropriate provisions regarding the welfare and working conditions of the labour employed; and

(d) affirms the readiness of the International Labour Organisation to render every assistance in its power in the framing and application of such provisions and in the achievement of the general objectives of the proposed bank.

The British Government member expressed the view that subparagraph (a) gave insufficient recognition to the exist-
Paragraph 6.

The Office text was as follows:

6. Recognising the great contribution which the international exchange of goods and services can make to higher living standards,

The Conference:

(a) believes that the measures proposed in the foregoing paragraphs for the promotion of exchange stabilisation and international lending will contribute to the expansion of international trade, but considers that the United Nations should also take vigorous action to promote such expansion directly by the elimination of all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce and the reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers;

(b) considers that all countries, creditor as well as debtor, should adapt their commercial policy in such a way as to enable them to trade freely with one another and to settle all obligations arising out of international transactions; and

(c) considers that the United Nations should initiate measures to facilitate the co-ordination through appropriate international machinery of the commercial policies of all countries for the purpose of promoting a steady expansion in world trade on a multilateral basis.

On the motion of the Czechoslovak employers' member it was agreed to add to the preamble to this paragraph the words "and to high levels of employment." In subparagraph (a) it was agreed, on the motion of the Australian Government member, to add after "should also" the words "examine wartime changes in industrial capacity, and arrange for exchange of information on post-war industrial programmes, and should"; and after a discussion in which a number of members took part, it was agreed to replace the words following "expansion" by "of international trade by appropriate commercial policies".

In subparagraph (b) it was agreed to delete the words "to trade freely with one another and" on the ground that the objective of expansion was sufficiently clearly indicated in the earlier parts of the paragraph; and it was agreed to include the subparagraph, as amended, at the end of subparagraph (a).

Subparagraph (c) was adopted without change, it being understood that since the objective of promoting multilateral trade can be promoted by appropriate types of bilateral agreements, the text was not intended to imply any condemnation of such agreements.

On the motion of the Australian Government member, amended on certain points, it was agreed to add the following new subparagraphs:

"(c) considers that in such co-ordination special consideration should be given to the need of countries which are highly dependent on returns from exports to take measures to ensure a high degree of stability in the level of their economic activity and observes that the need for these measures will
decrease to the extent that international collaboration proves successful; and

“(d) considers that in such co-ordination special account should be taken of the dislocation and the accumulated needs resulting from the devastation caused by war operations and from the prolonged diversion from peacetime production in countries which have been engaged for a long period in a sustained and total war effort.”

Paragraph 7.

The Office text was as follows:

7. In order to lay the foundation for rising levels of consumption throughout the world and at the same time to ensure more stable and adequate incomes to those primary producers whose services are needed for the production of essential raw materials and foodstuffs,

The Conference considers that the United Nations should institute concerted action to ensure the constant availability to all purchasers of adequate supplies of such commodities at prices which give as return to the efficient producer and are held sufficiently stable to afford protection against major short-term fluctuations in supply or demand; and that such international arrangements should provide for: (a) adequate representation of consumers as well as producers in all authorities responsible for the determination and application of policy, and (b) the assurance to all workers engaged in the production of the commodities concerned of fair remuneration, satisfactory working conditions and adequate social security protection.

After a lengthy discussion it was agreed to add “designed” after “concerted action”; to add “representing both importing and exporting countries” after “producers” in (a); to replace “the assurance” at the beginning of (b) by “should aim to assure”; and to add “having regard to the general standards in the countries concerned” at the end of the paragraph.

Paragraph 8.

The Office text was as follows:

8. In view of the important role that oil is destined to play in post-war reconstruction, and in view of the fact that the world’s oil resources are distributed unequally among the different countries,

The Conference considers that the United Nations should institute international arrangements for the development, conservation and equitable distribution of the world’s oil resources in the interests of all peoples on a basis designed to avoid international friction, to permit an optimum rate of production, and to ensure that the oil so produced is made available to all purchasers on terms which, while safeguarding fully the interest of consumers, will afford their compensation to producing countries for the loss of a wasting asset and will facilitate the attainment by the peoples of those countries of standards of social and economic well-being having a reasonable relation to the value of their contribution to the world’s economy.

After some discussion, in the course of which the French employers’ member expressed the view that oil, along with other raw materials, was covered by paragraph 7, it was agreed to delete paragraph 8, and to include a reference to its subject matter in the report of the Subcommittee, in connection with the reference to be made to the subject of international industrial agreements (see below under paragraph 10).

Paragraph 9.

The Office text was as follows:

9. Believing that migratory movements may play an important part in the development of a dynamic economy, and that disorderly international migration may create economic and social dislocation in the countries concerned and involve serious individual hardship for the migrants themselves, while desirable migratory movements are often hampered by technical and financial difficulties which can be overcome only through international co-operation,

The Conference considers that the United Nations should initiate measures to facilitate, by the provision of necessary technical and financial assistance, regulated migration of labour and settlers in accordance with the economic development of the various countries, under adequate guarantees for all concerned.

On the motion of the United States Government member the words following “The Conference considers that” were replaced by the following:

“(a) The United Nations should encourage by appropriate measures, with adequate safeguards for all concerned, the orderly migration of labour and settlers in accordance with the economic needs and social conditions prevailing in various countries, and in this connection should note the conclusions adopted by the Conference of Experts on Technical and Financial Co-operation with regard to Migration for Settlement held at the International Labour Office in 1938;

“(b) Arrangements should be made for close co-operation between the International Labour Organisation and any public international agency established to deal with migration;

“(c) The Governing Body should take steps to bring before an early session of the Conference a report of a representative commission, with such technical assistance as it may require, on the means necessary to protect the interests of labour, on the one hand, against barriers which prevent migration from areas of limited resources, and, on the other hand, against the lowering of labour standards that might result from immigration at a rate exceeding the capacity of the receiving countries to absorb immigrants.”

With reference to the word “early” in subparagraph (c) it was understood that the relative priority to be given to this and other questions referred to the Gov-
The Office text was as follows:

10. Noting that marked differences of opinion exist with regard to the advantages and disadvantages of international industrial agreements concerning such matters as patent rights, the control of production and the allocation of markets, but believing that such agreements may have widespread repercussions on production, prices and standards of living,

The Conference:

(a) considers that the full searchlight of publicity should be directed on the existence and operation of such agreements; and

(b) urges the United Nations, as a first step in this direction, to initiate arrangements for the registration of all such agreements by, and the submission of full information concerning their operation to, an appropriate international authority and for the making and publication of periodical reports on the basis of this information.

On the motion of the United States Government member it was decided to delete this paragraph from the resolution and to refer it, together with the discussion of it on page 18 of Report II, to the Governing Body.

The Subcommittee recognised that the International Labour Organisation has no direct responsibility with respect to national legislation or international treaties governing private industrial agreements. It also recognised that the Organisation has a direct interest both in the expansion of production and the encouragement of efficient production, whereby living standards may be raised, and in the protection of workers against loss of income because of excessive cyclical fluctuations, both problems which are affected by private industrial agreements.

The discussion at this point focussed on the problem of the way in which preparation should be made for discussion of the social implications of economic policy, a problem that was encountered in connection with other economic subjects dealt with in the draft resolution as well as with the matter in paragraph 10. The Subcommittee noted that, despite the excellence of the Office report, more intensive preparatory work in the social implications of economic policy will be necessary in the future to enable the Organisation to discharge its responsibilities under the Declaration of Philadelphia.

The Subcommittee therefore recommended that the Governing Body should consider the question of how the Conference may express its interest effectively on these and other economic questions. It is suggested that this may require additional resources for technical staff in the Office, the creation of technical advisory committees to report to small representative commissions, and a report by such commissions to the Conference. The Subcommittee wishes to note that the procedures devised should be such as to make it possible for the Organisation to offer prompt advice.

As has been noted above, it was agreed in the discussion of paragraph 8, which took place after that of paragraph 10, to mention oil as one of the subjects for the consideration of which more intensive preparatory work will be necessary.

New paragraphs.

On the motion of the United States Government member, amended by agreement on a number of points of detail, it was agreed to insert the following new paragraphs after the original paragraph 10:

"In order that re-employment may be expedited and healthy living standards established within a period of minimum duration in areas liberated from Axis occupation,

"The Conference recommends that arrangements be made by those nations whose productive capacities have been maintained during the war, by all other nations which are in a position to make materials available and by the appropriate international organisations, to give the highest priority consistent with the exigencies of war to immediately supplying the territories liberated from Axis occupation with materials and equipment required for industrial installations, agriculture, transport, public works and utilities of an essential character."

It was understood that the qualification "of an essential character" applied to all the items listed from "industrial installations" to "utilities".

On the motion of the Swedish Government member it was agreed to insert the following new paragraph, on the assumption that no such paragraph would be included in any other resolution adopted elsewhere in the Conference:

"Believing that the best possible conditions for a rise in the standard of living and the maintenance of full employment in the world can be obtained only by mutually consistent national economic, financial and social policies of all countries and by co-ordination of the activities of the different international institutions in this field,

"The Conference considers that appropriate international measures should be taken which guarantee sufficient contact and consultation with regard to such problems between Governments as well as between the different international institutions."
II. National Policy

The Office text of this part of the draft resolution was as follows:

11. Governments and employers' and workers' organisations should prepare and apply national policies aimed at full employment, social security and rising standards of living, simultaneously with the consideration of the international measures referred to in the preceding paragraphs.

12. In view of the important structural changes which have occurred in many countries during the war, such as, for example, the abnormal growth of certain industries and their concentration in certain areas, plans should be made immediately for the rapid and orderly conversion of the various national economies from wartime to peacetime requirements, and, in particular, for dealing with all questions arising out of the cancellation and termination of contracts for war materials, including the payment to contractors as speedily as possible of the sums due to them by Governments.

13. Because of the abnormal price relationships that have developed in many countries, the fact that both capital goods and consumers' goods will be in short supply for some time after the end of the war, and the big potential demand for such goods which, if not controlled, might lead to a price inflation followed by collapse and widespread unemployment, Governments should, so long as shortages exist, maintain such financial and economic controls—for example, price and exchange controls and rationing—as may be necessary to prevent inflation and should avoid such precipitate reductions in taxation as might lead to inflation.

14. The continual improvement of the productive efficiency of the economic system should be actively promoted at all times:

(a) by encouraging enterprise and technological progress and by facilitating the development of industries in which there is an expanding demand; and

(b) by encouraging the transfer of productive resources from declining to expanding industries and in general from less attractive to more attractive employments by such measures as the provision of credit and technical advice to employers, and of facilities for the training or retraining of workers and an employment service adequate to ensure their placement as rapidly and satisfactorily as possible.

15. All appropriate measures should be taken to maintain a high and steady level of economic activity and employment, in particular by—

(a) sustaining the volume of demand for consumers' goods by such methods as an adequate income security, system; and

(b) ensuring the productive investment of all savings by—

(i) measures to encourage private investment and as far as possible to stabilise the rate at which it takes place;

(ii) the organisation and financing of public investment in such a way as to maintain stability in total investment at a level adequate to ensure full employment, in particular by the timing of all works undertaken or needed by public authorities in such a way as to offset fluctuations in private investment and the financing of such works by borrowing in periods of depression in accordance with the Public Works (National Planning) Recommendation 195.

The United States employers' member moved to replace the whole of paragraphs 11 to 15 by the following:

"11. In order that full employment at productive peacetime pursuits, freedom from want, rising standards of living and genuine economic security may be achieved with a minimum of delay after the war,

"The Conference urges that Governments and employers' and workers' organisations formulate comprehensive programmes, suited to the particular needs of their countries, for prompt and orderly reconversion, reconstruction and economic expansion, and that such programmes be prepared and applied simultaneously with the consideration of the international measures referred to in the preceding paragraphs.

"12. Recognising that the economic situation will differ markedly among the various countries at the war's end, varying particularly with the degree of industrial development, the extent to which the peacetime economy has been disrupted by the war, and whether the country's territory has been occupied by the enemy; and recognising that national post-war economic programmes must vary accordingly, in order to meet most effectively the needs of the country in which they are to be applied,

"The Conference urges that, with due allowance for differences in national economic situations, programmes for economic reconversion, reconstruction and expansion include the development of sound policies and procedures to provide:

"(a) effective arrangements for the orderly and expeditious demobilisation and repatriation, and for the early absorption in productive peacetime employment of members of the armed forces, civilian workers, and workers transferred to work in a foreign country, for the prompt termination of contracts and settlement of claims, the prompt determination of policy on the peacetime use of Government-owned war production capacity and equipment and the disposition of surplus materials, with a view to the use of these items to satisfy human needs, and liberal provision for the maintenance, educational training and retraining of persons unavoidably out of employment as recommend- ed by the 26th Session of the International Labour Conference in its Recommendation concerning employment organisation in the transition from war to peace;

"(b) retention, as long as shortages exist, of such war-created economic controls—for example, price and exchange controls and rationing—as are necessary to prevent infla-
tion, and the demobilisation of such controls as rapidly thereafter as is consistent with the public welfare;

"(c) adjustment of tax systems to encourage rapid reconversion, reconstruction and economic expansion, while maintaining an equitable distribution of tax burdens and avoiding tax policies which tend to increase the dangers of inflation or deflation;

"(d) development of effective mechanisms for adequate financing of the reconversion, reconstruction and expansion of industry, trade, commerce and agriculture, and particularly to assist the establishment of new and efficient enterprises.

"13. The Conference urges that all practicable measures be taken to maintain a high and steady level of employment, and to assure a steadily expanding volume of production, more particularly by means of:

"(a) fiscal, monetary and other measures, including useful public works, to sustain the volume of demand for goods and services at a high level while avoiding the dangers of an inflationary spiral of prices and wages—in this connection attention should be paid, among other measures, to such methods as an adequate income security system, and to properly timed public works financed by borrowing in periods of depression, in accordance with the Public Works (National Planning) Recommendation, 1937;

"(b) measures to discourage monopolistic practices and to encourage technological progress, to maintain a reasonably flexible system of prices and wages, to encourage the transfer of workers and productive resources from declining to expanding industries, and to attain a high degree of mobility of resources and freedom of access to alternative employments;

"(c) measures to provide adequate incentives to engage in and expand constructive economic activity to encourage private investment and to maintain the rate of investment—among the measures which warrant careful consideration in this connection are the adjustment of tax systems, removal of artificial barriers limiting access to resources and markets, the relaxation of arbitrary restrictions imposed by governmental agencies or by business or by labour organisations, and the maintenance of a high and stable demand for goods;

"(d) measures to provide adequate opportunity for workers to engage in productive activity and to obtain advancement—among the measures which warrant careful consideration in this connection are the provision of improved and more generally accessible educational and training facilities, provision of higher nutritional and health standards, improvement of public employment services, increased provision against economic insecurity, the maintenance of wages at a high level, and the protection, extension and improvement of collective bargaining procedures."

After discussion, this amendment was agreed to, with the following changes:

In paragraph 11, the words "and co-ordinated" were added after "comprehensive".

In paragraph 12 (a) it was agreed to replace "workers transferred to work in a foreign country" by "prisoners, persons who have resisted deportation, deported persons and refugees" in order to conform more closely to the Recommendation of the Committee on Item III.

In paragraph 12 (b) "demobilisation" was replaced by "relaxation".

In paragraph 12 (c) "tax policies" was replaced by "financial measures".

In paragraph 13 (c) "arbitrary" was replaced by "unreasonable".

The Office text was as follows:

Where the prospect of a complete victory of the United Nations makes it possible to prepare a better world order directed towards the achievement of the social objectives which these nations proclaimed in the Atlantic Charter in expressing their 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; and

Whereas these objectives of the United Nations coincide with the basic principles of the International Labour Organisation, and the International Labour Conference, meeting at New York in 1941, pledged the full collaboration of the International Labour Organisation in their implementation; and

Whereas the International Labour Conference is called upon by item II on the agenda of the present session to make recommendations to the United Nations for present and post-war social policy concerning more especially the measures required to be taken internationally and nationally to ensure full employment, social security and rising standards of living; and

Whereas the initiative with regard to international policy lies with the United Nations at the present time, and it is desirable in order to attain the objectives referred to that all nations should pursue an appropriate national policy;

The Conference adopts the following resolution:
Preamble

On the motion of the United States employers' member, it was agreed to add to the Preamble to the resolution, before the words “The Conference adopts . . .”, the following new paragraphs:

“Whereas the attainment of full employment and high productivity by the various nations after the war is essential to the achievement of freedom from want, the attainment of increasing living standards, the realisation of genuine economic security and the continuation of peaceful economic progress; and

“Whereas full employment can be achieved and maintained only through the adoption, by Governments, industry and labour, of policies and measures which effectively encourage the continuing expansion of production and improvement of distribution; and

“Whereas the speedy achievement of full employment requires the prompt and orderly reconversion, reconstruction and expansion of industry, trade, commerce and agriculture after the war, and the subsequent maintenance of employment and production at high levels requires the creation of an economic and social environment conducive to a progressive and expanding economy.”

The draft resolution, as amended, was then adopted unanimously by the Subcommittee.

B. Draft resolution requesting the Governing Body to examine problems involved in labour provisions for internationally-financed development works.

In the discussion of paragraph 5 of the proposed resolution concerning economic policies for the attainment of social objectives, it was noted that special problems would be involved in the framing and application of provisions regarding the welfare and working conditions of workers employed on internationally financed development works. In order to ensure that the International Labour Organisation should develop the techniques necessary for the efficient performance of the tasks which it might be called upon to undertake in this connection, the United States Government member introduced the following draft resolution:

“Considering that the International Labour Organisation should be in a position to offer effective assistance in determining the appropriateness of including provisions concerning welfare and working conditions in the terms under which any international development works are to be carried out, and in framing and applying any such provisions,

“The Conference

“Requests the Governing Body to examine the methods which might be adopted for determining the appropriateness in any particular case of the inclusion of such provisions, for framing such provisions and for ensuring their effective application.”

This was adopted unanimously.

The Subcommittee accordingly decided to recommend unanimously to the Committee on Items I and II to transmit to the Conference for adoption the following draft resolutions:

A. DRAFT RESOLUTION CONCERNING ECONOMIC POLICIES FOR THE ATTAINMENT OF SOCIAL OBJECTIVES

Whereas the prospect of a complete victory of the United Nations makes it possible to prepare a better world order directed towards the achievement of the social objectives which these nations proclaimed in the Atlantic Charter in expressing their 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; and

Whereas these objectives of the United Nations coincide with the basic principles of the International Labour Organisation, and the International Labour Conference, meeting in New York in 1941, pledged the full collaboration of the International Labour Organisation in their implementation; and

Whereas the International Labour Conference is called upon by item II on the agenda of the present session to make Recommendations to the United Nations for present and post-war social policy concerning more especially the measures required to be taken internationally and nationally to ensure full employment, social security and rising standards of living; and

Whereas the initiative with regard to international policy lies with the United Nations at the present time, and it is desirable in order to attain the objectives referred to that all nations should pursue an appropriate national policy; and

Whereas the attainment of full employment and high productivity by the various nations after the war is essential to the achievement of freedom from want, the attainment of increasing living standards, the realisation of genuine economic security and the continuation of peaceful economic progress; and

Whereas full employment can be achieved and maintained only through the adoption, by Governments, industry and labour, of policies and measures which effectively encourage the continuing ex-
pansion of production and improvement of distribution; and

Whereas the speedy achievement of full employment requires the prompt and orderly reconversion, reconstruction and expansion of industry, trade, commerce and agriculture after the war, and the subsequent maintenance of employment and production at high levels requires the creation of an economic and social environment conducive to a progressive and expanding economy;

The Conference adopts the following resolution:

I. INTERNATIONAL POLICY

1. Believing that the relief of war-stricken peoples, repatriation of prisoners and exiles and resumption of agricultural and industrial production are matters which will be of the utmost urgency immediately on the liberation of occupied countries and that on the successful handling of these problems the possibility of achieving the long-range objectives of social and economic well-being will largely depend,

The Conference welcomes the creation of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, urges all States concerned to co-operate actively in the achievement of the tasks entrusted to it and assures the Administration of the readiness of the International Labour Organisation to assist it in every appropriate way.

2. In view of the fact that for varying periods after the end of hostilities many essential commodities and transport facilities will be in short supply, and that international arrangements will be needed to ensure a fair allocation of available supplies and prevent excessive price movements,

The Conference considers that the Governments of the United Nations concerned should arrange to continue in operation, for such periods as any serious shortages may persist, the existing machinery of international co-ordination and control subject to such modification, and in particular to such enlargement of the membership of the authorities concerned, as may contribute to the equitable and efficient operation of such machinery in the transition from war to peace.

3. The Conference endorses the declaration of the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture held in May 1943, that while the primary responsibility lies with each nation for seeing that its own people have the food needed for life and health, each nation can fully achieve this goal only if all co-operate in appropriate international action, and urges the setting up of a permanent international organisation, as recommended by the Conference on Food and Agriculture, to raise the level of nutrition and improve the efficiency of agricultural production and distribution.

4. Recognising that a satisfactory international monetary system is essential to the full development of mutually advantageous economic relations between nations, and consequently to the raising of standards of living,

The Conference attaches great importance to the establishment at the earliest possible moment of effective international machinery for settling balances arising out of international trade and other transactions and for maintaining stability in rates of exchange, notes with satisfaction that the Governments of the United Nations are giving careful attention to this matter and urges that they include in any agreement establishing such machinery a provision requiring the authorities responsible for its application to have regard in framing and applying their policies to the effect of their decisions on employment and living standards.

5. Noting that imports of capital will be needed for reconversion of development and the raising of living standards in many countries, and believing that the provision of such capital will contribute to the maintenance of full employment in the lending countries,

The Conference:

(a) considers that the existing machinery of the international capital market should be supplemented by the establishment of appropriate international machinery for the purpose of promoting the international movement of capital;

(b) considers that the promotion of full employment and higher living standards should be regarded as an interim objective of any such international machinery;

(c) considers that the authorities responsible for the operation of such international machinery should consult the International Labour Organisation as to the appropriateness of including, in the terms under which development works financed in whole or in part through such machinery are to be carried out, provisions regarding the welfare and working conditions of the labour employed; and that such provisions should be framed in consultation with the International Labour Organisation;

(d) affirms the readiness of the International Labour Organisation to render every assistance in its power in determining the appropriateness of the inclusion of such provisions and in their framing and application and in the promotion through the operations of such international machinery of the general objectives of full employment and higher living standards.

6. Recognising the great contribution which the international exchange of goods and services can make to higher living
standards and to high levels of employment.

The Conference:

(a) believes that the measures proposed in the foregoing paragraphs for the promotion of exchange stabilisation and international lending will contribute to the expansion of international trade, but considers that the United Nations should also examine wartime changes in industrial capacity, and arrange for exchange arrangements be made by those nations whose productive capacities have been maintained during the war, by all other nations which are in a position to make materials available and by the appropriate international organisations, to give the highest priority consistent with the exigencies of war to immediately supplying the territories liberated from Axis occupation with materials and equipment required for industrial installations, agriculture, transport, public works and utilities of an essential character.

10. Believing that the best possible con-
ditions for a rise in the standard of living and the maintenance of full employment in the world can only be obtained by mutually consistent national economic, financial and social policies and by co-ordination of the activities of the different international institutions in this field.

The Conference considers that appropriate international measures should be taken which guarantee sufficient contact and consultation with regard to such policies between Governments as well as between the different international institutions.

II. NATIONAL POLICY

11. In order that full employment at productive peacetime pursuits, freedom from want, rising standards of living and genuine economic security may be achieved with a minimum of delay after the war, the Conference urges that Governments and employers' and workers' organisations formulate comprehensive and co-ordinated programmes, suited to the particular needs of their countries, for prompt and orderly reconversion, reconstruction and economic expansion, and such programmes be prepared and applied simultaneously with the consideration of the international measures referred to in the preceding paragraphs.

12. Recognising that the economic situation will differ markedly among the various countries at the war's end, varying particularly with the degree and type of industrial development, the extent to which the peacetime economy has been disrupted by the war, and whether the country's territory has been occupied by the enemy; and recognising that national post-war economic programmes must vary accordingly, in order to meet most effectively the needs of the country in which they are to be applied, the Conference urges that, with due allowance for difference in national economic situations, programmes for economic reconversion, reconstruction and expansion include the development of sound policies and procedures to provide:

(a) Effective arrangements for the orderly and expeditious demobilisation and repatriation, and for the early absorption in productive peacetime employment of members of the armed forces, civilian workers, prisoners, persons who have resisted deportation, deported persons and refugees, for the prompt termination of contracts and settlement of claims, the prompt determination of policy on the peacetime use of Government-owned war production capacity and equipment and the disposition of surplus materials, with a view to the use of these items to satisfy human needs, and liberal provision for the maintenance, educational training and retraining of persons unavoidably out of employment; as recommended by the Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labour Conference in its Recommendation concerning employment organisation in the transition from war to peace;

(b) Retention, as long as shortages exist, of such war-created economic controls—for example, price and exchange controls and rationing—as are necessary to prevent inflation, and the relaxation of such controls as rapidly thereafter as is consistent with the public welfare;

(c) Adjustment of tax systems to encourage rapid reconversion, reconstruction and economic expansion, while maintaining an equitable distribution of tax burdens and avoiding financial measures which tend to increase the dangers of inflation or deflation;

(d) Development of effective mechanisms for adequate financing of the reconversion, reconstruction and expansion of industry, trade, commerce and agriculture, and particularly to assist the establishment of new and efficient enterprises.

13. The Conference urges that all practicable measures be taken to maintain a high and steady level of employment, to minimise fluctuations in business activity, and to assure a steadily expanding volume of production, more particularly by means of:

(a) Fiscal, monetary and other measures, including useful public works, to sustain the volume of demand for goods and services at a high level while avoiding the dangers of an inflationary spiral of prices and wages—in this connection attention should be paid, among other measures, to such methods as an adequate income security system, and to properly timed public works financed by borrowing in periods of depression, in accordance with the Public Works (National Planning) Recommendation, 1937;

(b) Measures to discourage monopolistic practices and to encourage technological progress, to maintain a reasonably flexible system of prices and wages; to encourage the transfer of workers and productive resources from declining to expanding industries, and to attain a high degree of mobility of resources and freedom of access to alternative employment;

(c) Measures to provide adequate incentives to engage in and expand constructive economic activity, to encourage private investment and to maintain the rate of investment—among the measures which warrant careful consideration in this connection are the adjustment of tax systems, removal of artificial barriers limiting access to resources and markets, the relaxation of unreasonable restrictions imposed by governmental agencies or by business or by labour organisations, and the maintenance of a high and stable demand for goods.
(d) Measures to provide adequate opportunity for workers to engage in productive activity and to obtain advancement—among the measures which warrant careful consideration in this connection are the provision of improved and more generally accessible educational and training facilities, provision of higher nutritional and health standards, improvement of public employment services, increased provision against economic insecurity, the maintenance of wages at a high level, and the protection, extension and improvement of collective bargaining procedures.

B. DRAFT RESOLUTION REQUESTING THE GOVERNING BODY TO EXAMINE PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN LABOUR PROVISIONS FOR INTERNATIONALLY-FINANCED DEVELOPMENT WORKS

Considering that the International Labour Organisation should be in a position to offer effective assistance in determining the appropriateness of including provisions concerning welfare and working conditions in the terms under which any international development works are to be carried out, and in framing and applying any such provisions;

The Conference requests the Governing Body to examine the methods which might be adopted for determining the appropriateness in any particular case of the inclusion of such provisions, for framing such provisions, and for ensuring their effective application.

(Signed) MANUEL PÉREZ GUERRERO,
Chairman.

A. FORD HINRICHS,
Reporter.

The report of the Subcommittee was adopted by the Committee on 10 May 1944.

(Signed) FRANCES PERKINS,
Chairman.

ANNEX

Amendment submitted by the Australian Government delegate.

The Australian Government delegate moves that the following two recommendations be added to the third report to the Conference of the Committee on Items I and II.

Recommendation “A”.

“The Conference recommends to the United and Associated Nations that they subscribe to the following undertakings:

‘(i) Each of the signatory Governments, being determined to do its part to ensure that the victory of the United Nations shall be followed by freedom from want, recognises that this objective cannot be achieved unless its people are given the fullest opportunities to work and enjoy the rewards of their labour.

‘(ii) Moreover each signatory Government recognises that a high level of employment among its people is not only fundamental to their material well-being, but will also contribute through the channels of trade to the creation of employment for the peoples of other countries and to an increase in their well-being.

‘(iii) Therefore each signatory Government recognises and hereby undertakes a national obligation to its own people and an international obligation to the other signatory Governments henceforth to take such measures as may be necessary and practicable to fulfil this purpose.

‘(iv) Each signatory Government declares to its own people and to other signatory Governments that it will take all measures within its powers to carry out this obligation and, in particular:

‘(a) to secure the provision of opportunities for work of a kind which will maintain and improve the standard of living of the community;

‘(b) To mitigate the unemployment due to fluctuations in activity to which certain trades, industries and services are liable.

‘(v) In addition, each signatory Government undertakes:

‘(a) to consult with other Governments and with all appropriate international authorities as to methods of collecting on an agreed plan detailed statistics of national employment and unemployment;

‘(b) to take such internal measures as may be practicable and within its powers to collect the statistics relating to
its own country required by the agreed plan;

'(c) to submit such statistics to other Governments, through an appropriate international organisation, at intervals not exceeding three months;

'(d) to make a report for the purpose of an annual conference of the Member countries, on the state of employment of its people and on the economic policies which have been used or are contemplated to combat unemployment;

'(e) to send representatives concerned with the economic and social policy of the Government to meet with representatives of other Governments and international authorities at a special conference called by the appropriate organisation, if, in the opinion of that organisation, a serious decline in employment is developing in any of the signatory countries (for causes whether avoidable or unavoidable by the Governments of the countries concerned), for the purpose of examining and reporting upon possible national and international measures to restore the level of employment and to prevent the spread of unemployment to other countries.

'(vi) In the event of a serious decline in the level of its employment, a Member Government undertakes to consider measures to restore the level of employment such as:

(a) stimulation of private investment;

(b) increase in public investment;

(c) increase consumption expenditure;

(e) expansion of overseas investment where appropriate.

Recommendation "B".

“The Conference recommends to the United and Associated Nations that the ‘appropriate authority’ referred to in the above recommendation should be the I.L.O., and that when ultimately an United and Associated Nations authority is set up to co-ordinate the policies and adjust the functions of the various economic organisations of the United and Associated Nations, the Governing Body of the I.L.O. should be consulted.”

(8) Fourth report of the Committee on Items I and III.

DRAFT RESOLUTIONS ON SOCIAL PROVISIONS IN THE PEACE SETTLEMENT

The Committee on Items I and II, at its sitting on 10 May 1944, considered the text of resolution II of Report II of the International Labour Office, concerning social provisions in the peace settlement, and the series of amendments and resolutions on this subject presented by members of the Committee.

Amendments offered by the Australian and United States Government members affected paragraphs 1 and 2 (covering Part I and the first paragraph of Part II) of the Office text.

The Office text was as follows:

PREAMBLE

Whereas the Conference is called upon by item II on the agenda of its present session to make recommendations to the United Nations for present and post-war social policy, and more particularly concerning the social provisions to be inscribed in the various general or special treaties or agreements to which the United Nations will jointly or severally become parties; and

Whereas it is desirable that such treaties and agreements should make appropriate provision for the advancement of the social principles to which the United Nations stand committed;

The Conference adopts the following Resolution:

Resolution I

The United Nations should include in any general peace settlement a statement of their social and economic aims and purposes in the following form:

(The statement would be based on the proposed declaration of aims and purposes submitted to the present session of the Conference under item I on the agenda, modified to such extent as might be necessary for its inclusion in a treaty, and would be included in the present text by the Conference after the adoption of the proposed declaration. The following adaptation of the text of the proposed declaration as submitted to the Conference, although thus must be regarded as essentially provisional in character until the Conference has adopted the declaration, will serve to indicate the type of text in view.)

The High Contracting Parties reaffirm the fundamental principles on which the International Labour Organisation is based and, in particular, that labour is not a commodity; that freedom of expression and of association are essential to sustained progress; that poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere, and that accordingly the war against want, while it requires to be carried on with unrelenting vigour within each nation, equally requires continuous and concerted international effort in which the representatives of workers and employers, enjoying equal status with those of Governments, join with them in free discussion and democratic decision with a view to the promotion of the common welfare.

Believing that experience has fully demonstrated the truth of the statement in the Preamble to the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation that lasting peace can be established only if it is based on social justice, the High Contracting Parties affirm that all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue both their material well-being and its own country required by the agreed plan;

'(c) to submit such statistics to other Governments, through an appropriate international organisation, at intervals not exceeding three months;

'(d) to make a report for the purpose of an annual conference of the Member countries, on the state of employment of its people and on the economic policies which have been used or are contemplated to combat unemployment;

'(e) to send representatives concerned with the economic and social policy of the Government to meet with representatives of other Governments and international authorities at a special conference called by the appropriate organisation, if, in the opinion of that organisation, a serious decline in employment is developing in any of the signatory countries (for causes whether avoidable or unavoidable by the Governments of the countries concerned), for the purpose of examining and reporting upon possible national and international measures to restore the level of employment and to prevent the spread of unemployment to other countries.

'(vi) In the event of a serious decline in the level of its employment, a Member Government undertakes to consider measures to restore the level of employment such as:

(a) stimulation of private investment;

(b) increase in public investment;

(c) increase consumption expenditure;

(e) expansion of overseas investment where appropriate.”

Recommendation “B".

“The Conference recommends to the United and Associated Nations that the ‘appropriate authority’ referred to in the above recommendation should be the I.L.O., and that when ultimately an United and Associated Nations authority is set up to co-ordinate the policies and adjust the functions of the various economic organisations of the United and Associated Nations, the Governing Body of the I.L.O. should be consulted.”

1 See Proceedings, p. 261.
their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity, that the attainment of the conditions in which this shall be possible must constitute the central aim of international and national policy, and that all policies and measures, in particular those of an economic and financial character, must be judged in this light and accepted only in so far as they may be held to promote and not to hinder the achievement of this fundamental objective.

The High Contracting Parties declare that it is accordingly a responsibility of the International Labour Organisation to scrutinise all international economic and social policies and measures in the light of this fundamental objective and that in discharging the tasks entrusted to it the International Labour Organisation may consider all relevant economic and financial factors and include in its decisions and recommendations any provisions which it considers appropriate.

Among the matters to which urgent attention should be given by the International Labour Organisation, the High Contracting Parties attach special importance to the following:

The maintenance of full employment and the raising of standards of living;

The employment of workers in the occupations in which they can have the satisfaction of giving the fullest measure of their skill and attainments and make their greatest contribution to the common well-being and as a means to the attainment of this end, the provision under adequate guarantees for all concerned of facilities for training and the transfer of labour, including migration for employment and settlement;

The application of policies in regard to wages and earnings, hours and other conditions of work calculated to ensure a just share of the fruits of progress to all, and the assurance of a minimum living wage to all in need of such protection;

The effective recognition of the right of collective bargaining, the co-operation of management and labour in the continuous improvement of productive efficiency, and the collaboration of workers and employers in the initiation and application of social and economic measures.

The extension to the whole population of social security measures providing a basic income in case of inability to work or to obtain work, and providing comprehensive medical care;

The provision of adequate protection for the life and health of workers in all occupations;

The assurance of equality of educational and vocational opportunity.

Confident that the fuller and broader utilisation of the world’s productive resources necessary for the achievement of the objectives set forth in this Article and to associate the Organisation in the planning and application of measures of reconstruction in a manner enabling it to give authoritative expression of all national objectives confided to it in the rebuilding of a peaceful world upon the basis of “improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security” should be given by the International Labour Organisation in the planning and application of measures of reconstruction in a manner enabling it to give authoritative expression of all national objectives confided to it in the rebuilding of a peaceful world upon the basis of “improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security”.

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

II

2. All arrangements for economic co-operation between any of the United Nations should be framed with due regard to their social repercussions.

These paragraphs and amendments were therefore discussed together. The Australian Government member had proposed the calling of an international conference to consider “an international agreement on domestic policies of employment and unemployment”. The United States Government member had initially proposed a substitute text for the Office suggestions contained in paragraphs 1 and 2 of Parts I and II. The Australian Government member proposed a substitute amendment to the amendment submitted by the United States Government to replace the substance of the United States text by an alternative text. In view of the divergence between these two texts, the Committee, at an earlier sitting, had postponed consideration of either amendment with the suggestion that the two Governments try to reach an agreement on a single draft. Negotiations took place in the interim, but it was found that there was no basis for agreement. The Australian Government indicated that it wished to arrive at a text providing at this time for formal undertakings and international agreements with regard to maintaining high levels of employment in advance of other international agreements in related economic fields. The United States Government was not prepared at this Conference and in advance of other conferences being prepared under other auspices to enter into international undertakings concerning domestic policies of employment. The United States Government agrees that the nations must acknowledge themselves as willing and having the duty to maintain high levels of employment by domestic policies in coordination with international economic policies. Consequently, the Committee had before it separate texts from the Australian and United States Government members. In the course of the discussion, it was pointed out by representatives of Governments that they did not consider it to be appropriate “at this moment, at this Conference” to undertake any binding obligations concerning employment policies because other aspects of interna-
tional collaboration must be settled before countries undertake an employment obligation. This point of view was protested against by the Australian Government member, who indicated that as a country greatly dependent on world conditions, the Australian Government considered that if the United States Government was unwilling to undertake some employment obligations, the Australian Government must hesitate before entering into discussions on other aspects of international co-operation.

The original text of the Australian amendment provided for consultation by Governments “with appropriate international authorities” (paragraph v(a)); for Governments to submit statistics “through an appropriate international organisation” (paragraph v(c)); for Governments to report for the purpose of “an annual conference” (paragraph v(d)); and for representatives of Governments and international authorities to meet at a special conference called by “the appropriate organisation” (paragraph v(e)). At the request of the workers’ members of the Committee, the Australian Government member accepted an amendment to his proposal to provide that in each case the appropriate international authority should be the International Labour Organisation.

The amendment submitted by the Australian Government member reads as follows:

“Whereas the Conference is called upon to make recommendations to the United Nations for present and post-war social policy, and more particularly concerning the social provisions to be inscribed in the various general or special treaties or agreements to which the United Nations will jointly or severally become parties;

“Whereas the prospect of a complete victory of the United Nations makes it possible to prepare a better world order directed towards the achievement of the social objectives which these nations proclaimed in the Atlantic Charter in expressing their 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 Conference recommends that all nations desirous of advancing these principles subscribe, at the earliest practicable date, to the following undertaking:

‘The signatory Governments

‘Animated by the desire to give an increasing measure of freedom from want to their own peoples and to all peoples;

‘Recognising, therefore, their common

obligation to foster expanding production and employment on a sound basis, free from disruptive fluctuations, and to ensure that workers and developed facilities shall not be allowed to be idle while the needs of large parts of the world remain unsatisfied;

‘Realising that the economic life and conditions in each nation are increasingly dependent upon the economic life and conditions of other nations, and that hence the attainment of the above-stated objectives requires increasing collaboration among nations;

‘Have agreed that:

‘(i) Each of the signatory Governments, being determined to do its part to ensure that the victory of the United Nations shall be followed by freedom from want, recognise that this objective cannot be achieved unless its people are given the fullest opportunities to work and enjoy the rewards of their labour;

‘(ii) Moreover, each signatory Government recognises that a high level of employment among its people is not only fundamental to their material well-being, but will also contribute through the channels of trade to the creation of employment for the peoples of other countries and to an increase in their well-being;

‘(iii) Therefore each signatory Government recognises and hereby undertakes a national obligation to its own people and an international obligation to the other signatory Governments henceforth to take such measures as may be necessary and practicable to fulfil this purpose.

‘(iv) Each signatory Government declares to its own people and to other signatory Governments that it will take all measures within its power to carry out this obligation and, in particular:

‘(a) To secure the provision of opportunities for work of a kind which will maintain and improve the standard of living of the community.

‘(b) To mitigate the unemployment due to fluctuations in activity to which certain trades, industries and services are liable.

‘(v) In addition each signatory Government undertakes:

‘(a) To consult with other Governments and with the International Labour Organisation as to methods of collecting on an agreed plan detailed statistics of national employment and unemployment.

See above, p. 312.
Appendix V: First and Second Items on the Agenda

(b) To take such internal measures as may be practicable and within its powers to collect the statistics relating to its own country required by the agreed plan.

(c) To submit such statistics to other Governments, through the International Labour Organization, at intervals not exceeding three months.

(d) To make a report, for the purpose of an annual international labour conference of the Member countries, on the state of employment of its people and on the economic policies which have been used or are contemplated to combat unemployment.

(e) To send representatives concerned with the economic and social policy of the Government to meet with representatives of other Governments and international authorities at a special conference called by the International Labour Organisation, if, in the opinion of that organisation, a serious decline in employment is developing in any of the signatory countries (for causes whether avoidable or unavoidable by the Governments of the countries concerned), for the purpose of examining and reporting upon possible national and international measures to restore the level of employment and to prevent the spread of unemployment to other countries.

(vi) In the event of a serious decline in the level of its employment, a member Government undertakes to consider measures to restore the level of employment such as:

(a) Stimulation of private investment.

(b) Increase in public investment.

(c) Increased consumption expenditure.

(d) Expansion of overseas investment where appropriate.

"Contrary to the amendment submitted by the U. S. Government delegates, this amendment is not intended as a substitute for the resolution prepared by the Office, but constitutes an addition to it."

The amendment was put to the vote under the Riddell-Tzaut system. Three Governments, 1 employer, and 6 workers voted in favour; 12 Governments and 5 employers voted against. The amendment was therefore rejected by 22 to 17.

Following the vote on the Australian amendment, the amendment submitted by the United States Government member as a substitute for the Office proposals included in paragraphs 1 and 2 of the resolution concerning social provisions in the peace settlement was taken for final discussion and for vote. A textual amendment was made in the drafting by the United States Government member to indicate that the reports to be submitted to the International Labour Office under Article VI should be submitted as requested by the Governing Body. The amendment reads as follows:

PREAMBLE

"Whereas the Conference is called upon to make recommendations to the United Nations for present and post-war social policy, and more particularly concerning the social provisions to be inscribed in the various general or special treaties or agreements to which the United Nations will jointly or severally become parties;"

"Whereas the prospect of a complete victory of the United Nations makes it possible to prepare a better world order directed towards the achievement of the social objectives which these nations proclaimed in the Atlantic Charter in expressing their 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;"

"A. The Conference considers that the principles stated in the following draft are appropriate for inclusion in a general or special treaty or agreement between nations desirous of giving early effect to the principles of the Atlantic Charter and Article VII of the Mutual Aid Agreement:

The signatory Governments

Having pledged themselves to provide conditions which will ensure an increasing measure of freedom from want to their own peoples and to all peoples; Recognising, therefore, their common obligation to foster expanding production and employment on a sound basis, free from disruptive fluctuations, and to ensure that workers and productive resources shall not be allowed to be idle while the needs of large parts of the world remain unsatisfied; Realising that the economic life and conditions in each nation are increasingly dependent upon the economic life and conditions of other nations, and that hence the attainment of the above-stated objectives requires increasing collaboration among nations;

Have agreed that:

Article I

The Declaration of the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation adopted by the International Labour Conference at Philadelphia, 1944, the text of which is annexed, is hereby affirmed."
Article II

‘Each Government recognises its duty to maintain a high level of employment. Accordingly, all arrangements by and among the signatory and other like-minded Governments for international economic co-operation should be framed and administered to serve the objectives set forth in Article I. They should be directed to the expansion of production, employment and the exchange and consumption of goods and to the liberation of economic activity from unreasonable restrictions. Particular consideration should be given to measures for promoting the reconstruction of economic life in countries whose economic and social life has been disrupted as the result of Axis aggression.

Article III

The following matters are of international concern and should be among the social objectives of international as well as national policy:

(1) Opportunity for useful and regular employment to all persons who want work, at fair wages or returns and under reasonable conditions, with provision for protection of health and against injury in all occupations;

(2) Raising standards of living to provide adequate nutrition, housing, medical care and education;

(3) Establishment of minimum standards of employment to prevent exploitation of workers, whether employed or self-employed, whose opportunities for high wage employment are limited;

(4) Provision for child welfare;

(5) Provision for a regular flow of income to all those whose employment is interrupted by sickness or injury, by old age or by lack of employment opportunity;

(6) The effective recognition of the right of freedom of association and of collective bargaining;

(7) Provision of facilities for training and transfer of labour.

Article IV

The International Labour Office may, under standards constitutionally determined by the International Labour Conference, as occasion requires, collect from, and interchange with, the signatory Governments, uniform statistical and other economic information on the following matters which are among those of direct interest to the International Labour Organisation and are of international concern:

(1) Employment, wages and conditions of work;

(2) Standards of living and the distribution of income, with particular reference to wage and salaried workers;

(3) Technical education and training for employment;

(4) Industrial health, safety and welfare;

(5) Industrial relations;

(6) Social security; and

(7) Administration of labour and social security legislation.

Article V

With respect to the matters set forth in Article III:

(1) The Governments, through appropriate international agencies, shall develop standards and statistical measures, and shall maintain uniform statistics and other information.

(2) The Governments shall interchange among themselves and make available to the International Labour Organisation such information and reports as may be required to assist them and the Organisation to develop recommendations with respect to such matters.

(3) The Governments shall take appropriate steps to assure close collaboration and full exchange of information between the International Labour Organisation and any other international bodies which now exist or may be established for the promotion of economic advancement and social well-being.

(4) The Governments shall take appropriate steps to have placed on the agenda of the International Labour Conference annually the subject of the extent to which the social objectives set forth in Article I have been attained and on the measures taken during the year towards the attainment of the objectives.

Article VI

With respect to draft international Conventions and Recommendations adopted by the Conference in accordance with Article 19 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation, the signatory Governments undertake to report as requested by the Governing Body to the International Labour Office on the status of legislation and administration and, in so far as practicable, of practices under collective agreements between employers and workers.

B. The Conference recommends that
the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation:

‘(1) call a special conference of the Organisation when in its opinion there is a danger of a substantial fall in general employment levels for the purpose of recommending appropriate national or international measures to prevent the development or spread of unemployment and to establish conditions under which high levels of employment may be maintained or restored;

‘(2) correlate the activities of the I.L.O. towards the end of maintaining full employment with those of any other international agency or agencies which may be designated by the United Nations to have primary responsibility in related economic fields’.

The voting under the Riddell-Tzaut system was 16 Government, 6 employers and 9 workers in favour; 1 Government, and 1 worker opposed. The amendment was therefore adopted by 46 to 3.

Following the adoption of the United States amendment, the resolution proposed by the Australian Government member was open for discussion and vote. At the suggestion of the workers’ members, the Australian Government member accepted an amendment to the original text to provide that the conference proposed should be called in association with the Governing Body of the International Labour Office and agreed to insert these words between the words “date” and “to”.

The text of the resolution as proposed by the Australian Government member reads as follows:

“This Conference recommends to Governments that a conference of representatives of the Governments of the United, Associated, and other Nations, willing to attend, be called at an early date, in association with the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, to consider an international agreement on domestic policies of employment and unemployment; and this Conference pledges the full cooperation and the assistance of the I.L.O. in calling such a conference on employment, and in helping to carry into effect appropriate decisions it might make.”

The vote on this amendment under the Riddell-Tzaut system consisted of 7 Government, 1 employer and 9 workers in favour, and none opposed. The amendment was therefore adopted by 27 to 0.

The Committee then took up the remaining sections of the proposals appearing in resolution II of Report II of the International Labour Office. Paragraph 3 of Part II reads as follows:

3. Any arrangements which may be made between all or any of the United Nations for the stabilisation of exchanges, the promotion of international movements of capital, the co-ordination of commercial policies, the production and the stabilisation of the prices of primary commodities, the regulation of oil supplies, the organisation of migratory movements and the registration of international industrial agreements should give effect to the relevant proposals contained in the resolution concerning economic policies for the attainment of social objectives adopted by the present session of the Conference.

It was pointed out that this paragraph in fact summarises the points already adopted by the Committee as a separate resolution entitled: “Resolution concerning economic policy for the attainment of social objectives”.

It was therefore unanimously agreed to delete this paragraph.

Paragraphs 4 and 5 of the Office text concern the dependent territories.

These paragraphs read as follows:

4. The United Nations should undertake—
(a) to apply to any dependent territories in respect of which they have accepted or may accept a measure of international accountability through any international or regional commission or other body the principle that all policies affecting dependent territories shall be primarily directed to the well-being and development of the peoples of such territories;

(b) to apply to such territories the provisions of the Forced Labour Convention, 1936, the Recruiting of Indigenous Workers Convention, 1936, the Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939; and the Penal Sanctions (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939;

(c) to make a periodical report to the International Labour Office in respect of each such territory indicating the extent to which effect has been given to the provisions of the Social Policy (Dependent Territories) Recommendation, 1944; and

(d) to ask the International Labour Office to appoint, in continuation of the collaboration established in the case of the Permanent Mandates Commission, a representative on any committee which may be entrusted with the task of watching over the application of the principle of international accountability, and further to ensure that any facilities which may be afforded, in the form of inspection or otherwise, for the better implementation of this principle shall include appropriate measures for examining the application of the above-mentioned Conventions and Recommendation.

5. When determining the future status of dependent territories which on 1 September 1939 were controlled by Axis Powers the United Nations should specifically require the application thereto of the arrangements provided for in the preceding paragraph.

The Committee unanimously agreed to a drafting amendment to the text to ensure conformity (paragraph 4 (a)) with the decisions taken by the Committee on Item V of the Agenda (Minimum Standards of Social Policy in Dependent Territories). The amendment reads as follows:

“Replace phrase ‘all policies affecting dependent territories shall be primarily directed to the well-being and development of the peoples of such territories’ by ‘all policies designed to apply to dependent territories shall be primarily directed to”

1 See Appendix VIII, p. 474.
The well-being and development of the peoples of such territories and to the promotion of the desire on their part for social progress.

The amended text of the paragraphs concerning dependent territories reads as follows:

“(4) (a) to apply to any dependent territories in respect of which they have accepted or may accept a measure of international accountability through any international or regional commission or other body the principle that all policies designed to apply to dependent territories shall be primarily directed to the well-being and development of the peoples of such territories, and to the promotion of the desire on their part for social progress;

“(b) to apply to such territories the provisions of the Forced Labour Convention, 1930, the Recruiting of Indigenous Workers Convention, 1936, the Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939, and the Penal Sanctions (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939;

“(c) to make a periodical report to the International Labour Office in respect of each such territory indicating the extent to which effect has been given to the provisions of the Social Policy (Dependent Territories) Recommendation, 1944;

“(d) to ask the International Labour Office to appoint, in continuation of the collaboration established in the case of the Permanent Mandates Commission, a representative on any committee which may be entrusted with the task of watching over the application of the principle of international accountability, and further to ensure that any facilities which may be afforded, in the form of inspection or otherwise, for the better implementation of this principle, shall include appropriate measures for examining the application of the above-mentioned Conventions and Recommendation.

“(5) When determining the future status of dependent territories which on 1 September 1939 were controlled by Axis Powers, the United Nations should specifically require the application thereto of the arrangements provided for in the preceding paragraph.”

These paragraphs were adopted unanimously.

Paragraph 6 of the Office text concerned maritime conditions. An amendment submitted by the United States Government members and a proposal submitted by the Cuban workers’ member, both affect this paragraph. In place of discussing the amendments in the Committee, it was agreed that the Office text, the U. S. amendment and the Cuban workers’ proposal should be referred to the Governing Body with the recommendation that the Governing Body reach an agreed text on proposals for submission to Governments.

The Office text reads as follows:

6. In any negotiations regarding the organisation, control and operation of merchant shipping and in particular in making international arrangements for the disposal of merchant shipping tonnage, the United Nations concerned should consult the competent bodies of the International Labour Organisation, such as the Joint Maritime Commission, in regard to the possibility of including stipulations concerning the standard of accommodation to be provided for crews and other matters.

The U. S. Government amendment reads as follows:

“(1) Strike out at the end of the proposed resolution the words ‘and other matters’;

“(2) And substitute the following: ‘and of stipulations embodying the provisions of Conventions already adopted by the maritime sessions of the Conference, or of any further such Conventions that may be adopted before the negotiation of such agreements’.”

The text proposed by the Cuban workers’ member reads as follows:

“With regard to Report No. I, in its reference to the meeting of the Joint Maritime Commission and adopt resolution No. V concerning the convening of a maritime session of the Conference, the undersigned workers’ delegate proposes to recommend the inclusion on the agenda of the said session of the question of the standardisation of conditions of employment in the merchant marine, maintaining the highest standard of living and also giving a universal character to transport and freight regulations, so that all discriminating practices in respect to wages, all conditions of life and all unfair competition between shipowners based on lower wages and the cheapening of seamen’s labour may be prevented.”

The Committee then took up paragraph 7 of the Office text, which reads as follows:

7. In making international arrangements concerning transport by air, land, and inland waterway, the United Nations should have due regard to the repercussions of such arrangements on the working and living conditions of persons employed in transport, and should consult the International Labour Organisation in regard to such repercussions.
sions and more particularly in regard to the working and living conditions of persons who, in operating such transport systems, work in or under the jurisdiction of more than one country.

The Committee unanimously adopted this text.

The Committee then took up paragraphs 8 and 9 of the Office text dealing with transfer of territory and exchange of populations. These paragraphs are as follows:

8. Any decisions concerning the transfer of territory which may be taken by the United Nations should include provision for the maintenance of rights in course of acquisition and rights acquired under social insurance schemes and for the transfer of any funds attributable to the carrying on of social insurance in the transferred territory. Any question concerning the application of the arrangements made for these purposes which is not settled by the terms of such arrangements or by agreements should be decided by a commission consisting of representatives of the States concerned and persons appointed by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

9. Any arrangements which may be made by the United Nations or by any of them for the exchange of populations between different countries should include appropriate provision for the protection of the working populations concerned.

It was pointed out that the subject matter of these paragraphs has been dealt with by another Committee of the Conference (see fourth report of the Committee on Social Security—Report on Provisions concerning Social Insurance and Related Questions in the Peace Settlement).

The Committee unanimously agreed therefore to delete these paragraphs from its report.

The Committee then took up paragraph 10 of the Office text, which reads as follows:

10. The International Labour Organisation should make available to the United Nations any information or assistance calculated to facilitate the implementation of the proposals contained in the resolution concerning economic policies for the attainment of social objectives and the present resolution and should be prepared to participate in any international conference which may be considering such proposals.

This text was unanimously adopted.

The Committee then took up a resolution proposed by the United States Government member concerning specific provisions for labour standards that might be inserted throughout the peace settlement and the setting up of a consultative committee of the Governing Body for future action. This resolution reads as follows:

"The Conference

"Believing that the exceptional opportunity of the negotiations of the peace settlement should be taken to secure a concerted advance in the acceptance of binding obligations concerning conditions of labour;

"Reaffirming the principle of the asso-

1 See Appendix VII, p. 438,

iation of management and labour in the framing of such standards,

Recommends

"(a) That throughout the peace settlement the United Nations should wherever appropriate include provisions for labour standards. In a number of cases such provisions might properly be taken from Conventions or Recommendations that have been or may be adopted by the International Labour Conference.

"(b) That the Governing Body should appoint a consultative committee on labour provisions in the peace settlement. This committee should hold itself in readiness, together with the Director of the International Labour Office, to give advice with reference to such provisions on the request of the United Nations or of particular groups of the United Nations. This committee should have the right to accept additional members of special competence with respect to the particular sets of provisions under consideration.

"(c) That the United Nations should make full use of this committee in any case in which they consider it appropriate to include labour provisions in the peace settlement."

The proposed resolution was adopted unanimously.

A resolution submitted by the Cuban and Uruguayan Government members on paragraph 2 of Resolution II of the Office text, which had been replaced by vote of the Committee in accepting the United States Government members' resolution, was considered relevant to the paragraph concerning the setting up of a consultative committee on labour provisions in the peace settlement.

The text of the Cuban and Uruguayan proposal is as follows:

"All arrangements for economic cooperation between the States Members of the International Labour Organisation should be framed with due regard to their social repercussions and the advantages of them should be denied to countries which do not apply the fundamental minimum principles of the International Labour Code; and also, for reasons of equity, preferences should be granted according to the degree of effective application of Conventions influencing the cost of production, as for instance those concerning maximum hours of work, minimum wages, holidays and rest periods, insurance and social security."

It was unanimously agreed to refer this proposal to the Governing Body with the request that it be considered by the consultative committee on labour provisions in the peace settlement, to be set up by the Governing Body.

1 See above, p. 343.
The Chairman then took up a resolution submitted by the Polish members of the Committee. The resolution reads as follows:

"Whereas the Declaration concerning the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation adopted by the Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labour Conference includes the reaffirmation of the following fundamental principle on which the Organisation is based:

'that all human beings irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development under conditions of freedom and dignity'"

"Whereas it is well known that in occupied Poland, mass murder of the Jewish and non-Jewish population of Poland as well as of Jews of the entire European continent, who have been brought to Poland for mass execution, is being committed on a scale hitherto unknown in modern history;

"Whereas Nazi Germany and its satellites, while continuing the criminal persecutions of populations of all Axis occupied countries such as Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Greece, Holland, Yugoslavia, Luxemburg, Norway and the U. S. S. R., aims particularly at annihilating the Jews of Europe;

"The International Labour Conference adopts the following resolution:

"The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation, convened at its Twenty-sixth Session at Philadelphia on 1944,

"1. Protests against Nazi crimes which violate the fundamental principles of humanity and of international law;

"2. Welcomes the Joint Declaration against extermination of the Jewish people announced on 17 December 1942, in London, Moscow and Washington by the Governments of Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and Yugoslavia and the French National Committee, and the statement on atrocities signed by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin, announced on 1 November 1943, as a result of the Three Power Conference in Moscow, and expresses its firm conviction that all guilty of these crimes must be tried and punished;

"3. Requests that the United Nations take immediately all possible steps to stop mass slaughter of both the Jewish and non-Jewish population, which lately increased in connection with the retreat of the German Army;

"4. Expresses its deepest sympathy for all victims of Nazi terror and its great admiration for the defenders of the Ghetto of Warsaw and other cities and for the underground fighters of all occupied countries who have been fighting and dying together for the common cause of the United Nations."

The Chairman explained that as this resolution was only indirectly concerned with item II on the agenda it had been referred to the Officers of the Conference. As their decision was pending there was no reason for the Committee on Items I and II to deal with the resolution.

It was agreed that the Committee should not consider the resolution.

The Chairman pointed out that there were a number of proposals submitted either as separate resolutions or as amendments to the Office text which were not fully incorporated in the text of the resolution as adopted so far by the Committee but which could be considered in connection with the various paragraphs adopted. In particular, the Colombian Government member had submitted an amendment to paragraph 1 of Part I of the Office draft, to follow a clause not contained in the text as adopted by the Committee. This amendment reads as follows:

"Add to Article I of the International Labour Office's draft, after the paragraph reading 'The assurance of equality of educational and vocational opportunity' the following: 'the development of the co-operative movement and the encouragement of international collaboration in this field'.

"Add the following article:

"Whereas the International Labour Conference in 1935 recommended the Governments of States Members to include agreements to facilitate exchanges of teachers, students and skilled workers, with a view to improving their knowledge, and

"Whereas the Conference in 1939 recommended regional, national and international exchanges of teachers, students and skilled workers;

"The Conference

"Decides that the International Labour Office should prepare and submit to the United Nations bases for an international convention on cultural exchanges, encouragement of vocational and technical education and occupational education for employment, in terms analogous to those of the Pan-American Convention of 1936."
It was agreed that this resolution should be referred to the Governing Body for consideration.

A resolution submitted by the Chilean members reads as follows:

"Whereas the principles of human freedom and dignity upon which the democratic system is founded, the only ones upon which an effective policy of social welfare on behalf of the wage earning classes can be based; and

"Whereas the International Labour Organisation bases its rules of procedures and its methods of social action on those principles;

"The Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labour Conference

"Agrees to reiterate once again its faith in those principles and its confident belief that the democratic ideal will emerge strengthened and amplified in the future peace treaties."

It was agreed that this resolution was in fact covered by the resolution as a whole.

The Committee agreed to request the Governing Body to consider any other suggestions or proposals made in the resolutions which had not been specifically dealt with in the text of the resolutions as adopted.

In view of the shortage of time, the Committee agreed to confide to its Officers the responsibility for presenting its decisions in the form of a report and submitting the report to the Conference without a further meeting of the Committee.

The text of the resolution concerning social provisions in the peace settlement as adopted by the Committee is appended to this report.

Philadelphia, 11 May 1944.

(Signed) FRANCES PERKINS,
Chairman.

W. C. COULTER,
Vice-Chairman.

JOSEPH HALLSWORTH,
Vice-Chairman.

DRAFT RESOLUTION CONCERNING SOCIAL PROVISIONS IN THE PEACE SETTLEMENT

Whereas the Conference is called upon to make recommendations to the United Nations for present and post-war social policy, and more particularly concerning the social provisions to be inscribed in the various general or special treaties or agreements to which the United Nations will jointly or severally become parties;

Whereas the prospect of a complete victory of the United Nations makes it possible to prepare a better world order directed towards the achievement of the social objectives which these nations proclaimed in the Atlantic Charter in expressing their 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:

I

The Conference considers that the principles stated in the following draft are appropriate for inclusion in a general or special treaty or agreement between nations desirous of giving early effect to the principles of the Atlantic Charter and Article VII of the Mutual Aid agreement:

The signatory Governments

Having pledged themselves to provide conditions which will ensure an increasing measure of freedom from want to their own peoples and to all peoples;

Recognising, therefore, their common obligation to foster expanding production and employment on a sound basis, free from disruptive fluctuations, and to ensure that workers and productive resources shall not be allowed to be idle while the needs of large parts of the world remain unsatisfied;

Realising that the economic life and conditions in each nation are increasingly dependent upon the economic life and conditions of other nations, and that hence the attainment of the above-stated objectives requires increasing collaboration among nations;

Have agreed that:

Article I

The Declaration of the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation adopted by the International Labour Conference at Philadelphia, 1944, the text of which is annexed, is hereby reaffirmed.

Article II

Each Government recognises its duty to maintain a high level of employment. Accordingly, all arrangements by and among the signatory and other like-minded Governments for international economic co-operation should be framed and administered to serve the objectives set forth in Article I. They should be directed to the expansion of production, employment and the exchange and consumption of goods and to the liberation of economic activity from unreasonable restrictions. Particular consideration should be given to measures for promoting the reconstruction of economic life in coun-
tries whose economic and social life has been disrupted as the result of Axis aggression.

Article III

The following matters are of international concern and should be among the social objectives of international as well as national policy:

1. Opportunity for useful and regular employment to all persons who want work, at fair wages or returns and under reasonable conditions, with provision for protection of health and against injury in all occupations;

2. Raising standards of living to provide adequate nutrition, housing, medical care and education;

3. Establishment of minimum standards of employment to prevent exploitation of workers, whether employed or self-employed, whose opportunities for high-wage employment are limited;

4. Provision for child welfare;

5. Provision for a regular flow of income to all those whose employment is interrupted by sickness or injury, by old age or by lack of employment opportunity;

6. The effective recognition of the right of freedom of association and of collective bargaining;

7. Provision of facilities for training and transfer of labour.

Article IV

The International Labour Office may, under standards constitutionally determined by the International Labour Conference, as occasion requires, collect from, and interchange with, the signatory Governments, uniform statistical and other economic information on the following matters which are among those of direct interest to the International Labour Organisation and are of international concern:

1. Employment, wages and conditions of work;

2. Standards of living and the distribution of income, with particular reference to wage and salaried workers;

3. Technical education and training for employment;

4. Industrial health, safety and welfare;

5. Industrial relations;

6. Social security; and

7. Administration of labour and social security legislation.

Article V

With respect to the matters set forth in Article III:

1. The Governments, through appropriate international agencies, shall develop standards and statistical measures, and shall maintain uniform statistics and other information.

2. The Governments shall interchange among themselves and make available to the International Labour Organisation such information and reports as may be required to assist them and the Organisation to develop recommendations with respect to such matters.

3. The Governments shall take appropriate steps to assure close collaboration and full exchange of information between the International Labour Organisation and any other international bodies which now exist or may be established for the promotion of economic advancement and social well-being.

4. The Governments shall take appropriate steps to place on the agenda of the International Labour Conference annually the subject of the extent to which the social objectives set forth in Article I have been attained and on the measures taken during the year towards the attainment of the objectives.

Article VI

With respect to draft international Conventions and Recommendations adopted by the Conference in accordance with Article 19 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation, the signatory Governments undertake to report to the International Labour Office as requested by the Governing Body on the status of legislation and administration and, in so far as practicable, of practices under collective agreements between employers and workers.

II

The Conference recommends that the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation:

1. call a special conference of the Organisation when in its opinion there is a danger of a substantial fall in general employment levels for the purpose of recommending appropriate national or international measures to prevent the development or spread of unemployment and to establish conditions under which high levels of employment may be maintained or restored;
(2) correlate the activities of the I.L.O. towards the end of maintaining full employment with those of any other international agency or agencies which may be designated by the United Nations to have primary responsibility in related economic fields.

III

The Conference recommends that:

(1) The United Nations should undertake:

(a) to apply to any dependent territories in respect of which they have accepted or may accept a measure of international accountability through any international or regional commission or other body the principle that all policies designed to apply to dependent territories shall be primarily directed to the well-being and development of the peoples of such territories, and to the promotion of the desire on their part for social progress;

(b) to apply to such territories the provisions of the Forced Labour Convention, 1930; the Recruiting of Indigenous Workers Convention, 1936; the Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939, and the Penal Sanctions (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939;

(c) to make a periodical report to the International Labour Office in respect of each such territory indicating the extent to which effect has been given to the provisions of the Social Policy (Dependent Territories) Recommendation, 1944;

(d) to ask the International Labour Office to appoint, in continuation of the collaboration established in the case of the Permanent Mandates Commission, a representative on any committee which may be entrusted with the task of watching over the application of the principle of international accountability, and further to ensure that any facilities which may be afforded, in the form of inspection or otherwise, for the better implementation of this principle, shall include appropriate measures for examining the application of the above-mentioned Conventions and Recommendation.

(2) When determining the future status of dependent territories which on 1 September 1939 were controlled by Axis Powers, the United Nations should specifically require the application thereto of the arrangements provided for in the preceding paragraph.

(3) In making international arrangements concerning transport by air, land, and inland waterway, the United Nations should have due regard to the repercussions of such arrangements on the working and living conditions of persons employed in transport, and should consult the International Labour Organisation in regard to such repercussions and more particularly in regard to the working and living conditions of persons who, in operating such transport systems, work in or under the jurisdiction of more than one country.

(4) The International Labour Organisation should make available to the United Nations any information or assistance calculated to facilitate the implementation of the proposals contained in the resolution concerning economic policies for the attainment of social objectives and the present resolution and should be prepared to participate in any international conference which may be considering such proposals.

IV

Believing that the exceptional opportunity of the negotiations of the peace settlement should be taken to secure a concerted advance in the acceptance of binding obligations concerning conditions of labour;

The Conference reaffirming the principle of the association of management and labour in the framing of such standards,

Recommends

(a) That throughout the peace settlement the United Nations should wherever appropriate include provisions for labour standards. In a number of cases such provisions might properly be taken from Conventions or Recommendations that have been or may be adopted by the International Labour Conference.

(b) That the Governing Body should appoint a consultative committee on labour provisions in the peace settlement. This committee should hold itself in readiness, together with the Director of the International Labour Office, to give advice with reference to such provisions on the request of the United Nations or of particular groups of the United Nations. This committee should have the right to co-opt additional members of special competence with respect to the particular sets of provisions under consideration.

(c) That the United Nations should make full use of this committee in any
The Conference recommends to Governments that a conference of representatives of the Governments of the United, Associated, and other Nations, willing to attend, be called at an early date, in association with the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, to consider an international agreement on domestic policies of employment and unemployment; and this Conference pledges the full co-operation and the assistance of the I.L.O. in calling such a conference on employment, and in helping to carry into effect appropriate decisions it might make.

ANNEX

Text of the Declaration concerning the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation.

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

I

The Conference reaffirms the fundamental principles on which the Organisation is based and, in particular, that:

(a) labour is not a commodity;
(b) freedom of expression and of association are essential to sustained progress;
(c) poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere;
(d) the war against want requires to be carried on with unrelenting vigour within each nation, and by continuous and concerted international effort in which the representatives of workers and employers, enjoying equal status with those of Governments, join with them in free discussion and democratic decision with a view to the promotion of the common welfare.

II

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

(a) all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity;
(b) the attainment of the conditions in which this shall be possible must constitute the central aim of national and international policy;
(c) all national and international policies and measures, in particular those of an economic and financial character, should be judged in this light and accepted only in so far as they may be held to promote and not to hinder the achievement of this fundamental objective;
(d) it is a responsibility of the International Labour Organisation to examine and consider all international economic and financial policies and measures in the light of this fundamental objective;
(e) in discharging the tasks entrusted to it the International Labour Organisation, having considered all relevant economic and financial factors, may include in its decisions and recommendations any provisions which it considers appropriate.

III

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

(a) full employment and the raising of standards of living;
(b) the employment of workers in the occupations in which they can have the satisfaction of giving the fullest measure of their skill and attainments and make their greatest contribution to the common well-being;
(c) the provision, as a means to the attainment of this end and under adequate guarantees for all concerned, of facilities for training and the transfer of labour, including migration for employment and settlement;
(d) policies in regard to wages and earnings, hours and other conditions of work calculated to ensure a just share of the fruits of progress to all, and a minimum living wage to all employed and in need of such protection;
(e) the effective recognition of the right of collective bargaining, the
co-operation of management and labour in the continuous improvement of productive efficiency, and the collaboration of workers and employers in the preparation and application of social and economic measures;

(f) the extension of social security measures to provide a basic income to all in need of such protection and comprehensive medical care;

(g) adequate protection for the life and health of workers in all occupations;

(h) provision for child welfare and maternity protection;

(i) the provision of adequate nutrition, housing and facilities for recreation and culture;

(j) the assurance of equality of educational and vocational opportunity.

IV

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

V

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

Third Item on the Agenda:

The Organisation of Employment in the Transition from War to Peace

(1) Report of the Committee on Employment.¹

The Committee on Employment set up by the Conference at its eighth sitting on 26 April 1944 consisted of 77 members (33 Government members, 22 employers' members and 22 workers' members). It held eleven sittings.

The officers appointed by the Committee were as follows:

Chairman: Mr. Martin, Canadian Government member;

Vice-Chairmen: Mr. Low, British employers' member, and Mr. Brown, British workers' member;

Reporters: Mrs. Beyer, United States Government member, and Mr. Aglion, French Government member.

Drafting Committee: Miss Alegría Garza, Mexican Government member; Mr. Cameron, Canadian employers' member, and Mr. Midol, French workers' member.

Representative of the Secretary-General: Mr. Waelbroeck, assisted by Mr. Tait and Mrs. Thibert.

The voting system was the Riddell-Tzaut system, i.e., each Government member had two votes and each other member had three votes.

General Considerations

In presenting its conclusions on the subject matter falling specifically within its terms of reference, the Committee on Employment first calls attention to two general considerations which it deems of great importance and to which it hopes to see proper emphasis given in action taken by the Conference.

First and foremost, the Committee wishes to state its conviction that policies to assure full employment constitute an indispensable condition for the successful solution of the problems with which this Conference is faced. Access to employment in the production of useful goods or services is essential for the preservation of human dignity as well as for the proper support of physical existence. Organisational arrangements and above all a strong employment service to bring together available workers and available jobs in an orderly manner, with which the deliberations of the Committee have been concerned, are broad in scope and of great potential significance for the post-war era. Nevertheless they leave unanswered the question of how assurance is to be given that sufficient jobs will be available. This assurance must depend upon the willingness of nations to adopt whatever measures may be necessary and appropriate to promote employment opportunity for as many men and women as may seek employment.

In the second place, the Committee would not wish to proceed to the enumeration of particulars without first pointing out that the application of the various principles on organisation of employment herein suggested presents problems that are of a different nature and far more difficult for liberated areas than for other countries. With the principles themselves all nations can agree, but their successful application in liberated areas will probably not be practicable for some time. Even the general size of the labour supply and the magnitude of the devastation will not be known in these areas until the

¹See Proceedings, p. 241.
workers have been repatriated and the entire situation surveyed. As for the attainment of full employment and an adequate standard of living, these goals must await the reconstruction of all the means of production. This Committee is confident that the more fortunate nations will lend assistance in this task of reconstruction in liberated areas, so that all nations may go forward together.

Procedure

The Chairman explained at the outset that the Committee's duty as defined by the Conference was to place before the Conference general guiding principles on the organisation of employment in the transition from war to peace. This limitation was strongly contested in the Committee on behalf of the Workers' group. The procedure for carrying out this task was the subject of a general discussion in the course of which it was suggested that the Committee should not interpret its task too strictly and that, in order to be of full use to the Governments, its conclusions should include proposals concerning possible methods of application. It was also indicated that these methods should not necessarily be suggested as applicable to all countries and that the proposals of the Office might conveniently be adjusted and expanded so as to deal more adequately with the conditions of particular countries such as the devastated countries of Europe or the less industrialised countries of America or Asia. It was decided therefore that the Committee should take the Office texts as the basis of discussion, should attempt to extract from them general guiding principles and should also present suggested methods and machinery for the application of these principles, bearing in mind the need for flexibility and alternative solutions. It was decided to defer until a later stage a decision as to the precise form which the conclusions of the Committee should take (for example, Recommendations or resolutions).

The United States employers' member submitted an amendment consisting of a preamble and two paragraphs. The Chairman ruled that practically all the points mentioned in this amendment concerned economic policy, which was not within the terms of reference of the Committee on Item III but within the terms of reference of the Committee on Items I and II. The amendment was consequently withdrawn.

One further general point was considered. Proposed Recommendation IV concerning income security and medical care for persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services and from war employment was submitted for consideration partly to the Committee on Item III and partly to the Committee on Item IV. It was proposed that the whole of this proposed Recommendation should be dealt with by the Committee on Item IV, which seemed more competent to deal with all the provisions. It was therefore agreed that the officers of the Committee should meet the officers of the other Committee and attempt to reach agreement subject to the approval of the Selection Committee. Agreement was reached to the effect that the Committee on Item IV should deal with the whole Recommendation.

PROPOSED RECOMMENDATION I

This proposed Recommendation concerns employment organisation in the transition from war to peace. It was decided to defer discussion on the Preamble until the Committee had reached a conclusion on the remainder of the text.

Paragraph 1

This and the two following paragraphs were preceded by a heading, namely "Advance Collection of Information". The British Government member proposed to delete the word "advance" but after discussion withdrew his proposal.

The Office text of paragraph 1 was as follows:

1. The employment service should be responsible for collecting, in co-operation with other Government agencies, as complete and up-to-date information as possible on:

(a) the number, educational and occupational backgrounds, past and present skills, and occupational wishes of members of the armed forces and of assimilated services;

(b) the number, location, skills and occupational wishes of workers who will have to change their employment during the transition from war to peace;

(c) the number and distribution of older workers, women and juveniles who are likely to withdraw from gainful employment after the war emergency.

The United States Government members proposed to replace the first three lines by the following words: "Each Government should arrange for the co-ordinated collection, administrative utilisation and publication of information as complete and up-to-date as possible on". They also proposed to insert the words "industrial distribution, sex distribution" after the word "location" in subparagraph (b) and to add at the end of subparagraph (c) the words "and the number of juveniles subsequently expected to enter the labour force from school".

The United States Government members explained that the purpose of this amendment was to place the responsibility for the tasks mentioned on the Government as a whole rather than on the employment service alone, since in their country various agencies of Government would be involved in the collection of the material. The amendment was adopted.

The Netherlands Government member proposed in subparagraph (a) to add "and as far as possible of workers forced to labour in Axis and Axis-occupied terri-
tories” after the words “and assimilated services”. This was adopted without discussion.

**Paragraph 2**

The Office text of paragraph 2 was as follows:

2. Comprehensive material on prospective labour requirements should be collected, co-ordinated and analysed, by or in consultation with the employment service, before the end of the war, by means of surveys of the probable extent and timing of the demand for workers from each major industry, covering more particularly:

(a) the probable contraction of labour requirements resulting from the closing of certain munitions undertakings;

(b) probable fluctuations and changes in the labour force of undertakings which will, with or without a period of conversion, continue in operation to meet peace time needs;

(c) probable labour requirements in industries which will be expanding to meet peace time needs.

The United States Government members proposed to replace the first five lines by the following text:

"Comprehensive material on prospective requirements should be collected, co-ordinated and analysed, before the end of the war, showing the probable extent and timing of the demand for workers, both in total and by major skills, from each major industry. Where such information is available in any Government agency it should be made available to the agencies primarily responsible for the collection or administrative utilisation of advance information on labour supply and requirements. The material on labour requirements should cover more particularly:"

It was stated on behalf of the employers’ members that they would like to have words inserted indicating that a clear statement of Government policy was indispensable as a preliminary to the collection of information asked for under paragraph 2. It was agreed that this should be mentioned in the report. The amendment was then adopted.

The United States Government members then proposed to add the following new clause between (a) and (b): “the probable rate of contraction of the armed forces and of assimilated services upon termination of hostilities”.

This was adopted.

The British Government member proposed in clause (b) to insert “by areas” after the word “changes” and to replace the word “undertakings” by the word “industries”. The first part of the amendment was adopted unanimously. The second part was objected to on the ground that it would narrow the scope of the sub-paragraph. A compromise was suggested by which the word “undertakings” would be replaced by the words “industries or undertakings”. This was adopted by a large majority.

The United States Government members proposed to add two new clauses after clause (c) worded as follows:

"labour requirements in industries producing the goods and services most urgently needed to improve the standard of living of the workers”;

“probable overall demand for workers in various industries and occupations under conditions of national full employment.”

It was proposed that these two proposed subparagraphs might be added to clause (c) and the amendment was adopted on that understanding.

The United States Government members proposed to add at the end of clause (c) the following words:

“including public works whether of a normal continuing character or available for the provision of supplementary employment in periods of reduced normal employment”;

This was adopted.

**Paragraph 3**

The Office text was as follows:

3. Surveys of prospective labour supply and demand in the various areas should be made, by or in co-operation with the employment service, in order to show the effect of the war, and the probable effect of the termination of hostilities, on the employment situation in each of these areas.

The British Government member proposed to delete the words “Surveys of” and to replace the word “made” by the words “kept under constant review”. The purpose of the amendment was to make the text more practical. The amendment was adopted in this form.

The United States Government members proposed in lines 2 and 3 to replace the words “by or in co-operation with the employment service” by the words “by the appropriate Government agencies”. This was adopted without discussion.

The Czechoslovak Government, employers’ and workers’ members proposed to add a new paragraph after paragraph 3 worded as follows:

“Members should co-operate in compiling surveys of displaced persons in Member countries. The respective Government will supply all information as enumerated in Article 1, subparagraphs (a), (b) and (c), on subjects of other Member countries as far as they are living in its territory.”

“Members should co-operate in any mutual exchange of information regarding displaced persons in Axis countries and territories occupied by the Axis Powers as well as in any other countries, even in such cases where the information will be of a general character only.”

The Czechoslovak Government member
explained that the occupied countries, while unable to make many advance surveys of their own, would like to have the co-operation of other countries on the lines suggested. The amendment was adopted with minor drafting changes.

**Proposed New Section**

The French employers' member proposed to insert a new section worded as follows:

"RE-EMPLOYMENT OF PRISONERS, PERSONS WHO HAVE RESISTED DEPORTATION, DEPORTED PERSONS AND REFUGEES"

"Very close contact should be organised and maintained between the authorities entrusted with the repatriation and return to their homes of prisoners, persons who have resisted deportation, persons who have been deported, and refugees, in order to ensure priority for the most speedy re-employment of the men and women in question."

In the course of the discussion it was proposed that the purpose of the amendment might be met if the different categories of workers referred to were included in all appropriate places in the Recommendation as a whole. This was accepted by the French employers' member and adopted by the Committee.

**Paragraph 4**

The Office text was as follows:

4. Close contact should be organised and maintained between the authorities responsible for the demobilisation of the armed forces and assimilated services and the employment service, in order to ensure the speediest re-employment of demobilised men and women.

This was adopted without amendment.

**Paragraph 5**

The Office text was as follows:

5. (1) The rate and order of demobilisation should be controlled according to clearly expressed and clearly understood principles.

(2) In the process of demobilisation, consideration should be given to:

(a) the advisability of timing demobilisation, in order to ensure the speediest re-employment of demobilised men and women; opportunities for employment in industry, commerce, agriculture and the professions, opportunities for training, and other openings;

(b) the desirability of ensuring a rapid release of key workers essential for hastening industrial conversion and expansion.

The South African employers' member proposed in subparagraph (1) to add the words "which should be widely publicised by press and radio" after the word "principles". The mover proposed to change his wording so as to read "which should be given wide publicity" and in this form the amendment was adopted.

The United States Government member proposed to add at the end of subparagraph (1) the following words:

"and should be made known in advance to the civilian agencies responsible for assisting veterans to re-establish themselves in the economic and social life of the community".

In the course of the discussion it was urged that nothing should be done which would weaken Government responsibility for the re-establishment of demobilised men in civil life. It was agreed that the substance of this amendment was already covered by the amendment of the South African employers' member referred to above and it was consequently withdrawn.

The United States Government members proposed in the preamble of subparagraph (2) to insert the words "which in general should be as rapid as military necessity and transportation difficulties permit" after the word "demobilisation". They also proposed in clause (a) of subparagraph (2) to replace the Office text by the following:

"the desirability of regularising the rate and distributing the flow of demobilisation so as to avoid local concentrations of ex-service men and women disproportionate to the size or capacity of the community to provide opportunity for employment or training."

It was pointed out that there was much to be said both for relating demobilisation to the employment situation and also for releasing men as soon as military exigencies allow. While the principle of releasing men from the armed forces in relation to job opportunities was sound, it was impossible to carry out in practice. After considerable discussion, the Committee accepted the proposed amendment to the preamble of subparagraph (2). It also accepted the proposed new wording of clause (2) (a) subject to consideration by the Drafting Committee.

The British Government member proposed to replace the text of clause 5 (2) (b) by the following words:

"the desirability of arranging for an early release of individual workers selected on account of their qualifications for urgent reconstruction work."

He explained that the purpose of the amendment was to prevent loopholes which would open the door for individual releases from the forces which might not be justified by urgent reconstruction work. The workers' members supported this view. Certain members raised the question whether the words "urgent reconstruction work" were to be interpreted broadly or narrowly, whether for example they would cover the restora-
tion of export markets and agricultural work. The British Government member replied that the intention was that they should be interpreted broadly. The amendment was then adopted subject to drafting changes.

The United States Government members had proposed an amendment to the same clause which would replace the words "a rapid" by the words "an especially rapid" and to insert the words "certified by appropriate civilian agencies" after the words "key workers", to prevent pressure being exerted for the release of individuals. In view of the fact that the previous amendment was adopted this amendment was withdrawn.

**Paragraph 6**

The Office text was as follows:

6. (1) Schemes for reinstating members of the armed forces in their former employment should be adopted and carried out so far as changed post-war circumstances allow.

(2) Consideration should be given to the introduction of employment preference for returned members of the forces, through Government action or collective agreements.

(3) Every effort should be made to secure immediate alternative employment for the workers displaced by the operation of these schemes.

The United States Government members proposed to replace subparagraph (2) by the following text:

"Fullest possible employment and advancement opportunity for returned members of the forces, on the basis of qualification, should be assured in all Government action and collective agreements."

The object of the amendment was to place first emphasis on the organisation of full employment rather than on preferences in employment. The amendment was supported by the British workers' member and adopted.

The South African employers' member proposed to amend subparagraph (3) so that it would read: "Immediate alternative employment for the workers displaced by the operation of this scheme should be secured". This amendment was adopted.

**Paragraph 7**

The Office text was as follows:

7. In addition to schemes for re-employment, immediate consideration should be given to the provision, wherever economically justifiable, of adequate financial and other assistance to enable demobilised persons to settle or resettle on the land, to enter or re-enter the professions, and to take up other independent work.

The United States Government members proposed to replace the words "wherever economically justifiable" by the words "wherever justifiable in terms of prospective opportunities to make a living", and add the word "qualified" after the word "able". The purpose of these amendments was to ensure that demobilised persons were qualified for settlement on the land and that they had an opportunity to make a living thereby. The amendment was adopted.

**Proposed New Section**

The French employers' member proposed to insert a new section at this point worded as follows:

"RECONSTRUCTION OF COUNTRIES DEVASTATED BY THE WAR"

"(1) Each Government should, in cooperation with the employers' and workers' organisations, draw up a national programme for the purpose of facilitating the rapid and orderly reconstruction of its economy in relation to the needs of production and distribution during the period of reconstruction and during the normal period thereafter in order to ensure full employment as soon as possible.

(2) This programme should be drawn up for the whole country and for each area so as to ensure to the individual in normal circumstances the best conditions of life, more particularly by the decentralisation of industry, which would facilitate the full employment of industrial workers by a complementary agricultural production, and vice versa.

(3) In order to ensure the carrying out of these programmes, deliveries of raw materials, consumption goods, and machines of all kinds should be granted priority by the other countries and by international organisations specially created for this purpose, for the use of the countries devastated by the war."

The mover of the amendment explained that its purpose was to take adequate account of reconstruction needs in the countries devastated by the war. He added that the representatives of the occupied countries intended to submit a special declaration to the Conference covering some of these points, but he hoped they would also be dealt with in the text of Committee III. The Swedish Government member pointed out that some of the proposals were vague, others unwise, and still others not clear so far as subparagraph (2) was concerned. After further discussion the amendment was withdrawn on the understanding that subparagraph (1) would be referred to the Drafting Committee with a view to combining its substance with the proposed text of paragraph 8.

**Paragraph 8**

The Office text was as follows:

8. (1) Each Government should, in cooperation with employers' and workers' organisations, formulate a national reconversion programme to facilitate the rapid and orderly conversion of the
economy from wartime to peacetime requirements so that a high level of employment may be reached with the least possible delay.

(2) The co-operation of employers' and workers' organisations should be invited with a view to working out comprehensive industry and area reconversion programmes to facilitate the changeover from war to peace production and minimise transitional unemployment.

The French employers' member proposed to amend subparagraph (1) in the following way:

(a) replace "should" by "shall";
(b) after "requirements" insert "taking into account the urgent needs of countries devastated by the war";
(c) replace "a high level of employment may be reached" by "full employment in the whole world".

This amendment gave rise to a discussion on the use of the term "full employment" as an alternative to a "high level of employment". It was urged that the term "a high level of employment" was relative and might be interpreted differently in different countries. It was said that even under the most favourable conditions there would necessarily be a certain amount of short-term unemployment but that this did not diminish the value of the term "full employment" which should be the objective. After considerable discussion the French employers' member suggested the use of some such words as "with a view to attaining full employment with the least possible delay" the precise wording being left to the Drafting Committee. This was adopted.

The United States Government members proposed to insert the words "industrial demobilisation and" after the words "formulate a national". They also proposed to add at the end of the subparagraph the following words: "It should be mandatory for all information in regard to the demobilisation and reconversion programme to be made available to the agencies responsible for collecting advance information on labour supply and requirements." They explained that it was desired to broaden the existing text by adding industrial demobilisation to reconversion and to give planning agencies the information required by them as quickly as possible. This amendment was adopted.

The United States Government members proposed in subparagraph (2) to insert the words "demobilisation and" after the words "industry and area", and to substitute the words "in a manner that will minimise" for the words "and minimise". This amendment was adopted without discussion.

Paragraph 9

The Office text was as follows:

9. Each Government should, so far as possible before the end of the war, determine its policy in regard to the peacetime use of Government-owned war production capacity and equipment and special consideration should be given to the early release of factories and equipment urgently needed for peacetime production or training.

The United States Government members proposed the following amendment to this paragraph:

Insert the words "in regard to the disposition of surplus materials" after the words "equipment and".

Begin new sentence with the word "Special".

Add at the end: "In general, plant, equipment, or materials should not be destroyed or held out of use where urgent human needs are unsatisfied or where no excess would exist at reasonable prices under conditions of demand associated with full employment."

It was explained that the purpose of the amendment was to ensure that in the disposition of surplus plant equipment and materials, human needs would receive first consideration. The Australian Government member asked whether the word "disposition" would make it possible for this surplus capacity and equipment to be used by Governments if necessary. The United States Government member explained that although private industry would probably do most of the job, human need must come first and some Government operation might conceivably be involved. The amendment was adopted.

Paragraph 10

The Office text was as follows:

10. Each Government should, in formulating its policy and procedure for the termination or adjustment of war contracts, give special consideration to the possibilities of continued employment or rapid re-employment of the workers affected or of favourable opportunities for employment in other areas.

The United States Government members proposed to add at the end of the paragraph the following words:

"Governments should also arrange for the prompt settlement of claims under terminated contracts, so that employment will not be held back by needless difficulties of contractors."

The French Government member pointed out that the amendment was not applicable to occupied countries, where no indemnities would of course be paid to contractors who had been working for the Axis. The Chairman pointed out that the exact wording could be left to the Drafting Committee and on this understanding the amendment was adopted.

Paragraph 11

The Office text was as follows:

11. (1) Employers should be required to give the employment service at least two weeks' advance notice of proposed dismissals affecting more
than a specified number of workers, in order to enable the employment service to canvass opportunities for make plans for alternative employment for the workers concerned.

(2) Employers should be required to give the employment service at least two weeks' advance notice of proposed temporary lay-offs affecting more than a specified number of workers, together with information to show the probable duration of such lay-offs, in order to enable the employment service to find temporary public or private employment or training for the laid-off workers.

The United States Government members proposed to add at the beginning of subparagraph (1) the words "Procurement agencies should wherever possible give contractors and the employment service at least two weeks' advance notice of cut-backs in war production, and"; and also to delete the words "be required to" after the words "employers should". The purpose of this amendment was to ensure that the procurement agencies should give advance notice to contractors so that the latter might be able to give reasonable notice to their workers. The amendment was supported by the Australian Government member, who emphasised how important it was for Governments to accept responsibility in this field, but he also pointed out that there were certain difficulties involved. The British Government member agreed with the amendment but would prefer that there should be a statement of general principle to the effect that arrangements should be made whereby at the earliest possible moment information must be given by Government departments to the employment service and contractors on any circumstances likely to cause dismissals or lay-offs. He said that the measures suggested in the text were not all-inclusive but were rather examples. The Mexican employers' member said that the suggested notice of two weeks would be far too short in certain industries, such as the mining and extracting industries for example. Moreover, the difficulties of industries working on orders for public or private contractors abroad should also be taken into account. The amendment was adopted on the understanding that the Drafting Committee would take account of the points brought out in the discussion when drafting the text for submission to the Committee.

The United States Government members proposed in subparagraph (2) to delete the words "be required to" after the words "employers should"; and to add at the end: "Employers should so far as possible inform the laid-off workers of the expected duration of such lay-offs". This was adopted without discussion.

The French Government member stated that paragraphs 9 to 11 in their present form were not applicable in occupied countries. This point of view was supported by the Yugoslav Government member, who said that the representatives of the occupied countries had decided to accept the proposals agreed to by the Committee and to explain that they were unable to apply certain provisions owing to their special difficulties. It was agreed that these observations should be mentioned in the report.

## Paragraph 12

The Office text was as follows:

12. (1) In the industries and areas most severely affected by industrial demobilisation, any large-scale dismissals or lay-offs should require the prior approval of the employment service.

(2) Any employer obliged to continue temporarily to employ workers no longer required for his immediate productive operations should be granted a State subsidy to cover the expenses involved.

The Indian Government member proposed to delete paragraphs 12, 13(1) and 14. The United States Government members also proposed to delete paragraph 12. The Indian Government member explained that he wanted to stress the particular difficulties of India in applying these provisions. He indicated that he had proposed an amendment to the last paragraph of the preamble providing that the whole text under discussion should apply only as soon as circumstances permit. Hoping that the Committee would be willing to adopt that amendment or a similar amendment, he did not wish for the present to press his proposal to delete paragraph 12, 13(1) and 14. The United States Government members maintained their objection to paragraph 12 on the ground that the text was too specific and would tend to freeze workers in their present employment and on the further grounds that control by the employment service was not feasible in the United States and that the principle of State subsidy might tend to encourage the continued production of socially useless commodities. On the other hand, it was explained that the purpose of the original words was to avoid unnecessary dismissals and lay-offs by giving the employment service the opportunity of advance planning for continued employment. In the course of the discussion, the Brazilian Government member pointed out that in Brazil the labour courts and not the employment service would be the appropriate Government agency. The amendment of the United States Government members to delete paragraph 12 was adopted by 48 votes to 21.

The South African employers' member proposed to add an additional subparagraph reading as follows:

"Until permanent or semi-permanent employment is found for displaced workers, educational facilities should be provided to cover usual working hours and at individual worker's standard of pay."

The author withdrew this amendment.

## Proposed New Paragraph

The United States Government members...
proposed to insert a new paragraph at this stage worded as follows:

"The eligibility of persons applying for employment on Government-sponsored projects, as well as the eligibility of persons applying for publicly supported training programmes or transfer assistance, or claiming unemployment compensation, should be established by registration with the employment service."

They explained that the United States could not go further than to encourage employers and workers to use the employment service and the amendment would make it clear that the employment service was the registration agency for all persons seeking work who could in the United States be required to register. As there was some doubt about the meaning of the proposed paragraph, the United States Government members agreed to redraft it as follows: "Persons applying for employment on Government-sponsored projects as well as persons applying for publicly supported training programmes, for transfer assistance, or claiming unemployment compensation will be required to register with the employment service."

It was pointed out that the amendment in this form was largely covered by the proposed paragraph 14 of the text and should be considered as an amendment to paragraph 14. This procedure was accepted and the amendment, when put to the vote, was accepted by the Committee by 34 votes to 15. Paragraph 14 was consequently deleted.

Paragraph 13

The Office text was as follows:

13. (1) Vacancies on public works and in undertakings working on public orders to the extent of 75 per cent. or more of their operations should be filled through the employment service.

(2) Consideration should be given to the advisability of requiring employers in specified industries or areas to engage their workers through the employment service in order to facilitate the readjustment of employment.

(3) Employers should be required to notify their labour requirements to the employment service.

The Mexican employers' member proposed to insert as a preamble to paragraph 13 the following words:

"Without prejudice to the existing provisions of law and of collective agreements in force in each country, applications for work and for workers should be made through the employment service in the following circumstances."

He explained that the amendment was intended to meet conditions in certain industries and to avoid closed shop practices and interference with established law or collective agreements. On the other hand, it was urged by the British Government member and the British employers' member that the amendment would destroy the value of the paragraph. The amendment was put to the vote and was rejected by 59 votes to 9. The Mexican employers' member asked that mention should be made in the report that while he had urged this amendment, he had accepted the decision of the Committee with pleasure.

The Government member of Peru proposed to insert the following words at the beginning of subparagraph (1):

"It is desirable that each Government should set up a National Employment Office and that through that Office or by means of other employment services."

After the words "public orders" insert the words "should be filled".

Delete the words "should be filled through the employment service" in line 3.

The Representative of the Secretary-General pointed out that the substance of this amendment was already covered by the Unemployment Convention, 1919. The mover of the amendment was absent and as no-one supported it, it was dropped.

The United States Government members proposed in subparagraph (1) to delete the words "on public works and" after the word "vacancies". In view, however, of the adoption by the Committee of a new wording to take the place of paragraph 14, this amendment was withdrawn.

The United States Government members proposed in subparagraph (2) to replace the Office text by the following:

"In the course of reconversion and expansion of civilian production, employers should be encouraged to engage their workers through the employment service in order to facilitate the readjustment of employment."

The amendment was withdrawn.

The United States Government members proposed to redraft subparagraph 13 (3) as follows: "Employers should be encouraged to give advance notice of their labour requirements to the employment service."

This was adopted.

Paragraph 14

The Office text was as follows:

14. All persons seeking work, including demobilised members of the forces, should, whether or not they are claimants for unemployment benefit or allowance, be required to register for employment with the employment service.

As already stated above, this text was replaced by another text which had been proposed in connection with paragraph 13.

Paragraph 15

The Office text was as follows:

15. Special efforts should be made to assist demobilised members of the forces and war workers to find the most suitable work of which they are
capable, making use wherever possible of the skills acquired by them during the war.

The Mexican employers' member proposed to add at the end of paragraph 15 the words:

"Similar aid should be given to those who have undergone compulsory service in countries where such service exists."

It was explained that the original text implied no distinction between men in the forces who had served overseas and those who had served only at home. On the understanding that this explanation was mentioned in the report, the amendment was withdrawn and the original text adopted.

**Paragraph 16**

The Office text was as follows:

16. Every effort should be made, in co-operation with employers' and workers' organisations, to encourage as wide a use as possible of the employment service by all employers and workers.

The Mexican employers' member proposed to insert the words "by the various Government Departments and in particular by the employment service" after the words "every effort should be made". This was adopted without discussion.

**Paragraph 17**

The Office text was as follows:

17. (1) Public vocational guidance facilities should be made available to all persons requiring occupational advice.

(2) In cases of prolonged unemployment, the use of vocational guidance facilities should be compulsory.

The Government member of Peru proposed to replace the text of subparagraph (1) by the following words: "The provision of public vocational guidance facilities should be compulsory, and these facilities should be made available to all persons requiring occupational advice."

This was adopted without discussion.

The Representative of the Secretary-General suggested that the amendment added little to the Office text and that the latter might be redrafted as follows: "Public vocational guidance facilities should be organised and made available to all persons requiring occupational advice." This was adopted.

The Indian Government member proposed to delete subparagraph (2). In favour of the amendment it was argued that the compulsory use of vocational guidance facilities was wrong, as this would tend to destroy their effectiveness. On the other hand, the British Government and workers' members pointed out that although criminal procedure to enforce compulsory use of vocational guidance would be entirely wrong, certain indirect methods of compulsion such as the withdrawal of unemployment insurance benefit might be acceptable. The proposal to delete the subparagraph was withdrawn at this point.

The Committee then proceeded to consider an amendment moved by the United States Government members to replace subparagraph (2) by the following words: "Full use should be made of counselling services in cases of prolonged unemployment".

The Chilean Government member preferred the Office text and urged that it be redrafted in such a way as to specify that the penalty contemplated was the withholding of unemployment benefit or allowance. By 55 votes to 18 the amendment was rejected and the Office text was accepted with the modification suggested by the Chilean Government member.

**Proposed New Paragraph**

The French employers' member proposed to insert a new paragraph worded as follows:

"The selection and guidance by teachers, with the assistance of public vocational guidance services, should be undertaken continuously during the whole period of education, account being taken of the needs of each country. This selection and guidance should be facilitated by periods of probation during the holidays."

It was explained that the whole question of vocational guidance would probably be placed on the agenda of a future session of the Conference and that in view of that fact it was premature to go into any detail in the present Recommendation. The amendment was then withdrawn.

**Paragraph 18**

The Office text was as follows:

18. Special and immediate attention should be given to the development of suitable methods and techniques of guidance for adult workers.

This was adopted without discussion.

**Paragraph 19**

The Office text was as follows:

19. The employment service should, in cooperation with other public and private bodies concerned, develop and maintain adequate training facilities for vocational guidance officers.

The United States Government mem-
bers proposed to replace the Office text by the following:

"The competent Government agencies should, in co-operation with the private bodies concerned, develop and maintain adequate training facilities for vocational guidance officers."

It was explained that the employment service was not the only service responsible for vocational guidance and that other Government agencies might be concerned. The amendment was adopted.

**Paragraph 20**

The Office text was as follows:

20. On the basis of information concerning labour supply and demand in the post-war period, each Government should, in close association with employers' and workers' organisations, formulate a national training and retraining programme, geared to the post-war needs of the economy and taking into account changes in the different skill requirements of each industry.

This was adopted without discussion.

**Proposed New Paragraphs**

The Government member of Uruguay proposed to insert a new paragraph worded as follows:

"Particularly in countries which possess extensive territory which is not developed and could be developed, vocational training for unemployed general workers should aim at providing instruction in elementary agricultural work, thus facilitating their migration from the towns and their settlement in rural areas."

The mover explained that its purpose was to co-ordinate vocational training with national economic needs and to provide unskilled workers with training related to those needs and in particular with training for agricultural work. The amendment was opposed on the grounds that it lacked precision, that it might involve a lowering of the standards of living of industrial workers, and finally that it was unnecessary because it was already covered by the existing text. The amendment was withdrawn.

The French employers' member proposed to insert two new paragraphs. The first was worded as follows:

"As vocational training and the moral education resulting from it are an essential foundation of general education, and as every technical or manual occupation should be considered as the basis of complete culture and education, both intellectually and morally, vocational training should form an integral part of the educational system and should also profoundly influence education of all kinds and at every stage."

The second was as follows:

"(1) Education should consist of a single curriculum from start to finish and should be compulsory until the age of 15. Further education and vocational training should not be voluntary but should be compulsory for all who can take advantage of such training.

"(2) In order to develop a spirit of national and human solidarity, children and young persons of the same age should be placed in the same educational institutions whatever the exact nature of their studies, and the stage reached in them; lessons which are common to the different sections being given in common as far as possible."

In view of the fact that vocational guidance may be dealt with in greater detail at a later session of the Conference, these amendments were withdrawn.

**Paragraph 21**

The Office text was as follows:

21. Every possible step should be taken to encourage occupational mobility to the extent necessary to adjust the supply of workers to present and prospective labour requirements.

The United States Government members proposed to replace the Office text by the following words:

"Every possible step should be taken to facilitate necessary occupational mobility, to adjust the supply of workers to present and prospective labour requirements."

This was adopted without discussion.

**Paragraph 22**

The Office text was as follows:

22. In the training or retraining of demobilised persons and discharged war workers, special emphasis should be placed on courses of training designed to fit the persons concerned for employment which offers a permanent career.

This was adopted without discussion.

**Paragraph 23**

The Office text was as follows:

23. In addition to apprenticeship schemes for young workers, systematic methods of training, retraining and upgrading adult workers should be developed to meet post-war needs for the reconstitution and expansion of the skilled labour force.

The United States Government members proposed to delete the words "for young workers" after the word "schemes" and to delete the word "adult" after the word "up-grading". The purpose of this amendment was to make it possible to include adult workers, such as for example demobilised soldiers, in apprenticeship schemes.

The amendment was adopted.
Paragraph 24

The Office text was as follows:

24. Persons undertaking training should be paid, regardless of need, wages or allowances which provide an inducement to undergo and continue training and are sufficient to maintain a reasonable standard of life.

The United States Government members proposed to delete the paragraph on the ground that the payment of wages for training was unsound if no production resulted. It was suggested that the word "wages" might be replaced by the word "remuneration" and that this would apply to cases where training is given on the job. The word "allowances" would refer to cases where training is given in vocational schools.

The amendment was withdrawn on that understanding and the Committee proceeded to consider an amendment submitted by the Indian Government member to omit the words "regardless of need, wages or". The wording of this amendment was altered so as to recommend that persons undertaking training should when necessary be paid remuneration or an allowance. The British workers' member urged that the principle of ensuring an adequate income to all persons undergoing training was a most important one. The amendment as modified during the discussion was adopted.

The Mexican employers' member proposed to add the following words at the end of the paragraph:

"The wages fixed by collective agreements should be respected, as well as the general principle of equal pay for equal work."

This was withdrawn.

Another amendment was proposed by the South African employers' member, the purpose of which was to add a new subparagraph in the following words:

"In case of prolonged unemployment or where proved unemployable, paid training or rehabilitation should be compulsory with family allowances paid directly to dependants."

This was also withdrawn.

Paragraph 25

The Office text was as follows:

25. Men and women whose higher training and education has been interrupted by war service, whether in a military or civilian capacity, should be enabled to resume and complete their training and education, subject to continued proof of merit and promise, and should be paid allowances, regardless of need, while completing their training and education.

The United States Government members proposed to insert the words "apprenticeship or" after the words "women whose". This amendment was withdrawn.

The British Government member proposed to insert the words "prevented or" before the word "interrupted". This was adopted.

The Netherlands Government member proposed to insert the words "and by deportation or imprisonment by the enemy" after the words "or civilian capacity". Several members suggested that this should be broadened so as to include other categories of persons resisting the Axis authorities. An amendment to this effect had been moved by the French Government member, who proposed to add at the end of the Netherlands Government member's amendment the words "or by their activity in the resistance forces or their revolt against the order of the enemy authorities". The amendments were accepted on the understanding that the Drafting Committee would make proposals for the final wording.

The British Government member proposed to insert the words "to enter upon or" after the word "enabled". This was accepted.

The British Government members proposed to delete the words "regardless of need" and to replace the words "while completing" by the word "during". These two amendments were accepted.

Finally, the United States Government members proposed to insert the words "or should receive unemployment compensation" after the words "regardless of need" in the original text. This was withdrawn.

Paragraph 26

The Office text was as follows:

26. (1) Experienced vocational teachers and instructors who have been engaged in other work during the war should be encouraged to resume their previous occupation at the earliest possible moment.

(2) Refresher courses should be organised as required:

(a) for vocational instructors returning to their work after a lengthy absence; and
(b) for teaching new methods and techniques.

(3) Additional vocational teachers and instructors should be trained in the numbers required to meet the needs of the training and retraining programme.

(4) Members should co-operate, when required, in reconstituting and expanding vocational training and retraining, by such methods as:

(a) the provision in one country of training as instructors for persons from another country to help meet shortages of vocational training staff or new industrial needs in another country; and
(b) the loan of experienced vocational instructors, and teachers from one country to help meet shortages of vocational training staff or new industrial needs in another country; and

(c) the provision of training handbooks and other equipment to assist instructors and persons in training.

The United States Government members proposed to replace the word "experienced" by the word "qualified". This was adopted.
The employers' members proposed to delete subparagraphs (2) and (3). They also proposed in subparagraph (4) to delete everything after the word "retraining". The British employers' member, speaking on behalf of his group, thought that the Office text as drafted contained too much detail and it was for this reason that they proposed to delete part of it. The amendment was opposed by the Czechoslovak Government member, who drew attention to the special importance of the measures suggested in the case of the occupied countries, and by the British Government member who, while agreeing that there were practical difficulties of application, thought that the methods proposed in the Office text should be put forward as suggested methods of application. On this understanding the amendment was withdrawn.

The Czechoslovak Government, employers' and workers' members proposed to insert a new clause between clauses (b) and (c) of subparagraph (4) worded as follows:

"facilitating the return of subjects of Member countries living in the territory of one of the Member countries in so far as they are qualified for teaching and instructing in their home country;"

The British Government member said that the more fortunate countries would certainly participate in every possible way with the occupied countries in such matters as the one under discussion. The amendment was accepted.

**Paragraph 27**

The Office text was as follows:

27. Training and retraining services should be co-ordinated on a national, regional and local basis, and should be closely associated at all levels of operation with guidance work, with the placement work of the employment service, and with the training activities of employers' and workers' organisations.

This text was adopted without discussion.

**Paragraph 28**

The Office text was as follows:

28. Each Government should, in co-operation with employers' and workers' representatives, formulate a national policy in regard to the location of industry and the diversity of industrial activity in the various areas, designed to prevent excessive and unnecessary movements of workers from one area to another and to prevent localised unemployment in particular areas.

The employers' members proposed to replace the words "designed to prevent" by the words "which shall take into account the prevention of"; and to replace the words "to prevent" by the words "the prevention of". They considered that the Office text was too positive and that more latitude should be given to Governments, but the amendment was opposed by the British workers' member. The British Government member suggested a new wording as follows: "with a view to avoiding the need for excessive movements of workers from one area to another". This was accepted.

**Paragraph 29**

The Office text was as follows:

29. (1) Methods of encouraging the movement of workers from one area to another, where such movement is necessary to adjust labour supply to the shifting demand for workers, and of discouraging unregulated migration should be developed and improved.

(2) The employment service should take action to overcome the obstacles to transfers from one area to another and to direct workers to areas needing labour, thereby helping to bring together available skills and available employment opportunities and thus preventing unemployment.

The Government member of Peru proposed at the end of subparagraph (1) to delete the words "and of discouraging unregulated migration" and to add at the end the words:

"It is understood that all migration movements should be subordinated, with regard to quality and volume, to the superior national interest of the country of immigration, in agreement with the countries of origin."

This amendment was ruled out of order on the ground that the question before the Committee was internal migration and not international migration.

The British Government member proposed in subparagraph (2) to replace the word "direct" by the words "assist the movement of". The reason was that the word "direct" had a technical meaning in Great Britain, namely, the compelling of people to move from one place to another. The amendment was adopted.

**Paragraph 30**

The Office text was as follows:

30. (1) Where a worker is transferred from one area to another on the initiative or with the consent of the employment service, arrangements should be made to grant travelling expenses and to assist the workers to meet initial expenses in the new place of work by granting or advancing him a specified amount, fixed according to the circumstances.

(2) Where a temporary transfer made through the employment service involves the separation of the head of the household from his family, arrangements should be made to grant appropriate separation allowances to cover the added costs of maintaining double living quarters.

The Indian Government member proposed in subparagraph (1) to omit the words "or with the consent". The purpose of this amendment was to make it clear that in cases where the employment service took some part in the transfer the payment of travelling expenses might rest
on the employer rather than the Government. The amendment was opposed by the British Government member and was rejected.

The Mexican employers' member proposed to delete subparagraph (2) on the ground that the additional cost would react unfavourably on production. The primary consideration in fixing wages should be the worker's output, not his family circumstances. The amendment was opposed by the Polish workers' member, who attached importance to the recommendation included in the Office text, especially for the occupied countries. It was also opposed by the New Zealand Government member.

The amendment was rejected.

The United States Government members proposed in subparagraph (2) to replace the words “made to grant appropriate separation allowances” by the words “available under which appropriate separate allowances could be granted”. The purpose of the amendment was to emphasise the desirability of making arrangements to pay separation allowances while making it clear that in many countries this was not customary. The amendment was opposed by the New Zealand workers' member and was rejected by 45 to 24.

The Peruvian Government member proposed to add a new subparagraph worded as follows:

“In any case in which, owing to the needs of production, a worker is transferred to an area away from his usual place of residence, he should have a prior right to return to his home in so far as conditions of employment permit, his travelling expenses being repaid.”

In the absence of the mover the amendment was sponsored by the Mexican employers' member and with the deletion of the word “prior” was adopted. The Drafting Committee, however, recommended that the subparagraph be deleted, on the ground that it was already covered by subparagraph (1) above.

Paragraph 31

The Office text was as follows:

31. (1) The minimum age for leaving school and being admitted to employment should be raised to 15 years of age without delay and to 16 years at the earliest possible moment.

(2) Maintenance allowances should be granted to parents by the competent public authorities during the additional period of compulsory education recommended above.

The Indian Government member proposed the deletion of paragraph 31 on the ground that it would be quite inapplicable in India. He however expressed his willingness not to press the amendment in view of the fact that it might be applicable to other countries. The Brazilian Government member could not accept the withdrawal of the amendment and argued that in his country it was impossible to raise the school-leaving age, which is now 14 and which is suited to the conditions of a tropical country such as Brazil. This point of view was supported by the Brazilian employers' member, who drew attention to the serious manpower shortage prevailing in Brazil. On the other hand it was pointed out that there was already a Convention on this subject and that the Drafting Committee might find a suitable formula to take this into account. This was supported by the British employers' member and also by the Mexican employers' member, who added that the question of special conditions in tropical countries might also be taken into consideration. The amendment was opposed by the Government members of Mexico and Uruguay and the workers' member of Sweden.

The British Government member proposed that the Committee pass on to the next amendment moved by the United States Government members, as this met many of the objections raised in the discussion. The amendment proposed to replace the Office text of subparagraph (1) by the following:

“The policy of revising upward the school-leaving age and the age for admission to employment should be adopted by all countries as a primary factor in planning employment policy during the demobilisation period. In industrially developed countries and areas the age standard should be raised immediately to 15 years and to 16 as soon as this goal can be achieved.”

The Representative of the Secretary-General said that the revised Minimum Age (Industry) Convention, 1937, fixed the general age standard at 15 years. To raise it further would be impossible to recommend something more restricted than that. He suggested that no specific age limit should be mentioned and that the Committee should vote on the first sentence of the United States Government members' amendment, calling attention to the fact that the transition period would offer favourable opportunities for revising upward the school-leaving age and the age for admission to employment. He also suggested meeting certain other objections by replacing the word “adopted” in the amendment by the word “considered”, The United States Government members' amendment was adopted in this form. The proposal to delete the paragraph was then withdrawn.

The United States Government members proposed to delete subparagraph (2) of paragraph 31. It was explained that the principle of paying allowances to parents regardless of need was not acceptable in the United States. If the amendment was adopted, the provision already existing in the Unemployment (Young Persons) Recommendation, 1935, to the effect that such allowances should be paid where necessary, would stand. The amendment was sup-
ported by the Belgian employers' member and opposed by the French workers' member. It was rejected by 50 votes to 31.

**Paragraph 32**

The Office text was as follows:

32. Student-aid programmes, available from the school-leaving age up to the age of 25 years, should be developed to enable young persons with ability to attend technical or higher education schools and courses on a full-time basis, subject to continued proof of merit and promise.

The United States Government members proposed to replace the Office text by the following:

"Student-aid programmes should be developed to enable young persons above the school-leaving age to continue their education in secondary schools or high schools, and, subject to continued proof of merit and for those beyond the secondary school level, in technical or higher education schools or courses, on a full-time basis."

This was adopted.

The Government member of Peru proposed to add the word “exceptional” before the word “ability” and the employers' members proposed to replace the words “from the school-leaving age up to the age of 25 years” by the words “after school-leaving age”. As a result of the adoption of the previous amendment, these two amendments were dropped.

**Paragraph 33**

The Office text was as follows:

33. (1) In addition to vocational guidance undertaken in schools to determine the aptitudes of each juvenile and to guide his education and training, each juvenile leaving school and intending to undergo practical training or take up employment should be required to attend for a vocational guidance interview and to register at an employment office. (2) The guidance interview should include a free pre-employment medical examination, the results of which should be incorporated in a certificate of fitness for specified types of employment, containing the necessary data to serve as a basis for periodical re-examinations during a period to be prescribed by national laws or regulations. (3) In countries in which war conditions and enemy occupation have undermined the health of young persons, particular attention should be given to the health supervision of such persons from the time of their admission to employment through the period of adjustment to working life, and where necessary, measures of physical rehabilitation should be adopted.

The United States Government members proposed to replace the text of subparagraph (1) by the following:

"Vocational guidance services adapted to their needs should be available for all young persons, both prior to and at the time of leaving school, through the school or the employment office. Placement services for juveniles should be developed in the employment service, or in the schools or other appropriate agencies in close cooperation with the employment service. There should be a close co-ordination between vocational guidance services, placement services and any other agencies dealing officially with the child in his transition from school to world."

The purpose of this amendment was to leave out the reference to compulsion on the ground that, if the vocational guidance services were efficient, their value would be recognised and they would be used.

The Mexican Government member thought the amendment was broader than the proposed text but would like a reference to compulsion to be made. The British and Belgian Government members supported the amendment as it stood. It was, however, pointed out that apart from the first sentence, the amendment added nothing to earlier provisions included in the Unemployment (Young Persons) Recommendation, 1938. The first sentence of the United States Government members' amendment was then adopted and the remainder withdrawn.

The United States Government members proposed in subparagraph (2) to delete the words “the guidance interview should include”, and to insert the words “should be provided for all young persons leaving school for work” after the word “examination”. The French workers' member pointed out that this was not applicable to the occupied countries because many young persons had no chance of attending school. The amendment was adopted with the words “leaving school for work” left out.

The British Government member thought it would be difficult to draw up certificates of fitness for specified types of employment and the words “of fitness for specified types of employment” were consequently deleted from the Office text.

The Czechoslovak Government, employers’ and workers’ members proposed to add a new subparagraph as follows:

"Members should co-operate, when required, in providing for the training of medical and nursing staff, and the loan of experienced doctors, surgeons, nursing personnel and appropriate equipment, in order to facilitate the physical rehabilitation of the young persons referred to in subparagraph (3) above."

The British Government member supported the amendment and said the British Government would certainly do all in their power to assist the occupied countries in the physical rehabilitation of their young people.

The amendment was adopted.

**Paragraph 34**

The Office text was as follows:

34. (1) Young persons whose contracts of apprenticeship have been interrupted owing to
the war should be entitled to resume apprenticeship on the termination of their war service.

(2) With a view to encouraging the resumption of interrupted apprenticeships, arrangements should be made to review the provisions of apprenticeship contracts and to vary them where this seems equitable to take account of training, skill or experience acquired during war service.

(3) State subsidies should be granted for the purpose of supplementing the remuneration of a person whose apprenticeship has been resumed in accordance with subparagraph (1) above, in order to assure him an income which is reasonable, having regard to his age and to the remuneration he would have been receiving had his apprenticeship not been interrupted.

(4) Existing apprenticeship programmes should be re-examined, in co-operation with employers' and workers' organisations, with a view to giving an opportunity to learn a skilled trade to the younger workers and service men and women who had no opportunity, owing to the war, of entering apprenticeship. More particularly, arrangements should be made to vary existing restrictions on admission to apprenticeship and to account for any training, skill or experience acquired during the war.

The United States Government members proposed, in subparagraph (3), to replace the words "State subsidies should be granted for the purpose of supplementing the remuneration of" by the words "State aid should be made available to enable". This was adopted.

The employers' members proposed to delete the last sentence of subparagraph (4). The British employers' member said that there were, in a number of countries, collective agreements and even legislation which provided conditions of work and methods of place­

The Office text was as follows:

35. Employers should be encouraged to introduce programmes of systematic in-plant training to enable all the young workers employed in the undertaking to acquire training or to improve their skill and broaden their knowledge of the operations of the undertaking as a whole.

The United States Government members proposed to add at the end: "Such programmes should be developed in co-operation with organised labour, and should be so supervised as to guard against exploitation of inexperienced workers at substandard wages in the guise of giving them training". In the course of discussion it was proposed that the amendment should be modified so as to read as follows: "Such programmes should be developed in co-operation with organised labour and should be adequately supervised". This was adopted.

Paragraph 36

The Office text was as follows:

36. In countries which have been invaded during the war, and in which there are young persons who have been compelled, without regard to their aptitudes or desires, to work for the enemy, special attention should be devoted to the readjustment of such young persons to work habits and to supplementing their vocational training.

This was adopted without discussion.

Paragraphs 37, 38 and 39

The Office text was as follows:

37. The redistribution of women workers in the economy should be organised on the principle of complete equality of opportunity for men and women on the basis of their individual merit, skill and experience.

38. (1) In order to place women on a basis of equality with men in the employment market, and thus to prevent competition among the available workers prejudicial to the interests of both men and women workers, steps should be taken to encourage application of the principle of equal pay for equal work.

(2) Investigations should be conducted, in co-operation with employers' and workers' organisations, for the purpose of obtaining information on the quantity and the quality of work performed by men and women in the same or comparable occupations and jobs and thereby establishing standards of evaluation sufficiently precise to permit the fixing of wages on the basis of job performance.

39. The employment of women in industries and occupations in which large numbers of women have traditionally been employed should be facilitated by action to raise the relative status of these industries and occupations and to improve conditions of work and methods of placement therein.

The employers' members proposed to delete all three paragraphs. The British employers' member said that there were, in a number of countries, collective agreements and even legislation which would inevitably entail some discrimina­
tion against women after the war. It would be better, therefore, not to insist on equality of opportunity at this stage but to rely on an evolutionary improvement in the status of women. The British Government member approved the deletion of paragraphs 37 and 38 (1) but not of paragraphs 38 (2) and 39. He said that he thought paragraphs 37 and 38 (1) were already covered by the I.L.O. Constitution and the proposed Declaration of aims and purposes which had been approved in principle by the Conference. If this was so, there was no need to repeat them here. If, however, the intention was to go beyond the Constitution and Declaration, that raised new issues which were not appropriate to the present Committee and he was not in a position to make a statement on behalf of his Government.

The amendment was opposed by all the Government and workers' members who took part in the discussion. They stressed the contribution which women had made to the winning of the war and the importance of giving them an equal opportunity with men for the jobs available in peace time. Furthermore, the majority of women workers are dependent upon employment for a livelihood. To pay them less than men for the same job will undermine the wage scale of men. The amendment was rejected by 72 votes to 30.

The Netherlands Government member proposed to add the words "according to their natural disposition" at the end of paragraph 37. The purpose was to safeguard certain special protective laws affecting women. It was suggested that this could be met if the words "subject to sex" were inserted in place of the words suggested by the Netherlands Government member and this was adopted.

With regard to paragraph 38, the United States Government members proposed, in subparagraph (1), to replace the words "application of the principle of equal pay for equal work" by the words "establishment of wage rates based on job content without regard to sex". The amendment was adopted.

In subparagraph 38 (2), the United States Government members proposed a new text:

"Investigations should be conducted, in co-operation with employers' and workers' organisations, for the purpose of establishing precise and objective standards for determining job content, irrespective of the sex of the worker, as a basis for fixing wage rates."

This was adopted.

The British Government member at this point said that, in order to avoid misunderstandings, he would like to emphasise that the British Government were fully appreciative of the contribution women had made to the war effort and that they did not in any way underestimate their role in the national life. Paragraph 39 was then adopted.

**Paragraph 40**

The Office text was as follows:

40. The criterion for the training and employment of disabled workers should be the employability of the worker, whatever the origin of the disability.

This was adopted.

**Paragraph 41**

The Office text was as follows:

41. There should be the closest collaboration between medical rehabilitation services and vocational rehabilitation and placement services.

This was adopted.

**Paragraph 42**

The Office text was as follows:

42. Specialised vocational guidance for the disabled should be developed within the employment service in order to make it possible to assess each disabled worker's capacity and to select the most appropriate form of employment for him.

The United States Government member proposed to delete the words "within the employment service". This was adopted.

**Paragraph 43**

The Office text was as follows:

43. (1) Wherever possible, disabled workers should receive training in company with able-bodied workers, under the same conditions and with the same pay.

(2) Training should be continued up to the point where the disabled person is able to enter employment as an efficient worker in his chosen trade or occupation.

(3) Wherever practicable, efforts should be made to train or retrain disabled workers in their former occupations or in related occupations where their previous qualifications would be useful.

(4) Employers with suitable training facilities should be induced, and if necessary compelled, to train a reasonable proportion of disabled workers.

(5) Specialised training centres, with appropriate medical supervision, should be provided for those disabled persons who require such special training.

The employers' members proposed, in subparagraph (2), to replace the words "in his chosen trade or occupation" by the words "in the trade or occupation for which he has been training". This was adopted.

The United States Government members proposed, in subparagraph (4), to delete the words "and if necessary compelled" after the word "induced". The purpose of the amendment was to remove the element of compulsion on the employers. The amendment was adopted.
Appendix VI: Organisation of Employment

Paragraph 44

The Office text was as follows:

44. (1) Special measures should be taken to ensure equality of employment opportunity for disabled workers on the basis of their working capacity. Employers should be induced, and where necessary compelled, to employ a reasonable quota of disabled workers.

(2) In certain occupations particularly suitable for the employment of seriously disabled workers, such workers should be given a preference over other workers.

(3) Efforts should be made, in close co-operation with employers' and workers' organisations, to overcome employment discriminations against disabled workers, which are not related to their ability and job performance and to overcome the obstacles to their employment, including the possible fear of employers of increased liabilities in respect of compensation for accidents.

(4) Employment on useful work in special centres under non-competitive conditions should be made available for all disabled workers who cannot be made fit for normal employment.

The United States Government members proposed, in subparagraph (1), to delete everything after the words "and where necessary compelled" after the word "induced", for the same reason as in the previous amendment. This, however, was opposed by the British employers' member on behalf of his group, on the ground that the two cases were quite different. It was then withdrawn.

The South African employers' member proposed, in subparagraph (1), to insert the words "by press and radio propaganda" after the word "induced". In order to make it wider, he agreed to change his amendment so as to read "by wide publicity and other means". This was accepted.

The United States Government members proposed to delete subparagraph (2) as in their view it was desirable to prevent any limitation of employment opportunities for disabled workers which might result from setting aside certain jobs for them. After some discussion the amendment was withdrawn.

The employers' members proposed to delete everything after the words "disabled workers" in subparagraph (3) on the ground that employers had no fear of increased liabilities in respect of compensation for accidents. After some discussion it was agreed to redraft that part of the subparagraph. It was proposed to modify it to read "which are not related to their ability and job performance and to overcome the obstacles to their employment, including that of compensation for accidents". This was adopted.

Paragraph 45

The Office text was as follows:

45. Information should be assembled by the employment service in regard to the occupations particularly suited to different disabilities and the size, location and employability of the disabled population.

This was adopted.

Paragraph 46

The Office text was as follows:

46. (1) In industries in which operations are irregular, such as construction and port transport, efforts should be made to regularise employment in consultation with the employers' and workers' organisations concerned.

(2) Where schemes of this kind have been adopted or extended during the war, such schemes should be maintained and adapted to peacetime conditions.

The employers' members proposed to insert in subparagraph 2 the words "by Member States" after the words "during the war". The purpose of this amendment was to provide for the conditions in occupied countries, and avoid the suggestion that the Governments of those countries should maintain measures taken by the enemy or under enemy influence. This was adopted.

Proposed New Section

The Mexican employers' member proposed to add a new section as follows:

"Minimum standards should be established for the purpose of preventing the exploitation of workers in industry and agriculture, both wage earners and independent workers, whose chances of obtaining a well-paid employment are limited, and their standards should be progressively improved as circumstances allow."

It was pointed out that this seemed to go beyond the terms of reference of the Committee and the amendment was consequently withdrawn.

Proposed Recommendation II

This proposed Recommendation concerns the employment service.

Paragraph 1

The Office text was as follows:

1. The essential duty of the employment service should be to ensure, in co-operation with other public and private bodies concerned, the best possible organisation of employment as an integral part of the national programme for the full use of productive resources.

The United States Government members proposed to insert the words "industrial, agricultural and all other" after the words "organisation of". This was adopted.

Paragraph 2

The Office text was as follows:

2. To fulfil this duty, the employment service should be made responsible for:

(a) collecting and making available, in co-operation with other public and private bodies where necessary, information concerning employment opportunities, the skills required to do particular jobs, changes in skill requirements within the different industries, employment trends, the regularisation of employment, and the causes of unemployment, and other infor-
mation of value in promoting full employment;
(b) assisting workers to find suitable employment and employers to find suitable workers;
(c) assisting in developing and in determining the content of training and retraining courses;
(d) developing methods of encouraging the transfer of workers from one occupation or area to another;
(e) helping to achieve the best possible distribution of manpower within each industry and area;
(f) co-operating as may be required in the administration of unemployment insurance and assistance;
(g) assisting other public and private bodies in planning the location of industry, public works, housing projects, schools, hospitals, social amenities, and other social and economic measures.

The United States Government members proposed to replace the preamble of the paragraph by the following:

"To fulfil this duty, steps should be taken to strengthen the employment service and related Government agencies and to facilitate co-operation between the employment service and other agencies concerned with respect to their work for the employment service of their respective countries.

It was stated that in the United States other Government agencies were charged with responsibility for some of these functions. The amendment was adopted.

The United States Government members proposed in clause 2 (a) to make the following changes:

Delete the words: "Collecting and making available, in co-operation with other public and private bodies where necessary".

Insert the words "labour supply" after the words "information concerning".

Insert the words "and unemployment" after the words "different industries, employment".

The amendment was adopted.

The United States Government members proposed in clause 2 (b) to replace the words "suitable employment" by the words "employment suited to their qualifications". This was withdrawn.

The British Government member said that clause 2 (g) in the Office text suggested work for the employment service rather remote from its normal sphere of operation. So long, however, as the word "assisting" is broadly interpreted, he did not object to the subparagraph.

Paragraph 3

The Office text was as follows:

3. The closest co-operation between the employment service and other public authorities whose activities affect the employment situation should be established at the national, regional and local levels.

The United States Government members proposed to insert the words "including authorities charged with responsibility for accelerating or slowing down public works in accordance with the current state of employment and unemployment" after the words "employment situation".

This amendment was adopted.

Paragraph 4

The Office text was as follows:

4. (1) In addition to the joint advisory bodies provided for in Article 2 of the Unemployment Convention, 1919, the employment service should co-operate closely with employers' and workers' organisations. Appropriate machinery should be devised to enable these organisations to assist in the formulation and carrying out of employment policy.

(2) The employment service should co-operate with any joint industry committees which may be set up to facilitate the solution of the special problems of the industries concerned.

The Mexican employers' member drew particular attention to the provision in the Unemployment Convention, 1919, for joint advisory bodies, including representatives of employers and workers, and asked that reference to this matter should be made in the report.

The Office text was adopted.

PROPOSED RECOMMENDATION III

This Recommendation concerns the national planning of public works.

Paragraph 1

The Office text was as follows:

1. Each Member should prepare a long-term development programme which can be accelerated or slowed down in accordance with the employment situation in different parts of the country.

The Government member of Uruguay proposed to add the following words:

"Special consideration should be given to development works likely to develop national resources and thus employment opportunities, and preference should be given to works which are of interest to the national and would also help to raise or improve the international level of consumption. Among these reference may be made to irrigation projects, road and harbour work, forestry projects, power development, etc., and, in countries with undeveloped land, the carrying out of plans for intensive land settlement."

The United States Government members proposed to add three subparagraphs worded as follows:

"(1) These programmes should take into account and integrate as far as possible the activities of governmental units of all degrees of jurisdiction, i.e., national, provincial and local.

(2) The programmes should include engineering details so that they can be started without delay when needed.

(3) The financial arrangements under
which various projects can be undertaken by the various governmental units (local, provincial or national) should be detailed as far in advance as possible so that interrelated action may be undertaken without delay when needed."

The British Government member suggested that these points should rather be maintained in the report than included in the text as they were not all-inclusive. This was accepted and the amendment was withdrawn.

**Paragraph 2**

The Office text was as follows:

1. Special attention should be paid to the importance of timing the execution of the works and the ordering of supplies, so as to limit the demand for labour at a time when there is already full employment and to increase it at a time when there is unemployment.

The Indian Government member proposed to insert the following words at the beginning of the paragraph:

"Where works included in the programme are not specifically required for immediate development in the interests of the community"

This was withdrawn.

**Paragraph 3**

The Office text was as follows:

3. In applying this policy, consideration should be given not only to the employment situation in the country as a whole but also to the situation in each area and to the particular types of skill available in the area concerned.

The United States Government members proposed to insert the words "whether suited to construction or public services" after the word "skill". This amendment was withdrawn.

**Proposed New Paragraphs**

The South African employers' member proposed the following additional paragraph:

"Local authorities and others responsible for drafting schemes for employment should be assured by their central Government at the earliest possible moment that the necessary financial support will be forthcoming, so that the local authorities, technical officers and experts may proceed without further delay to prepare plans and to make such practical preparation as would enable large numbers of demobilised soldiers to be absorbed as soon as they are available."

The amendment was proposed to emphasise the need for central Governments to inform local authorities what financial aid they could count upon so that the latter might prepare plans in advance. The British Government member proposed a slight drafting change which was agreed to. The Mexican Government member suggested that the Drafting Committee might try to find a formula making it clear that federal Governments were included in the amendment. The amendment was then adopted. The United States Government members proposed to add a new paragraph:

"Special arrangements should be made for the re-established Governments of occupied territories to secure materials and equipment for key installations so that re-employment may be facilitated and healthy living standards promptly re-established."

Although the purpose of the amendment was received with sympathy by the Committee, it was ruled out of order on the ground that the matter lay within the competence of the Committee on Items I and II.

**PREAMBLE OF PROPOSED RECOMMENDATION I**

The Office text was as follows:

Whereas the promotion of full employment with a view to raising standards of living throughout the world is a primary objective of the International Labour Organisation;

Whereas in order to achieve full employment economic measures providing employment opportunities must be supplemented by effective organisation to help employers to secure the most suitable workers, to help workers to find the most suitable employment, and generally to ensure that, at any given moment, the necessary skills are available and are distributed satisfactorily among the various branches of production and the various areas; and

Whereas the character and magnitude of the employment adjustments required during the transition from war to peace will necessitate special action, more particularly for the purpose of facilitating the demobilisation of the armed forces and of war industry by assisting the persons concerned to find without delay the most suitable employment;

The Conference recommends the Members of the Organisation to apply the following principles and to communicate information to the International Labour Office, as requested by the Governing Body, concerning the measures taken to give effect to these principles:

The Netherlands Government member proposed in the last paragraph but one to insert the words: "and of absorption of workers repatriated from Axis and Axis occupied territories" after the words "war industry". It was explained by the Representative of the Secretary-General that the Drafting Committee would be asked to find words which would cover all the various categories of deported and similar workers and that these words might also be inserted in the preamble. The amendment in question would be considered by the Drafting Committee. This was agreed to. The Greek employers' member pro-
posed to insert a new paragraph as follows:

"Whereas the occupied countries have suffered devastation and economic ruin by reason of the war and if left to their own resources will be unable to rebuild their industries and return to normal economic life, measures must be taken by appropriate international organisations to be set up on the initiative of the United Nations to assist the economy of the occupied countries to carry out their reconstruction and provide opportunity for re-employment to their respective peoples."

This amendment was withdrawn.

The French employers' member proposed in paragraph 1 to replace the words: "with a view to raising standards of living throughout the world" by the words "with a view to satisfying the vital needs of the populations and in general raising the standard of living throughout the world".

This was adopted.

The Indian Government member proposed in the last paragraph to add the words "and national conditions, the suggested methods of application, and to communicate information to the International Labour Office, as requested by the Governing Body, concerning the measures taken to give effect to these principles.".

He suggested that the last paragraph of the preamble should read as follows:

"The Conference (invites) (recommends) the Members of the Organisation to apply the following principles, taking into account, in accordance with national conditions, the suggested methods of application, and to communicate information to the International Labour Office, as requested by the Governing Body, concerning the measures taken to give effect to these principles."

He suggested that the Drafting Committee should extract from the text which had been approved a series of general principles, one principle for each section of the text. These general principles would be followed by suggested methods of application which would consist of the paragraphs adopted by the Committee.

This procedure was agreed to.

Some discussion took place as to whether the Committee should recommend the Conference to consider the conclusions of the Committee as a Recommendation or as a resolution. The British Government member thought it was inappropriate for the Committee to express a view as to whether their conclusions should be expressed in the form of a Recommendation or a resolution. This matter should be left to the Conference. This view was supported by the British employers' member. The British workers' member opposed this view and suggested that the Committee should propose the adoption of the Committee's conclusions in the form of a Recommendation. The Brazilian Government member supported this view.

The Committee decided by 48 votes to none to submit its proposals in the form of Recommendations.

PREAMBLE OF PROPOSED RECOMMENDATION II

The Office text was as follows:

Whereas the application of the Employment (Transition from War to Peace) Recommendation, 1944, requires the existence and development of an efficient employment service; and

Whereas the Unemployment Convention, 1919, provides for the establishment of "a system of free public employment agencies under the control of a central authority"; and

Whereas the fulfilment of the tasks enumerated in the Employment (Transition from War to Peace) Recommendation, 1944, concerning the organisation of employment in the transition from war to peace involves a new and broader definition of the responsibilities, functions and methods of operation of the employment service; and

Whereas this broader conception is of importance in the formulation and application of a long-term full employment policy;

The Conference recommends the Members of the Organisation to apply the following principles and to report to the International Labour Office the means by which they have achieved these ends; and to communicate information to the International Labour Office, as requested by the Governing Body, concerning the measures taken to give effect to these principles:

This was adopted with the same reservation as on the preamble of Proposed Recommendation I.

PREAMBLE OF PROPOSED RECOMMENDATION III

The Office text was as follows:

Whereas the Public Works (National Planning) Recommendation, 1937, recommends that all works undertaken or financed by public authorities should be timed in such a way as to reduce industrial fluctuations as far as possible, and that special consideration should be given to the financing by loan in periods of depression of works likely to stimulate economic recovery and to the application of a monetary policy which will make possible the expansion of credit required for the speeding up of such works and ensure the lowest possible rate of interest on the loans;

Whereas at the end of the war public authorities will be faced with heavy programmes of work to repair the damage due to the war, to restore existing equipment to an efficient state, and to provide new equipment;

Whereas it is important in the transition from war to peace that public and private enterprise should be co-ordinated in order to avoid the placing of orders in excess of the capacity of producers to meet them, thus creating a danger of inflation, and to prevent a shortage of orders, thus leading to the unemployment of material and human resources, as the case may be;

The Conference recommends the Members of the Organisation to apply the following principles and to communicate information to the International Labour Office, as requested by the Governing Body, concerning the measures taken to give effect to these principles:

The United States Government members proposed to insert a new paragraph after the first paragraph as follows:

"Whereas public works constitute a large element in the economic life of all
nations, and public works programmes are an important method by which the levels of productivity can be increased, and by which levels of living of all peoples can be raised; and"

This was adopted.

The United States Government members proposed in the second paragraph to:

Replace the words "heavy programmes of work" by the words "the great need";
Replace the words "due to" by the words "caused by";
Replace the words "existing equipment" to an efficient state, and to provide new equipment" by the words "and replace existing public works, plant, and equipment, and to provide new public works and services; and"

This was adopted.

The United States Government members proposed to replace the third paragraph by the following:

"Whereas it is important in the transition from war to peace that public and private enterprise should be co-ordinated to assure the prompt and orderly use of material and human resources, avoiding on the one hand panicky demands for materials and contractors temporarily in short supply and on the other hand a failure to develop adequate demand;"

This was adopted with minor drafting changes.

The preamble was then adopted with the same reservation as in the previous cases.

DRAFT RESOLUTIONS

The Office proposed a draft resolution worded as follows:

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Having adopted the Employment (Transition from War to Peace) Recommendation, 1944, the Employment Service Recommendation, 1944, the Public Works (National Planning) Recommendation, 1944, and the Social Security (Armed Forces) Recommendation, 1944;

Draws the attention of the Members of the Organisation to the bearing upon the problem of organisation of employment in the transition from war to peace of the following Conventions and Recommendations:

the Unemployment Convention, 1919,
the Fee-Charging Employment Agencies Convention, 1933,
the Employment Agencies Recommendation, 1933,
the Unemployment Provision Convention, 1934,
the Unemployment Provision Recommendation, 1934,
the Unemployment (Young Persons) Recommendation, 1935,
the Vocational Training Recommendation, 1939,
the Apprenticeship Recommendation, 1939,
the Vocational Education (Building) Recommendation, 1937,
the Minimum Age (Industry) Convention (Revised), 1937,
the Minimum Age (Family Undertakings) Recommendation, 1937,
the Minimum Age (Non-Industrial Employment) Convention (Revised), 1937,
the Minimum Age (Agriculture) Convention, 1921,
the Public Works (National Planning) Recommendation, 1937,
the Public Works (International Co-operation) Recommendation, 1937; and

Urges that Members which have not already done so should ratify the said Conventions, and, wherever possible, give effect to their provisions pending ratification, and that all Members should make effective the provisions of the said Recommendations.

The British Government member proposed to redraft the last paragraph so as to read:

"Urges that Members which have not already done so should give consideration to ratifying the said Conventions, and, wherever possible, give effect to their provisions pending ratification, and that all Members should give consideration to making effective the provisions of the said Recommendations."

He said that he found a difficulty in urging other countries to ratify Conventions or apply Recommendations which they had not been able to do so far. The Indian Government member said he must oppose the resolution and could not support the amendment. He opposed the resolution for the same reason as the British Government member. As regards the amendment, the Government of India studied all the Conventions and Recommendations of the Conference very seriously and would ratify them as soon as possible and they did not think it was appropriate that the Conference should give any advice regarding some Conventions only. The Indian workers' member opposed this view and urged the adoption of the Office text.

The amendment proposed by the British Government member was adopted by 64 votes to 1.

The Brazilian employers' member had submitted a proposed Recommendation concerning pre-vocational training. As, however, the question referred to in this draft was already covered by the Vocational Training Recommendation, 1939, he withdrew his proposal.

The Indian workers' member had submitted a resolution inviting the Governing Body to take immediate steps to convene an Asiatic Regional Conference under the auspices of the I.L.O. and providing that the question of employment organisation be included in the agenda of that Conference.

This resolution was withdrawn.

The Czechoslovak Government, employers' and workers' members proposed the following resolution:

"Whereas the Governments of the
United Nations, whose territory is still under the occupation of the enemy, are unable to prepare detailed plans for public works in their countries, because they do not possess the data necessary for such a preparation and because they are handicapped by either the lack of trained technical personnel, or by the lack of adequate financial means or by both,

"Whereas the universities and technical colleges in some of the occupied countries have been forcibly closed for years, and laboratories, research institutes and libraries destroyed,

"Whereas in most of these countries the number of previously trained technical experts has been because of persecution considerably reduced and the remaining experts have been for years without any communication with the outside world and consequently have been unable to keep up with the results and methods of technical progress achieved in non-occupied territories,

"And whereas a considerable volume of public works will have to be undertaken upon the liberation of those countries in order to provide the basis for a speedy reconstruction, to organise the transportation network, to provide housing for the great masses of the population, and finally to provide employment,

"It is resolved:

"(a) that the Members of the International Labour Organisation be invited to exchange the results of their research in the various branches of development works, including public utilities, and their experiences with the technical problems involved in the preparation and carrying out of development works programmes;

"(b) that they exchange experiences gained in the planning and organisation of development works and in the maintenance of such works and public utilities and exchange information on the education of technical experts and on making these matters known to the public;

"(c) that the Conference invite the Governing Body to include in the agenda of the next meeting of the International Public Works Committee the study of adequate means to organise such an exchange."

The United States Government member proposed to redraft clause (c) as follows:

"That the Conference invite the Governing Body to call a meeting of the International Public Works Committee at the earliest practicable moment and include in the agenda of the meeting the study of the exchange of such information as is referred to in clauses (a) and (b).""

The resolution with this amendment was adopted.

The Committee submits to the Confer-
The Conference recommends the Members of the Organisation to apply the following general principles, and in applying them to take into account, in accordance with national conditions, the suggested methods of application, and to communicate information to the International Labour Office, as requested by the Governing Body, concerning the measures taken to give effect to these principles.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

I. Each Government should collect whatever information is necessary regarding workers seeking or likely to be seeking employment and regarding prospective employment opportunities, with a view to ensuring the most rapid reabsorption or redistribution in suitable employment of all persons who desire to work.

II. The demobilisation of the armed forces and of assimilated services and the repatriation of prisoners of war, persons who have been deported, and others, should be planned with the objective of maximum fairness to individuals and maximum opportunities for satisfactory re-establishment in civil life.

III. National programmes for industrial demobilisation and reconversion should be planned, in co-operation with employers' and workers' organisations, and other adequate measures taken, in such manner as to facilitate the most rapid attainment of full employment for the production of needed goods and services.

IV. In the organisation of full employment in the transition period and thereafter, the widest possible use of employment service facilities by employers seeking workers and by workers seeking employment should be encouraged by public authorities and by employers' and workers' organisations.

V. Each Government should, to the maximum extent possible, provide public vocational guidance facilities, available to persons seeking work, with a view to assisting them to find the most suitable employment available.

VI. Training and retraining programmes should be developed to the fullest possible extent in order to meet the needs of the workers who will have to be re-established in employment or provided with new employment.

VII. With a view to avoiding the need for excessive movements of workers from one area to another and preventing localised unemployment in particular areas, each Government should, in co-operation with employers' and workers' organisations, formulate a positive policy in regard to the location of industry and the diversification of economic activity. Governments should also take steps to facilitate any necessary mobility of labour, both occupational and geographical.

VIII. Efforts should be made during the transition period to provide the widest possible opportunities for acquiring skill for juveniles and young workers who were unable, because of the war, to undertake or to complete their training and efforts should also be made to improve the education and health supervision of young persons.

IX. The redistribution of women workers in each national economy should be carried out on the principle of complete equality of opportunity for men and women in respect of admission to employment on the basis of their individual merit, skill and experience, and steps should be taken to encourage the establishment of wage rates on the basis of job content, without regard to sex.

X. Disabled workers, whatever the origin of their disability, should be provided with full opportunities for rehabilitation, specialised vocational guidance, training and retraining, and employment on useful work.

XI. Measures should be taken to regularise employment within the industries and occupations in which work is irregular, in order to achieve full use of the capacities of the workers.

METHODS OF APPLICATION

I. ADVANCE COLLECTION OF INFORMATION

1. Each Government should arrange for the co-ordinated collection and utilisation of as complete and up-to-date information as possible on:

(a) the number, educational and occupational backgrounds, past and present skills, and occupational wishes of members of the armed forces and of assimilated services, and as far as possible of all persons whose usual employment has been interrupted as the result of enemy action or resistance to the enemy or enemy-dominated authorities;

(b) the number, location, industrial distribution, sex distribution, skills and occupational wishes of members of the armed forces and of assimilated services, and as far as possible of all persons whose usual employment has been interrupted as the result of enemy action or resistance to the enemy or enemy-dominated authorities;

(c) the number and distribution of older workers, women and juveniles who are likely to withdraw from gainful employment after the war emergency and the number of juveniles who are likely to be seeking employment on leaving school.
2. (1) Comprehensive material on prospective labour requirements, showing the probable extent and timing of the demand for workers from each major industry, both in total and by major skills, should be collected and analysed before the end of the war.

(2) Where such information is in the possession of any public authority, it should be made available to the agencies primarily responsible for the collection or utilisation of advance information on labour supply and requirements.

(3) The material on labour requirements should cover more particularly:

(a) the probable contraction of labour requirements resulting from the closing of certain munitions undertakings;

(b) the probable rate of contraction of the armed forces and of assimilated services upon the termination of hostilities;

(c) probable fluctuations and changes by areas in the labour force of industries or undertakings which will, with or without a period of conversion, continue in operation to meet peacetime needs;

(d) probable labour requirements in industries which will be expanding to meet peacetime needs, in particular in industries the output of which is most urgently needed to improve the standard of living of the workers, and in public works, including works of a normal character and works held in reserve for the provision of supplementary employment in periods of declining economic activity;

(e) the probable demand for workers in the main industries and occupations under conditions of full employment.

3. Prospective labour supply and demand in the various areas should be kept under constant review by the appropriate public authorities, in order to show the effect of the war and the probable effect of the termination of hostilities on the employment situation in each of these areas.

4. Members should co-operate in collecting the information referred to in subparagraphs (a), (b) and (c) of paragraph 1 in respect of persons transferred out of their own countries as a result of Axis aggression. Each Government should supply such information in respect of nationals of other Members living in its territory, in Axis territories, or in territory occupied by the Axis, who are awaiting repatriation, even where the information available is merely of a general character.

II. DEMOBILISATION OF THE ARMED FORCES

5. Close contact should be organised and maintained between the employment service and the authorities responsible for the demobilisation of the armed forces and assimilated services and for the repatriation of prisoners of war and persons who have been deported, in order to ensure the speediest re-employment of the men and women concerned.

6. (1) The rate and order of demobilisation should be controlled according to clearly expressed and clearly understood principles which should be given wide publicity.

(2) In the process of demobilisation, which should in general be as rapid as military necessity and transportation facilities permit, consideration should be given to:

(a) the desirability of regulating the rate and distributing the flow of demobilisation so as to avoid local concentrations of ex-service men and women disproportionate to the capacity of the community to provide opportunity for employment or training;

(b) the desirability of arranging where necessary, for an early release of workers whose qualifications make them indispensable for urgent reconstruction work.

7. (1) Schemes for reinstating in their former employment persons whose usual employment has been interrupted by military mobilisation, enemy action, or resistance to the enemy or enemy-dominated authorities, should be adopted and carried out so far as changed post-war circumstances allow.

(2) The fullest possible employment and advancement opportunities for these men and women, on the basis of their qualifications, should be assured through Government action and collective agreements.

(3) Immediate alternative employment should be secured for the workers displaced by the operation of these schemes.

8. In addition to schemes for re-employment, immediate consideration should be given to the provision, wherever justified by prospective opportunities to make a living, of adequate financial and other assistance to enable qualified demobilised persons to settle or resettle on the land, to enter or re-enter a profession, or to take up other independent work.

III. INDUSTRIAL DEMOBILISATION AND CONVERSION

9. (1) Each Government should, in cooperation with employers’ and workers’
organisations, formulate a national industrial demobilisation and reconversion programme to facilitate the rapid and orderly conversion of the economy from wartime to peacetime requirements during the period of reconstruction, account being taken of the urgent need of countries devastated by the war, with a view to attaining full employment with the least possible delay. All information in regard to the demobilisation and reconversion programme should be made available to the authorities responsible for collecting advance information on labour supply and requirements.

(2) The co-operation of employers' and workers' organisations should be invited with a view to working out comprehensive industry and area demobilisation and reconversion programmes to facilitate the change-over from war to peace production in a manner that will minimise transitional unemployment.

10. (1) Each Government should, so far as possible before the end of the war, determine its policy in regard to the peacetime use of Government-owned war production capacity and equipment and in regard to the disposition of surplus materials.

(2) Special consideration should be given to the early release of factories and equipment urgently needed for peacetime production or training.

(3) In general, factories, equipment or materials should not be destroyed or held out of use where human needs are unsatisfied or where no excess production would exist at reasonable prices under conditions of demand associated with full employment.

11. Each Government should, in formulating its policy and procedure for the termination or adjustment of war contracts, give special consideration to the possibilities of continued employment or rapid re-employment of the workers affected or of favourable opportunities for employment in other areas. Governments should also arrange for the prompt settlement of claims under terminated contracts, so that employment will not be held back by needless financial difficulties of contractors. Employers in countries at present occupied who have worked voluntarily in the interest of the enemy should not be granted the benefit of such arrangements.

12. (1) Arrangements should be made to ensure that public authorities give information at the earliest possible moment to the employment service and contractors regarding any circumstances likely to cause dismissals or lay-offs.

(2) Procurement agencies should give contractors both at home and abroad and the employment service as long advance notice as possible of cut-backs in war production. In no case should the notice given be less than two weeks.

13. (1) Vacancies on public work and in undertakings working on public orders to the extent of 75 per cent. or more of their operations should be filled through the employment service.

(2) Consideration should be given to the advisability of requiring employers in specified industries or areas to engage their workers through the employment service in order to facilitate the re-adjustment of employment.

(3) Employers should be encouraged to give advance notice of their labour requirements to the employment service.

14. Persons applying for employment on Government-sponsored projects, as well as persons applying for publicly supported training programmes or transfer assistance, or claiming unemployment benefit or allowance, should be required to register with the employment service.

15. Special efforts should be made to assist demobilised members of the forces and war workers to find the most suitable work of which they are capable, making use wherever possible of the skills acquired by them during the war.

16. Every effort should be made, by the various public authorities, and in particular by the employment service, in co-operation with employers' and workers' organisations, to encourage as wide a use as possible of the employment service by employers and workers.

IV. APPLICATIONS FOR WORK AND FOR WORKERS

17. Special and immediate attention should be given to the development of suitable methods and techniques of vocational guidance for adult workers.
18. In cases of prolonged unemployment, the use of vocational guidance facilities should be made a condition for the continued receipt of unemployment benefit or allowance.

19. The competent public authorities should, in co-operation with the private bodies concerned, develop and maintain adequate training facilities for vocational guidance officers.

VI. TRAINING AND RETRAINING PROGRAMMES

20. On the basis of information concerning labour supply and demand in the post-war period, each Government should, in close co-operation with employers' and workers' organisations, formulate a national training and retraining programme, geared to the post-war needs of the economy and taking into account changes in the different skill requirements of each industry.

21. Every possible step should be taken to facilitate necessary occupational mobility to adjust the supply of workers to present and prospective labour requirements.

22. Training and retraining programmes should be extended and adapted to meet the needs of demobilised persons, discharged war workers, and all persons whose usual employment has been interrupted as the result of enemy action or resistance to the enemy or enemy-dominated authorities. Special emphasis should be placed on courses of training designed to fit the persons concerned for employment which offers a permanent career.

23. In addition to apprenticeship schemes, systematic methods of training, retraining and upgrading workers should be developed to meet post-war needs for the reconstitution and expansion of the skilled labour force.

24. Persons undertaking training should be paid, where necessary, remuneration or allowances which provide an inducement to undergo and continue training and are sufficient to maintain a reasonable standard of life.

25. Men and women whose higher training and education has been prevented or interrupted by war service, whether in a military or civilian capacity, or by deportation or imprisonment by or on behalf of the enemy, or by enemy action, or by participation in the resistance movement, should be enabled to enter upon or resume and complete their training and education, subject to continued proof of merit and promise, and should be paid allowances during their training and education.

26. (1) Qualified vocational teachers and instructors who have been engaged in other work during the war should be encouraged to resume their previous occupation at the earliest possible moment.

(2) Refresher courses should be organised in case of need:

(a) for vocational instructors returning to their work after a lengthy absence; and

(b) for teaching new methods and techniques.

(3) Additional vocational teachers and instructors should be trained in the numbers required to meet the needs of the training and retraining programme.

(4) Members should cooperate, when required, in reconstituting and expanding vocational training and retraining, by such methods as:

(a) the provision in one country of training as instructors for persons from another country to enable them to acquire broader skill or training not available in their own country;

(b) the loan of experienced vocational instructors and teachers from one country to help meet shortage of vocational training staff or new industrial needs in another country;

(c) facilitating the return to the territories of Member countries of subjects thereof living in the territory of another Member country who are qualified for teaching and instructing in their home country; and

(d) the provision of training handbooks and other equipment to assist instructors and persons in training.

27. Training and retraining services should be co-ordinated on a national, regional and local basis, and should be closely associated at all levels of operation with guidance work, with the placement work of the employment service, and with the training activities of employers' and workers' organisations.

VII. GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY

28. With a view to facilitating the necessary mobility of labour, the employment service should take action to overcome the obstacles to transfers from one area to another and to assist the movement of workers to areas needing labour, thereby helping to bring together available skills and available employment opportunities and thus preventing unemployment.
29. (1) Where a worker is transferred from one area to another on the initiative or with the consent of the employment service, arrangements should be made to grant travelling expenses and to assist the worker to meet initial expenses in the new place of work by granting or advancing him a specific amount, fixed according to the circumstances.

(2) Where a temporary transfer made through the employment service involves the separation of the head of the household from his family, arrangements should be made to grant an appropriate separation allowance to cover the added costs of maintaining double living quarters.

VIII. EMPLOYMENT OF YOUNG WORKERS

30. (1) The policy of revising upward the school-leaving age and the age for admission to employment should be considered by all countries as a primary factor in planning employment policy during the transition period.

(2) Maintenance allowances should be granted to parents by the competent public authorities during the additional period of compulsory education referred to above.

31. Student-aid programmes should be developed to enable young persons above the school-leaving age to continue their education in secondary schools or high-schools, and for those beyond the secondary school level, subject to continued proof of merit, in technical or higher education schools or courses on a full-time basis.

32. (1) Vocational guidance services adapted to their needs should be available for all young persons, both prior to and at the time of leaving school, through the school or the employment service.

(2) Free pre-employment medical examination should be provided for all young persons. The results of this examination should be incorporated in a certificate to serve as a basis for periodical re-examinations during a period to be prescribed by national laws or regulations.

(3) In countries in which war conditions and enemy occupation have undermined the health of young persons, particular attention should be given to the health supervision of such persons from the time of their admission to employment through the period of adjustment to working life, and, where necessary, measures of physical rehabilitation should be adopted.

(4) Members should co-operate, when requested, in providing for the training of medical and nursing staff, and the loan of experienced doctors, surgeons, nursing personnel and appropriate equipment, in order to facilitate the physical rehabilitation of the young persons referred to in subparagraph (3) above.

33. (1) Young persons whose contracts of apprenticeship have been interrupted owing to the war should be entitled to resume apprenticeship on the termination of their war service.

(2) State aid should be made available to enable a person whose apprenticeship has been resumed in accordance with subparagraph (1) above to be assured of an income which is reasonable, having regard to his age and to the remuneration he would have been receiving had his apprenticeship not been interrupted.

(3) In all cases in which military service, raw material shortages, enemy action, or other war circumstances, have prevented young persons from entering or continuing apprenticeship, arrangements should be made to encourage them, as soon as circumstances permit, to resume their apprenticeship or to undertake to learn a skilled trade.

(4) With a view to encouraging the resumption of interrupted apprenticeships, arrangements should be made to review the provisions of apprenticeship contracts and to vary them where this seems equitable to take account of training, skill or experience acquired during war service.

(5) Existing apprenticeship programmes should be re-examined, in cooperation with employers' and workers' organisations, with a view to giving wider opportunities to learn a skilled trade to the younger workers who have not been able, owing to the war, to enter apprenticeship. More particularly, consideration should be given to making arrangements for varying existing restrictions on admission to apprenticeship and for taking into account any training, skill or experience acquired during the war.

34. Employers should be encouraged to introduce programmes of systematic in-plant training to enable all the young workers employed in the undertaking to acquire training or to improve their skill and broaden their knowledge of the operations of the undertaking as a whole. Such programmes should be developed in cooperation with organised labour and should be adequately supervised.

35. In countries which have been invaded during the war, and in which there are young persons who have been compelled to abstain from work, or without regard to their aptitudes or desires, to work for the enemy, special attention should be devoted to the readjustment of such young persons to work habits and to supplementing their vocational training.

IX. EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

36. The redistribution of women workers in the economy should be organised on the principle of complete equality of opportunity for men and women on the basis of
their individual merit, skill and experience, without prejudice to the provisions of the International Labour Conventions and Recommendations concerning the employment of women.

37. (1) In order to place women on a basis of equality with men in the employment market, and thus to prevent competition among the available workers prejudicial to the interests of both men and women workers, steps should be taken to encourage the establishment of wage rates based on job content, without regard to sex.

(2) Investigations should be conducted, in cooperation with employers' and workers' organisations, for the purpose of establishing precise and objective standards for determining job content, irrespective of the sex of the worker, as a basis for determining wage rates.

38. The employment of women in industries and occupations in which large numbers of women have traditionally been employed should be facilitated by action to raise the relative status of these industries and occupations and to improve conditions of work and methods of placement therein.

X. EMPLOYMENT OF DISABLED WORKERS

39. The criterion for the training and employment of disabled workers should be the employability of the worker, whatever the origin of the disability.

40. There should be the closest collaboration between medical services for the disabled and vocational rehabilitation and placement services.

41. Specialised vocational guidance for the disabled should be developed in order to make it possible to assess each disabled worker's capacity and to select the most appropriate form of employment for him.

42. (1) Wherever possible, disabled workers should receive training in company with able-bodied workers, under the same conditions and with the same pay.

(2) Training should be continued to the point where the disabled person is able to enter employment as an efficient worker in the trade or occupation for which he has been trained.

(3) Wherever practicable, efforts should be made to retrain disabled workers in their former occupations or in related occupations where their previous qualifications would be useful.

(4) Employers with suitable training facilities should be induced to train a reasonable proportion of disabled workers.

(5) Specialised training centres, with appropriate medical supervision, should be provided for those disabled persons who require such special training.

43. (1) Special measures should be taken to ensure equality of employment opportunity for disabled workers on the basis of their working capacity. Employers should be induced by wide publicity and other means, and where necessary compelled, to employ a reasonable quota of disabled workers.

(2) In certain occupations particularly suitable for the employment of seriously disabled workers, such workers should be given preference over all other workers.

(3) Efforts should be made, in close cooperation with employers' and workers' organisations, to overcome employment discriminations against disabled workers which are not related to their ability and job performance, and to overcome the obstacles to their employment including the possibility of increased liability in respect of workmen's compensation.

(4) Employment on useful work in special centres under non-competitive conditions should be made available for all disabled workers who cannot be made fit for normal employment.

44. Information should be assembled by the employment service in regard to the occupations particularly suited to different disabilities and the size, location and employability of the disabled population.

XI. REGULARISATION OF EMPLOYMENT IN PARTICULAR INDUSTRIES

45. In industries in which operations are irregular, such as construction and port transport, the schemes for the regularisation of employment adopted or extended during the war by Member States should be maintained and adapted to peacetime conditions in consultation with the employers' and workers' organisations concerned.

II

DRAFT RECOMMENDATION CONCERNING THE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

The General Conference of the International Labour Organization,

Having been convened at Philadelphia by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Twenty-sixth Session on 20 April 1944, and

Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to the employment ser-
vice, which is included in the third item on the agenda of the session, and

Having determined that these proposals shall take the form of a Recommendation,

adopts, this day of May, of the year one thousand nine hundred and forty-four, the following Recommendation which may be cited as the Employment Service Recommendation, 1944:

Whereas the application of the Employment (Transition from War to Peace) Recommendation, 1944, requires the existence and development of an efficient employment service; and

Whereas the Unemployment Convention, 1919, provides for the establishment of a “system of free public employment agencies under the control of a central authority”; and

Whereas the fulfilment of the tasks enumerated in the Employment (Transition from War to Peace) Recommendation, 1944, involves a new and broader definition of the responsibilities, functions and methods of operation of the employment service; and

Whereas this broader conception is of importance in the formulation and application of a long-term full employment policy;

The Conference recommends the Members of the Organisation to apply the following general principles, and to report to the International Labour Office from time to time, as requested by the Governing Body, concerning the measures taken to give effect to these principles:

1. The essential duty of the employment service should be to ensure, in co-operation with other public and private bodies concerned, the best possible organisation of industrial, agricultural and other employment as an integral part of the national programme for the full use of productive resources.

2. (1) To fulfil this duty, steps should be taken to strengthen the employment service and related public authorities.

(2) These services should be responsible for:

(a) collecting and making available information concerning labour supply, employment opportunities, the skills required to do particular jobs, changes in skill requirements within the different industries, employment and unemployment trends, the regularisation of employment, and the causes of unemployment, and other information of value in promoting full employment;

(b) assisting workers to find suitable employment and employers to find suitable workers;

(c) assisting in developing and in determining the content of training and retraining courses;

(d) developing methods of facilitating the transference, where necessary, of workers from one occupation or area to another;

(e) helping to achieve the best possible distribution of manpower within each industry and area;

(f) co-operating as may be required in the administration of unemployment insurance and assistance;

(g) assisting other public and private bodies in planning the location of industry, public works, housing projects, social amenities, and other social and economic measures.

3. The closest co-operation between the employment service and other public authorities whose activities affect the employment situation, including authorities charged with responsibility for accelerating or slowing down public works in accordance with the current state of employment and unemployment, should be established at the national, regional and local levels.

4 (1) In addition to the joint advisory bodies provided for in Article 2 of the Unemployment Convention, 1919, the employment service should co-operate closely with employers' and workers' organisations. Appropriate machinery should be devised to enable these organisations to assist in the formulation and carrying out of employment policy.

(2) The employment service should co-operate with any joint industry committees which may be set up to facilitate the solution of the special problems of the industries concerned.

II

DRAFT RECOMMENDATION CONCERNING THE NATIONAL PLANNING OF PUBLIC WORKS

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Having been convened at Philadelphia by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Twenty-sixth Session on 20 April 1944, and

Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to the national planning of public works which is included in the third item on the agenda of the session, and

Having determined that these proposals shall take the form of a Recommendation,
adopts, this day of May, of the year one thousand nine hundred and forty-four, the following Recommendation which may be cited as the Public Works (National Planning) Recommendation, 1944:

Whereas the Public Works (National Planning) Recommendation, 1937, recommends that all works undertaken or financed by public authorities should be timed in such a way as to reduce industrial fluctuations as far as possible, and that special consideration should be given to the financing by loan in periods of depression of works likely to stimulate economic recovery and to the application of a monetary policy which will make possible the expansion of credit required for the speeding up of such works and ensure the lowest possible rate of interest on the loans;

Whereas at the end of the war public authorities will be faced with the great need to repair the damage caused by the war, to restore and replace existing public works, and to provide new public works and services; and

Whereas public works constitute a large element in the economic life of all nations, and public works programmes are an important method by which levels of productivity can be increased, and by which levels of living of all peoples can be raised; and

Whereas it is important in the transition from war to peace that public and private enterprise should be co-ordinated to assure the prompt and orderly use of human and material resources, avoiding on the one hand rush demands for materials which would leave contractors temporarily in short supply and on the other hand inadequate development of demand;

The Conference recommends the Members of the Organisation to apply the following general principles, and to communicate information to the International Labour Office, as requested by the Governing Body, concerning the measures taken to give effect to these principles:

1. Each Member should prepare a long-term development programme which can be accelerated or slowed down in accordance with the employment situation in different parts of the country.

2. Special attention should be paid to the importance of timing the execution of the works and the ordering of supplies, so as to limit the demand for labour at a time when there is already full employment and to increase it at a time when there is unemployment.

3. In applying this policy, consideration should be given not only to the employment situation in the country as a whole but also to the situation in each area and to the particular types of skill available in the area concerned.

4. Local authorities and others responsible for framing schemes for employment should be assured by their central authorities at the earliest possible moment what financial support will be forthcoming, so that the local authorities and technical services may proceed without further delay to prepare plans and to make such practical preparation as would enable large numbers of demobilised soldiers to be absorbed as soon as they are available.

IV

DRAFT RESOLUTION

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Having adopted the Employment (Transition from War to Peace) Recommendation, 1944, the Employment Service Recommendation, 1944, the Public Works (National Planning) Recommendation, 1944;

draws the attention of the Members of the Organisation to the bearing upon the problem of the organisation of employment in the transition from war to peace of the following Conventions and Recommendations;

the Unemployment Convention, 1919,
the Fee-Charging Employment Agencies Convention, 1933,
the Employment Agencies Recommendation, 1933,
the Unemployment Provision Convention, 1934,
the Unemployment Provision Recommendation, 1934,
the Unemployment (Young Persons) Recommendation, 1935,
the Vocational Training Recommendation, 1939,
the Apprenticeship Recommendation, 1939,
the Vocational Education (Building) Recommendation, 1937,
the Minimum Age (Industry) Convention (Revised), 1937,
the Minimum Age (Family Undertakings) Recommendation, 1937,
the Minimum Age (Non-Industrial Employment) Convention (Revised), 1937,
the Minimum Age (Agriculture) Convention, 1921,
the Public Works (National Planning) Recommendation, 1937,
the Public Works (International Cooperation) Recommendation, 1937; and

urges that Members which have not already done so should give consideration
to ratifying the said Conventions, and to giving effect, wherever possible, to their provisions pending ratification, and that all Members should give consideration to making effective the provisions of the said Recommendations.

V

DRAFT RESOLUTION

Whereas the Governments of the United Nations whose territory is still under the occupation of the enemy are unable to prepare detailed plans for public works in their countries, because they do not possess the data necessary for such a preparation and because they are handicapped by either the lack of trained technical personnel, or by the lack of adequate financial means, or by both;

Whereas the universities and technical colleges in some of the occupied countries have been forcibly closed for years, and laboratories, research institutes and libraries destroyed;

Whereas in most of these countries the number of previously trained technical experts has been, because of persecution, considerably reduced and the remaining experts have been for years without any communication with the Western world and consequently have been unable to keep up with the results and methods of technical progress achieved in non-occupied territories; and

Whereas a considerable volume of public works will have to be undertaken upon the liberation of those countries in order to provide the basis for a speedy reconstruction, to organise the transportation network, to provide housing for the great masses of the population, and finally to provide employment;

It is resolved:

(a) that the Members of the International Labour Organisation be invited to exchange the results of their research in the various branches of development works including public utilities and their experiences with the technical problems involved in the preparation and carrying out of development works programmes;

(b) that they exchange experiences gained in the planning and organisation of development works and in the maintenance of such works and public utilities; and exchange information on the education of technical experts and on making these matters known to the public;

(c) that the Conference invite the Governing Body to call a meeting of the International Public Works Committee at the earliest practicable moment and to include in the agenda of that meeting the study of the exchange of such information as is referred to in clauses (a) and (b).

Philadelphia, 9 May 1944.

(Signed) PAUL MARTIN,
Chairman.

C. M. BEYER,
RAOUL AGLION,
Reporters.

(2) Text of the Recommendation (No. ) concerning employment organisation in the transition from war to peace, submitted by the Drafting Committee.

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Having been convened at Philadelphia by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Twenty-sixth Session on 20 April 1944, and

Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to the organisation of employment in the transition from war to peace which is the third item on the agenda of the session, and

Having determined that these proposals shall take the form of a Recommendation,

adopts, this day of May, of the year one thousand nine hundred and forty-four, the following Recommendation which may be cited as the Employment (Transition from War to Peace) Recommendation, 1944:

Whereas the promotion of full employment with a view to satisfying the vital needs of the population and raising the standard of living throughout the world is a primary objective of the International Labour Organisation;

Whereas in order to achieve full employment economic measures providing employment opportunities must be supplemented by effective organisation to help employers to secure the most suitable workers, to help workers to find the most suitable employment, and generally to ensure that, at any given moment, the necessary skills are available and are distributed satisfactorily among the various branches of production and the various areas; and

Whereas the character and magnitude of the employment adjustments required
during the transition from war to peace will necessitate special action, more particularly for the purpose of facilitating the re-employment of demobilised members of the armed forces, discharged war workers, and all persons whose usual employment has been interrupted as a result of the war, enemy action, or resistance to the enemy or enemy-dominated authorities, by assisting the persons concerned to find without delay the most suitable employment;

The Conference recommends the Members of the Organisation to apply the following general principles, and in so doing to take into account, according to national conditions, the suggested methods of application, and to communicate information to the International Labour Office, as requested by the Governing Body, concerning the measures taken to give effect to these principles.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

I. Each Government should collect whatever information is necessary regarding workers seeking or likely to be seeking employment and regarding prospective employment opportunities, with a view to ensuring the most rapid reabsorption or redistribution in suitable employment of all persons who desire to work.

II. The demobilisation of the armed forces and of assimilated services and the repatriation of prisoners of war, persons who have been deported, and others, should be planned with the objective of maximum facilities to individuals and maximum opportunities for satisfactory re-establishment in civil life.

III. National programmes for industrial demobilisation and reconversion should be planned, in co-operation with employers' and workers' organisations, and other adequate measures taken, in such manner as to facilitate the most rapid attainment of full employment for the production of needed goods and services.

IV. In the organisation of full employment in the transition period and thereafter, the widest possible use of employment service facilities by employers seeking workers and by workers seeking employment should be encouraged by the competent authorities and by employers' and workers' organisations.

V. Each Government should, to the maximum extent possible, provide public vocational guidance facilities, available to persons seeking work, with a view to assisting them to find the most suitable employment.

VI. Training and retraining programmes should be developed to the fullest possible extent in order to meet the needs of the workers who will have to be re-established in employment or provided with new employment.

VII. With a view to avoiding the need for excessive movements of workers from one area to another and preventing localised unemployment in particular areas, each Government should, in co-operation with employers' and workers' organisations, formulate a positive policy in regard to the location of industry and the diversification of economic activity. Governments should also take steps to facilitate any necessary mobility of labour, both occupational and geographical.

VIII. Efforts should be made during the transition period to provide the widest possible opportunities for acquiring skill for juveniles and young workers who were unable, because of the war, to undertake or to complete their training and efforts should also be made to improve the education and health supervision of young persons.

IX. The redistribution of women workers in each national economy should be carried out on the principle of complete equality of opportunity for men and women in respect of admission to employment on the basis of their individual merit, skill and experience, and steps should be taken to encourage the establishment of wage rates on the basis of job content, without regard to sex.

X. Disabled workers, whatever the origin of their disability, should be provided with full opportunities for rehabilitation, specialised vocational guidance, training and retraining, and employment on useful work.

XI. Measures should be taken to regularise employment within the industries and occupations in which work is irregular, in order to achieve full use of the capacities of the workers.

METHODS OF APPLICATION

I. ADVANCE COLLECTION OF INFORMATION

1. Each Government should arrange for the co-ordinated collection and utilisation of as complete and up-to-date information as possible on:

(a) the number, educational and occupational backgrounds, past and present skills, and occupational wishes of members of the armed forces and of assimilated services, and as far as possible of all persons whose usual employment has been interrupted as the result of enemy action or resistance to the enemy or enemy-dominated authorities;

(b) the number, location, industrial distribution, sex distribution, skills and occupational wishes of workers who will have to change their employment during the transition from war to peace; and
the number and distribution of older workers, women and juveniles who are likely to withdraw from gainful employment after the war emergency and the number of juveniles who are likely to be seeking employment on leaving school.

2. (1) Comprehensive material on prospective labour requirements, showing the probable extent and timing of the demand for workers from each major industry, both in total and by major skills, should be collected and analysed before the end of the war.

(2) Where such information is in the possession of any administrative authority, it should be made available to the authorities primarily responsible for the collection or utilisation of advance information on labour supply and requirements.

(3) The material on labour requirements should cover more particularly:

(a) the probable contraction of labour requirements resulting from the closing of certain munitions undertakings;

(b) the probable rate of contraction of the armed forces and of assimilated services upon the termination of hostilities;

(c) probable fluctuations and changes by areas in the labour force of industries or undertakings which will, with or without a period of conversion, continue in operation to meet peacetime needs;

(d) probable labour requirements in industries which will be expanding to meet peacetime needs, in particular in industries the output of which is most urgently needed to improve the standard of living of the workers, and in public works, including works of a normal character and works held in reserve for the provision of supplementary employment in periods of declining economic activity; and

(e) the probable demand for workers in the main industries and occupations under conditions of full employment.

3. Prospective labour supply and demand in the various areas should be kept under constant review by the appropriate authorities, in order to show the effect of the war and the probable effect of the termination of hostilities on the employment situation in each of these areas.

4. Members should co-operate in collecting the information referred to in sub-paragraphs (a), (b) and (c) of paragraph 1 in respect of persons transferred out of their own countries as a result of Axis aggression. Each Government should supply such information in respect of nationals of other Members living in its territory, in Axis territories, or in territory occupied by the Axis, who are awaiting repatriation, even where the information available is merely of a general character.

II. DEMOBILISATION OF THE ARMED FORCES

5. Close contact should be organised and maintained between the employment service and the authorities responsible for the demobilisation of the armed forces and assimilated services and for the repatriation of prisoners of war and persons who have been deported, in order to ensure the speediest re-employment of the men and women concerned.

6. (1) The rate and order of demobilisation should be controlled according to clearly expressed and clearly understood principles which should be given wide publicity in order that they may be clearly understood.

(2) In the process of demobilisation, which should in general be as rapid as military necessity and transportation facilities permit, consideration should be given to:

(a) the desirability of regulating the rate and distributing the flow of demobilisation so as to avoid local concentrations of ex-service men and women disproportionate to the capacity of their community to provide opportunity for employment or training;

(b) the desirability of arranging, where necessary, for an early release of workers whose qualifications make them indispensable for urgent reconstruction work.

7. (1) Schemes for reinstating in their former employment persons whose usual employment has been interrupted by military mobilisation, enemy action, or resistance to the enemy or enemy-dominated authorities, should be adopted and carried out so far as changed post-war circumstances allow.

(2) The fullest possible employment and advancement opportunities for these men and women, on the basis of their qualifications, should be assured through Government action and collective agreements.

(3) Immediate alternative employment should be secured for the workers displaced by the operation of these schemes.

8. In addition to schemes for re-employment, immediate consideration should be given to the provision, wherever justified by prospective opportunities to make a living, of adequate financial and other assistance to enable qualified demobilised persons to settle or resettle on the land.
to enter or re-enter a profession, or to take up other independent work.

III. INDUSTRIAL DEMOBILISATION AND CONVERSION

9. (1) Each Government should, in co-operation with employers' and workers' organisations, formulate a national industrial demobilisation and reconversion programme to facilitate the rapid and orderly conversion of the economy from wartime to peacetime requirements during the period of reconstruction, account being taken of the urgent need of countries devastated by the war, with a view to attaining full employment with the least possible delay. All information in regard to the demobilisation and reconversion programme should be made available to the authorities responsible for collecting advance information on labour supply and requirements.

(2) The co-operation of employers' and workers' organisations should be invited with a view to working out comprehensive industry and area demobilisation and reconversion programmes to facilitate the change-over from war to peace production in a manner that will minimise transitional unemployment.

10. (1) Each Government should, so far as possible before the end of the war, determine its policy in regard to the peacetime use of Government-owned war production capacity and equipment and in regard to the disposition of surplus materials.

(2) Special consideration should be given to the early release of factories and equipment urgently needed for peacetime production or training.

(3) In general, factories, equipment or materials should not be destroyed or kept out of use where human needs are unsatisfied or where no excess production would exist at reasonable prices under conditions of demand associated with full employment.

11. Each Government should, in formulating its policy and procedure for the termination or adjustment of war contracts, give special consideration to the possibilities of continued employment or rapid re-employment of the workers affected or of favourable opportunities for employment in other areas. Governments should also arrange for the prompt settlement of claims under terminated contracts, so that employment will not be held back by needless financial difficulties of contractors. Contractors in countries at present occupied who have worked voluntarily in the interest of the enemy should not be granted the benefit of such arrangements.

12. (1) Arrangements should be made to ensure that administrative authorities give information at the earliest possible moment to the employment service and contractors regarding any circumstances likely to cause dismissals or lay-offs.

(2) Procurement agencies should give contractors both at home and abroad and the employment service as long advance notice as possible of cut-backs in war orders. In no case should the notice given be less than two weeks.

(3) Employers should give the employment service at least two weeks' advance notice of proposed dismissals affecting more than a specified number of workers, in order to enable the employment service to make plans for alternative employment for the workers concerned.

(4) Employers should give the employment service at least two weeks' advance notice of proposed temporary lay-offs affecting more than a specified number of workers, together with information to show the probable duration of such lay-offs, in order to enable the employment service to find temporary public or private employment or training for the laid-off workers. Employers should so far as possible inform the laid-off workers of the expected duration of such lay-offs.

IV. APPLICATIONS FOR WORK AND FOR WORKERS

13. (1) Vacancies on public works and in undertakings working on public orders to the extent of 75 per cent. of their operations should be filled through the employment service.

(2) Consideration should be given to the advisability of requiring employers in specified industries or areas to engage their workers through the employment service in order to facilitate the readjustment of employment.

(3) Employers should be encouraged to give advance notice of their labour requirements to the employment service.

14. Persons applying for employment on Government-sponsored projects, as well as persons applying for publicly supported training programmes or transfer assistance, or claiming unemployment benefit or allowance, should be required to register with the employment service.

15. Special efforts should be made to assist demobilised members of the forces and war workers to find the most suitable work of which they are capable, making use wherever possible of the skills acquired by them during the war.

16. Every effort should be made, by the authorities, and in particular by the employment service, in co-operation with employers' and workers' organisations, to encourage as wide a use as possible of the employment service by employers and workers.
V. VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

17. Special and immediate attention should be given to the development of suitable methods and techniques of vocational guidance for adult workers.

18. In cases of prolonged unemployment, the use of vocational guidance facilities should be made a condition for the continued receipt of unemployment benefit or allowance.

19. The competent authorities should, in co-operation with the private bodies concerned, develop and maintain adequate training facilities for vocational guidance officers.

VI. TRAINING AND RETRAINING PROGRAMMES

20. On the basis of information concerning labour supply and demand in the post-war period, each Government should, in close co-operation with employers' and workers' organisations, formulate a national training and retraining programme, geared to the post-war needs of the economy and taking into account changes in the different skill requirements of each industry.

21. Every possible step should be taken to facilitate the occupational mobility necessary to adjust the supply of workers to present and prospective labour requirements.

22. Training and retraining programmes should be extended and adapted to meet the needs of demobilised persons, discharged war workers, and all persons whose usual employment has been interrupted as the result of enemy action or resistance to the enemy or enemy-dominated authorities. Special emphasis should be placed on courses of training designed to fit the persons concerned for employment which offers a permanent career.

23. In addition to apprenticeship schemes, systematic methods of training, retraining and upgrading workers should be developed to meet post-war needs for the reconstitution and expansion of the skilled labour force.

24. Persons undertaking training should be paid, where necessary, remuneration or allowances which provide an inducement to undergo and continue training and are sufficient to maintain a reasonable standard of life.

25. Men and women whose higher training and education has been prevented or interrupted by war service, whether in a military or civilian capacity, or by enemy action, or by resistance to the enemy or enemy-dominated authorities, should be enabled to enter upon or resume and complete their training and education, subject to continued proof of merit and promise, and should be paid allowances during their training and education.

26. (1) Qualified vocational teachers and instructors who have been engaged in other work during the war should be encouraged to resume their previous occupation at the earliest possible moment.

(2) Refresher courses should be organised in case of need:

(a) for vocational instructors returning to their work after a lengthy absence; and

(b) for teaching new methods and techniques.

(3) Additional vocational teachers and instructors should be trained in the numbers required to meet the needs of the training and retraining programme.

(4) Members should co-operate, where necessary, in reconstituting and expanding vocational training and retraining, by such methods as:

(a) the provision in one country of training as instructors for persons from another country to enable them to acquire broader skill or training not available in their own country;

(b) the loan of experienced vocational instructors and teachers from one country to help meet shortages of vocational training staff or new industrial needs in another country;

(c) facilitating the return to the territories of Member countries of subjects thereof living in the territory of another Member country who are qualified for teaching and instructing in their home country; and

(d) the provision of training handbooks and other equipment to assist instructors and persons in training.

27. Training and retraining services should be co-ordinated on a national, regional and local basis, and should be closely associated at all levels of operation with guidance work, with the placement work of the employment service, and with the training activities of employers' and workers' organisations.

VII. GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY

28. With a view to facilitating the necessary mobility of labour, the employment service should take action to overcome the obstacles to transfers from one area to another and to assist the movement of
workers to areas needing labour, thereby helping to bring together available skills and available employment opportunities and thus preventing unemployment.

29. (1) Where a worker is transferred from one area to another on the initiative or with the consent of the employment service, arrangements should be made to grant travelling expenses and to assist the worker to meet initial expenses in the new place of work by granting or advancing him a specified amount, fixed according to the circumstances.

(2) Where a temporary transfer made through the employment service involves the separation of the head of the household from his family, arrangements should be made to grant an appropriate separation allowance to cover the added costs of maintaining double living quarters.

VIII. EMPLOYMENT OF YOUNG WORKERS

30. (1) The policy of revising upward the school-leaving age and the age for admission to employment should be considered by all countries as a primary factor in planning employment policy for the transition period.

(2) Maintenance allowances should be granted to parents by the competent authorities during the additional period of compulsory education referred to above.

31. Student-aid programmes should be developed to enable young persons above the school-leaving age to continue their education in secondary schools or high schools, and for those beyond the secondary school level, subject to continued proof of merit, in technical or higher education schools or courses on a full-time basis.

32. (1) Vocational guidance services adapted to their needs should be available for all young persons, both prior to and at the time of leaving school, through the school or the employment service.

(2) Free pre-employment medical examination should be provided for all young persons. The results of this examination should be incorporated in a certificate to serve as a basis for periodical re-examinations during a period to be prescribed by national laws or regulations.

(3) In countries in which war conditions and enemy occupation have undermined the health of young persons, particular attention should be given to the health supervision of such persons from the time of their admission to employment through the period of adjustment to working life, and, where necessary, measures of physical rehabilitation should be adopted.

(4) Members should co-operate, when requested, in providing for the training of medical and nursing staff, and the loan of experienced doctors, surgeons, nursing personnel and appropriate equipment, in order to facilitate the physical rehabilitation of the young persons referred to in subparagraph (3) above.

33. (1) Young persons whose contracts of apprenticeship have been interrupted owing to the war should be entitled to resume apprenticeship on the termination of their war service.

(2) State aid should be made available to enable a person whose apprenticeship has been resumed in accordance with subparagraph (1) above to be assured of an income which is reasonable, having regard to his age and to the remuneration he would have been receiving had his apprenticeship not been interrupted.

(3) In all cases in which military service, raw material shortages, enemy action, or other war circumstances, have prevented young persons from entering or continuing apprenticeship, arrangements should be made to encourage them, as soon as circumstances permit, to resume their apprenticeship or to learn a skilled trade.

(4) With a view to encouraging the resumption of interrupted apprenticeships, arrangements should be made to review the provisions of apprenticeship contracts and to vary them where this seems equitable to take account of training, skill or experience acquired during war service.

(5) Existing apprenticeship programmes should be re-examined, in co-operation with employers' and workers' organisations, with a view to giving wider opportunities to learn a skilled trade to the younger workers who have not been able, owing to the war, to enter apprenticeship. More particularly, consideration should be given to making arrangements for varying existing restrictions on admission to apprenticeship and for taking into account any training, skill or experience acquired during the war.

34. Employers should be encouraged to introduce programmes of systematic in-plant training to enable all the young workers employed in the undertaking to acquire training or to improve their skill and broaden their knowledge of the operations of the undertaking as a whole. Such programmes should be developed in cooperation with workers' organisations and should be adequately supervised.

35. In countries which have been invaded during the war, and in which there are young persons who have been compelled to abstain from work, or, without regard to their aptitudes or desires, to work for the enemy, special attention should be devoted to the readjustment of such young persons to work habits and to supplementing their vocational training.
IX. EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

36. The redistribution of women workers in the economy should be organised on the principle of complete equality of opportunity for men and women on the basis of their individual merit, skill and experience, without prejudice to the provisions of the International Labour Conventions and Recommendations concerning the employment of women.

37. (1) In order to place women on a basis of equality with men in the employment market, and thus to prevent competition among the available workers prejudicial to the interests of both men and women workers, steps should be taken to encourage the establishment of wage rates based on job content, without regard to sex.

(2) Investigations should be conducted, in co-operation with employers' and workers' organisations, for the purpose of establishing precise and objective standards for determining job content, irrespective of the sex of the worker, as a basis for determining wage rates.

38. The employment of women in industries and occupations in which large numbers of women have traditionally been employed should be facilitated by action to raise the relative status of these industries and occupations and to improve conditions of work and methods of placement therein.

X. EMPLOYMENT OF DISABLED WORKERS

39. The criterion for the training and employment of disabled workers should be the employability of the worker, whatever the origin of the disability.

40. There should be the closest collaboration between medical services for the disabled and vocational rehabilitation and placement services.

41. Specialised vocational guidance for the disabled should be developed in order to make it possible to assess each disabled worker's capacity and to select the most appropriate form of employment for him.

42. (1) Wherever possible, disabled workers should receive training in company with able-bodied workers, under the same conditions and with the same pay.

(2) Training should be continued to the point where the disabled person is able to enter employment as an efficient worker in the trade or occupation for which he has been trained.

(3) Wherever practicable, efforts should be made to train disabled workers in their former occupations or in related occupations where their previous qualifications would be useful.

(4) Employers with suitable training facilities should be induced to train a reasonable proportion of disabled workers.

(5) Specialised training centres, with appropriate medical supervision, should be provided for those disabled persons who require such special training.

43. (1) Special measures should be taken to ensure equality of employment opportunity for disabled workers on the basis of their working capacity. Employers should be induced by wide publicity and other means, and where necessary compelled, to employ a reasonable quota of disabled workers.

(2) In certain occupations particularly suitable for the employment of seriously disabled workers, such workers should be given preference over all other workers.

(3) Efforts should be made, in close co-operation with employers' and workers' organisations, to overcome employment discriminations against disabled workers which are not related to their ability and job performance, and to overcome the obstacles to their employment including the possibility of increased liability in respect of workmen's compensation.

(4) Employment on useful work in special centres under non-competitive conditions should be made available for all disabled workers who cannot be made fit for normal employment.

44. Information should be assembled by the employment service in regard to the occupations particularly suited to different disabilities and the size, location and employability of the disabled population.

XI. REGULARISATION OF EMPLOYMENT IN PARTICULAR INDUSTRIES

45. In industries in which operations are irregular, such as construction and port transport, the schemes for the regularisation of employment adopted or extended during the war by Member States should be maintained and adapted to peacetime conditions in consultation with the employers' and workers' organisations concerned.

Text of the Recommendation (No. ) concerning the employment service, submitted by the Drafting Committee.

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Having been convened at Philadelphia by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Twenty-sixth Session on 20 April 1944, and
Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to the employment service, which is included in the third item on the agenda of the session, and

Having determined that these proposals shall take the form of a Recommendation,

adopts, this day of May, of the year one thousand nine hundred and forty-four, the following Recommendation which may be cited as the Employment Service Recommendation, 1944:

Whereas the application of the Employment (Transition from War to Peace) Recommendation, 1944, requires the existence and development of an efficient employment service; and

Whereas the Unemployment Convention, 1919, provides for the establishment of a “system of free public employment agencies under the control of a central authority”; and

Whereas the fulfilment of the tasks enumerated in the Employment (Transition from War to Peace) Recommendation, 1944, involves a new and broader definition of the responsibilities, functions and methods of operation of the employment service; and

Whereas this broader conception is of importance in the formulation and application of a long-term full employment policy;

The Conference recommends the Members of the Organisation to apply the following general principles, and to report to the International Labour Office from time to time, as requested by the Governing Body, concerning the measures taken to give effect to these principles:

1. The essential duty of the employment service should be to ensure, in cooperation with other public and private bodies concerned, the best possible organisation of industrial, agricultural and other employment as an integral part of the national programme for the full use of productive resources.

2. (1) To fulfil this duty, steps should be taken to strengthen the employment service and related authorities.

(2) These services should be responsible for:

(a) collecting and making available information concerning labour supply, employment opportunities, the skills required to do particular jobs, changes in skill requirements within the different industries, employment and unemployment trends, the regularisation of employment, and the causes of unemployment, and other information of value in promoting full employment;

(b) assisting workers to find suitable employment and employers to find suitable workers;

(c) assisting in developing and in determining the content of training and retraining courses;

(d) developing methods of facilitating the transference, where necessary, of workers from one occupation or area to another;

(e) helping to achieve the best possible distribution of manpower within each industry and area;

(f) co-operating as may be required in the administration of unemployment insurance and assistance;

(g) assisting other public and private bodies in planning the location of industry, public works, housing projects, social amenities, and other social and economic measures.

3. The closest co-operation between the employment service and other authorities whose activities affect the employment situation, including authorities charged with responsibility for accelerating or slowing down public works in accordance with the current state of employment and unemployment, should be established at the national, regional and local levels.

4. (1) In addition to the joint advisory bodies provided for in Article 2 of the Unemployment Convention, 1919, the employment service should co-operate closely with employers' and workers' organisations. Appropriate machinery should be devised to enable these organisations to assist in the formulation and carrying out of employment policy.

(2) The employment service should co-operate with any joint industry committees which may be set up to facilitate the solution of the special problems of the industries concerned.

(4) Text of Recommendation (No. ) concerning the national planning of public works, submitted by the Drafting Committee.

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,
Having determined that these proposals shall take the form of a Recommendation,
adopts, this day of May, of the year one thousand nine hundred and forty-four, the following Recommendation which may be cited as the Public Works (National Planning) Recommendation, 1944:

Whereas the Public Works (National Planning) Recommendation, 1937, recommends that all works undertaken or financed by public authorities should be timed in such a way as to reduce industrial fluctuation as far as possible, and that special consideration should be given to the financing by loan in periods of depression of works likely to stimulate economic recovery and to the application of a monetary policy which will make possible the expansion of credit required for the speeding up of such works and ensure the lowest possible rate of interest on the loans;

Whereas at the end of the war public authorities will be faced with the great need to repair the damage caused by the war, to restore and replace existing public works, and to provide new public works and services; and

Whereas public works constitute a large element in the economic life of all nations, and public works programmes are an important method by which levels of productivity can be increased, and by which levels of living of all peoples can be raised; and

Whereas it is important in the transition from war to peace that public and private enterprise should be co-ordinated to assure the prompt and orderly use of human and material resources, avoiding on the one hand rush demands for materials which would leave contractors temporarily in short supply and on the other hand inadequate development of demand;

The Conference recommends the Members of the Organisation to apply the following general principles, and to communicate information to the International Labour Office, as requested by the Governing Body, concerning the measures taken to give effect to these principles:

1. Each Member should prepare a long-term development programme which can be accelerated or slowed down in accordance with the employment situation in different parts of the country.

2. Special attention should be paid to the importance of timing the execution of the works and the ordering of supplies, so as to limit the demand for labour at a time when there is already full employment and to increase it at a time when there is unemployment.

3. In applying this policy, consideration should be given not only to the employment situation in the country as a whole but also to the situation in each area and to the particular types of skill available in the area concerned.

4. Local authorities and others responsible for framing schemes for employment should be informed by their central authorities at the earliest possible moment what financial support will be forthcoming, so that the local authorities and technical services may proceed without further delay to prepare plans and to make such practical preparation as would enable large numbers of demobilised soldiers to be absorbed as soon as they are available.
APPENDIX VII

Fourth Item on the Agenda:
Social Security: Principles, and Problems Arising Out of the War

First report of the Committee on Social Security.1

The Committee was set up by the Conference at its eighth sitting, on 26 April 1944. It consisted of 72 members, namely, 36 Government members, 18 employers' members and 18 workers' members.

The Riddell system of voting was accordingly applied.

The Committee elected the following officers:

Chairman: Mr. Padilla Castro (Costa Rican Government member).

Vice-Chairmen: Mr. Joassart (Belgian employers' member), and Mr. Hedges (United States workers' member).

Reporters: Income Security and Insurance of Persons Discharged from the Armed Forces: Mr. Shoenbaum (Czecho- slovak Government member); Medical Care: Mr. Xavier Lopes (Brazilian Government member); International Administrative Co-operation: Mr. López Aríeta (Ecuadorian Government member); Displaced Persons' Pension Rights: Mr. Fischlowitz (Polish Government member).

Drafting Committee: Mr. Stangroom (Canadian Government member), Mr. Joassart (Belgian employers' member) and Dame Anne Loughlin (British workers' member).

Chairmen of Subcommittees: Medical Care: Mr. Bustos Acevedo (Chilean Government member); Displaced Persons' Pension Rights: Mr. Buisson (French workers' member).

Representative of the Secretary-General: Mr. Stack, assisted by Miss Bodmer and Mr. Flores.

Secretaries: Mr. Binet, Mr. Fox and Mr. de Viado.

The Conference decided at its fourth sitting to refer to the Committee Report IV (1) and (2)—Social Security: Principles, and Problems Arising Out of the War.

The duty of the Committee was to place before the Conference general guiding principles on the subjects dealt with in the report.

The Committee devoted three sittings to a general discussion of social security, in which members from more than 20 countries took part.

The Committee stood a moment in silence as an expression of its respect to the late Mr. Stein.

Several speakers from Latin America spoke of Mr. Shoenbaum's valuable technical help provided through the Office in the building of social insurance in their countries.

In the course of the general discussion, interesting descriptions were given of social security developments in different countries.

The Recommendations proposed by the International Labour Office were, in principle, and subject only to reservations on certain points, approved by the Government members of a large number of countries. These included Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Greece, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the United States, Uruguay and Venezuela.

However, the difficulties of applying immediately such far-reaching principles as those proposed in countries which have not yet reached a high stage of economic development were pointed out by the Government members of Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Uruguay, Haiti, Mexico and Panama.

The Indian Government member indi-
cated the impossibility in present circumstances of extending the principles to all workers and their families, particularly those employed in agriculture.

Attention was also very rightly drawn to the fact that in the countries now occupied by the Axis and devastated by the enemy, such as Greece, Poland and others, some time would have to elapse before the principles in question could be fully applied.

The Committee heard a declaration from Mr. Van Zeeland, Belgian Government delegate, pointing out a regrettable error in a document circulated by the Office in the Committee, from which it appeared that there exists a Belgian authority which collaborates with Germany, whereas of course such is not the case.

Several workers' members made it clear that they desired the Committee to submit substantial recommendations to the Conference which would be based on the text prepared by the International Labour Office.

The Belgian employers' member suggested, on the other hand, that the discussion and the proposals of the Committee were limited to a number of general principles. Paragraphs 1 to 5 of the proposed Income Security Recommendation, and paragraphs 1 to 7 of the proposed Medical Care Recommendation might, in his opinion, usefully serve as the basis of such discussions.

Mr. Ashurst, British employers' member, drew attention to the economic and financial implications of such vast social security programmes as were proposed by the Office.

Though the Mexican employers' member also favoured limitation of the Committee's proposals to some general principles, others, especially the United States Government member, pointed out that some 20 Conventions on social security were already in force and that it would be a travesty to formulate pious platitudes: both the general and the particular paragraphs of the text should be examined.

The general discussion having been completed, the Committee set up two subcommittees, one to examine the proposed Recommendation concerning medical care, and the other, the proposed draft Convention concerning the maintenance of the pension rights of displaced persons. The remaining questions contained in Report IV, namely, the proposed Recommendation concerning income security, the proposed Recommendation concerning income security and medical care for persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services and from war employment, and the proposed resolution on international co-operation to promote social security, were left to be examined by the full Committee.

At the outset of the discussion on the Office text on income security, it was decided, on the suggestion of the Representative of the Secretary-General, that the Committee should adopt a text consisting of general guiding principles, which would, in most cases, be the opening paragraph of each subdivision of the Office text, and that the remaining paragraphs of the subdivision would be entitled "Suggestions for Application". It was decided that, subject to any modification resulting from discussion, the paragraphs which would be regarded as "general guiding principles" were numbers 1, 4, 6, 10, 14, 19, 22, 26, 31, 38(1), 44, 46, 50, 51, 54, 59, 60, 61, 69, 73, 80, 87, 92 and 97(1).

It was agreed to adjourn until the end of the discussion of the Office text the decision as to whether the general guiding principles and suggestions for application should be transmitted to the Conference with a view to their inclusion in a Recommendation or in a resolution.

Later it was generally agreed that only the paragraphs first enumerated should be fully discussed by the Committee. Members of the Committee were invited to make observations on the remaining paragraphs and the Office has endeavoured to take account of these observations wherever it seemed that they had the general support of the Committee.

After the Committee had completed its discussion, the question of the character of the text to be transmitted had to be settled. The workers' Vice-Chairman moved, with the support of his group, that the text should have the value of a Recommendation, without prejudice, however, to a distinction being made in the arrangement of the paragraphs, as between guiding principles and suggestions for application. The employers' Vice-Chairman, on the other hand, took the view, in common with the employers' group as a whole, that the terms of reference of the Committee were to draft guiding principles and did not allow it to propose to the Conference a Recommendation, but that the most desirable course would be to follow the normal double discussion procedure. The Legal Adviser of the Office was called upon to give an opinion on the problem of presentation arising from the fact that the Committee had already agreed to establish a distinction between those paragraphs of the Office text which were adopted as guiding principles and those which were treated as having the value of suggestions. The Legal Adviser explained that this delicate question could best be settled in the Drafting Committee. The Chairman, however, decided to put to the vote a motion to the effect that general guiding principles as approved by the Committee should be transmitted to the Conference with a view to the adoption of a Recommendation to which the suggestions for application submitted in the Office text should be annexed. On a vote being taken, the motion was adopted by 45 votes to 18. Some employers later explained that they regarded their vote as referring simply to a question of procedure. It was left to the Drafting Committee to decide how effect
should be given to the Committee’s decision.

Finally, the Preamble was adopted, with one amendment, to the effect that the general guiding principles should be applied progressively.

The Office text was as follows:

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Having been convened at

by the

Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Twenty-sixth Session on 20 April 1944, and

Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to income security, which is included in the fourth item on the agenda of the session, and

Having determined that these proposals shall take the form of a Recommendation,

adopts, this
doctor of May of the year one thousand nine hundred and forty-four, the

following Recommendation which may be cited as

the Income Security Recommendation, 1944:

Whereas the Atlantic Charter contemplates “the fullest collaboration between all nations in the common field with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security”; and

Whereas the Conference of the International Labour Organisation, by a resolution adopted on 5 November 1941, endorsed this principle of the Atlantic Charter and pledged the full co-operation of the International Labour Organisation in its implementation; and

Whereas income security is an essential element in social security; and

Whereas the International Labour Organisation has promoted the development of income security—by the adoption by the International Labour Conference of Conventions and Recommendations relating to workmen’s compensation for accidents and occupational diseases, sickness insurance, provision for maternity, old-age, invalidity, and widows’ and orphans’ pensions, and provision for unemployment,—by the adoption by the First and Second Labour Conferences of American States of the Social Security Code, the participation of a delegation of the Atlantic Charter and pledged the full co-operation of the International Labour Organisation in its implementation; and

Whereas it is now desirable to take further steps towards the attainment of income security by the unification of social insurance schemes, the extension of such schemes to all workers and their families, including rural populations and the self-employed, and the elimination of inequitable anomalies; and

Whereas the formulation of certain general principles which should be followed by Members of the Organisation in developing their income security schemes along these lines on the foundation of the existing Conventions and Recommendations, pending the unification and amplification of the provisions of the said Conventions and Recommendations, will contribute to this end:

The Conference recommends the Members of the Organisation to apply the following principles, as rapidly as national conditions allow, in developing their income security schemes with a view to the implementation of the fifth principle of the Atlantic Charter, and to report to the International Labour Office from time to time, as requested by the Governing Body, concerning the measures taken to give effect to these principles:

The form of the last paragraph was left to be settled by the Drafting Committee.

A resolution was adopted by the Committee in favour of the holding of an Asiatic conference, on the agenda of which social security should be included.

Basic Principles

The Office text was as follows:

1. Income security schemes should relieve want and prevent destitution by restoring, up to a certain level, income which is lost by reason of inability to work or to obtain work or by reason of the death of a breadwinner.

2. Income security should be organised as far as possible on the basis of social insurance, whereby insured persons fulfilling prescribed qualifying conditions are entitled, in consideration of the contributions they have paid into a benefit fund, to benefits payable at rates and in contingencies defined by law.

3. Provision for needs not covered by social insurance should be met by social assistance, and certain categories, particularly dependent children and needy invalids, aged persons and widows, should be entitled to allowances at rates fixed according to a prescribed scale.

4. Social assistance appropriate to the needs of the case should be provided for other persons in want.

Paragraph 1 of the Office text was re-drafted in order to make clear that “inability to work or inability to obtain work” referred to work of a genuinely remunerative character, by “certain level” a reasonable level was intended, and that inability to work included old age.

The expression “social insurance” in paragraph 2 was not felt, by itself, to imply definitely that compulsory insurance was intended, and the necessary drafting change was made.

A motion to delete paragraph 3 having been rejected, the paragraph was adopted, but with a modification which takes account of the necessity for varying the rates of allowances according to changes in the cost of living.

A proposal to insert in paragraph 4 a reference to the merits of needy persons was rejected and the Office text was adopted without alteration.

I. Social Insurance

A. Contingencies Covered

Range of Contingencies to be Covered

The Office text was as follows:

5. (1) The range of contingencies covered by social insurance should embrace all contingencies in which an insured person is prevented from earning his living, whether by inability to work or inability to obtain work, or in which he dies leaving a dependent family, and should include
certain associated emergencies, generally experienced, which involve extraordinary strain on limited incomes.

(2) Compensation should be provided in cases of incapacity for work and of death arising out of employment.

(3) In order that the benefits provided by social insurance may be closely adapted to the variety of needs, the contingencies covered should be classified as follows:

- sickness;
- maternity;
- invalidity;
- old age;
- death of breadwinner;
- unemployment;
- emergency expenses; and
- employment injuries.

Paragraph 5 (1) was redrafted in order to bring it into harmony with drafting changes already made in paragraphs 1 and 2, and to allow for the possibility that emergency expenses might be covered otherwise than by social insurance.

Paragraph 5 (2) was adopted without change.

It was agreed to add to paragraph 5 (3) a proviso to the effect that benefits should not be payable at the same time in respect of invalidity or old age and unemployment.

In connection with paragraph 5 (3) a discussion arose on the question whether family responsibilities should be included in the list of contingencies to be covered by social insurance. In a number of countries children's allowances are provided by means of compulsory contributory schemes, while in others they are payable out of State funds. The Office text included no reference to contributory schemes of family allowances, but it was agreed that a new subparagraph (4) should be added to paragraph 5 to the effect that supplements should be added to all benefits for loss of earnings in respect of the first two children, provision for further children being left to be made by way of children's allowances payable out of public funds or under contributory schemes.

**Sickness**

The Office text was as follows:

6. The contingency for which sickness benefit should be paid is loss of earnings due to abstention from work necessitated on medical grounds by an acute condition, due to disease or injury, requiring medical treatment or supervision.

7. The necessity for abstention from work should be judged, as a rule, with reference to the previous occupation of the insured person, which he may be expected to resume.

8. Benefit need not be paid for the first few days of a period of sickness, but if sickness recurs within a few months, a fresh waiting period should not be imposed.

9. Benefit should preferably be continued until the beneficiary is fit to return to work, dies or becomes an invalid. If, however, it is considered necessary to limit the duration of benefit, the maximum period should not be less than 26 weeks for a single case, and provision should be made for extending the duration of benefit in the case of specified diseases, such as tuberculosis, which often involve lengthy, though curable, sickness.

Paragraph 6 defining sickness for the purpose of granting benefit was adopted without modification.

The suggestions of the Office comprised in paragraphs 7 and 8 evoked no comment.

To paragraph 9, however, it was agreed to add a proviso which takes account of the difficulties of countries in which sickness insurance would be a complete novelty and in which therefore a reduced period of benefit might be expedient during the early stages of the operation of a sickness insurance scheme.

**Maternity**

The Office text was as follows:

10. The contingency for which maternity benefit should be paid is loss of earnings due to abstention from work during prescribed periods before and after childbirth.

11. (1) A woman should have the right to leave her work if she produces a medical certificate stating that her confinement will probably take place within six weeks, and no woman should be permitted to work during the six weeks following her confinement.

(2) During these periods maternity benefit should be payable.

12. Absence from work for longer periods or on other occasions may be desirable on medical grounds, having regard to the physical condition of the beneficiary and the exigencies of her work; during any such periods sickness benefit should be payable.

13. The payment of maternity benefit may be made conditional on the utilisation by the beneficiary of health services provided for her and her child.

Paragraph 10, laying down the principle of maternity benefit, was adopted.

A proposal to remove paragraph 11 (1) from the text obtained no support and no other comments were made on paragraphs 11 (2), 12 and 13 containing the Office suggestions on the conditions under which maternity benefit should be payable.

**Invalidity**

The Office text was as follows:

14. The contingency for which invalidity benefit should be paid is inability to engage in any substantially gainful work by reason of a chronic condition, due to disease or injury, or by reason of the loss of a member or function.

15. (1) A handicapped person should be expected to engage in any occupation which may reasonably be indicated for him, having regard to his remaining strength and ability, his previous experience, and any facilities for training available to him.

(2) A person for whom such an occupation can be indicated but is not yet available, and a person following a training course, should receive provisional invalidity benefit, or unemployment benefit, if he is otherwise qualified for it.
Appendix VII: Social Security

**Old Age**

The Office text was as follows:

19. The contingency for which old-age benefit should be paid is the attainment of a prescribed age, which should be that at which persons commonly become incapable of efficient work, the incidence of sickness and invalidity becomes heavy, and unemployment, if present, is likely to be permanent.

20. The minimum age at which old-age benefit may be claimed should be fixed at not more than 65 in the case of men and 60 in the case of women.

21. Payment of old-age benefit may, if the basic benefit is sufficient to met for subsistence, be made conditional on retirement from regular work in any gainful occupation; where such retirement is required, the receipt of casual earnings of small amount should not disqualify for old-age benefit.

The principle of old-age benefit as laid down in paragraph 19 was adopted.

Paragraph 20 specifies the minimum age for the payment of pensions as proposed by the Office. It was urged that lower ages should be provided for in the case of persons engaged in unhealthy occupations, and the Office has taken account of this observation.

Paragraph 21 provides for the possibility of making the award of an old-age pension conditional on retirement. This suggestion gave rise to a discussion in which the advantages and disadvantages of such a condition were brought out. On the one hand it is desirable that, where the young are unemployed, the old should be encouraged to retire, but on the other hand, with the gradual aging of the population in certain countries, it is necessary that workers should continue in productive employment as long as possible. It was finally considered that the Office text was satisfactory, though a small change was made in order to allow for casual earnings an amount which might differ according to the rate of the old-age benefit itself.

**Death of Breadwinner**

The Office text was as follows:

22. The contingency for which survivors' benefits should be paid is the loss of support suffered by the dependants as the result of the death of their breadwinner.

23. Survivors' benefits should be paid to the widow (or, subject to her previous registration as a dependant, to an unmarried woman with whom the deceased, himself unmarried, cohabited as man and wife) and for the children, stepchildren, adopted children and, subject to their previous registration as dependants, illegitimate children of an insured man or of an insured woman who supported the children.

24. Widow's benefit should be paid to a widow who has in her care a child for whom child's benefit is payable or who, at her husband's death or later, is an invalid or has attained the minimum age at which old-age benefit may be claimed; a widow who does not fulfil one of these conditions should be paid widow's benefit for a minimum period of several months, and thereafter if she is unemployed until suitable employment can be offered to her, after training if necessary.

25. Child's benefit should be paid for a child who is under the age of 16, or who is under the age of 18 and is continuing his general or vocational education.

Paragraph 22 contains the principle of the survivors' benefits. The Office text indicates that the circumstance in which the benefit should be payable is the loss of support suffered by dependants as the result of the death of their breadwinner. Seeing that the benefit is to be paid without any ascertainment of the actual extent of the loss it was felt that the text should be amended by the substitution of the words "loss of support presumed to be suffered" for the words "loss of support suffered".

The Office suggestions concerning the list of dependents eligible for survivors' benefits was felt to be too complicated. In its drafting and it was observed also that too much prominence was given to the case of an unmarried woman who cohabited with a man as his wife. The Office agreed to redraft this paragraph.

In connection with paragraph 24 it was observed that it would be proper to pay a widow's benefit to a widow with children up to the age of 21 instead of the age of 16 or 18 as specified in paragraph 25. As regards a minimum age of 16 mentioned in paragraph 25 it was urged that it would be more consistent to substitute the school-leaving age of 16, and the text has been amended accordingly.

**Unemployment**

The Office text was as follows:

26. The contingency for which unemployment benefit should be paid is loss of earnings due to the unemployment of an insured person who is
ordinarily employed, capable of regular employment in some occupation, and seeking suitable employment, or due to part-time unemployment.

27. Benefit need not be paid for the first few days of a period of unemployment reckoned from the date on which the claim is registered, but if unemployment recurs within a few months, a fresh waiting period should not be imposed.

28. Benefit should continue to be paid until suitable employment is offered to the insured person.

29. During an initial period reasonable in the circumstances of the case, only the following should be deemed to be suitable employment:
(a) employment in the usual occupation of the insured person in a place not involving a change of residence and at the current rate of wages; or
(b) another employment acceptable to the insured person.

30. After the expiration of the initial period:
(a) employment involving a change of occupation may be deemed to be suitable if the employment offered is one which may reasonably be offered to the insured person, having regard to his strength, ability, previous experience and any facilities for training available to him;
(b) employment involving a change of residence may be deemed to be suitable if suitable accommodation is available in the new place of residence;
(c) employment under conditions less favourable than the insured person habitually obtained in his usual occupation and district may be deemed to be suitable if the conditions offered conform to the standard generally observed in the occupation and district in which the employment is offered.

No objection was made to the definition of the contingency for which unemployment should be paid as laid down in paragraph 26 and this principle was accordingly adopted. As regards the French text of the Office suggestion concerning paragraph 26 and this principle was accorded. As regards the French version of words was desirable in order to indicate that the Office did not positively recommend a waiting period but merely considered it as an admissible feature of unemployment benefit.

The Office suggestion in paragraph 28 that benefit should continue until suitable employment is offered encountered some objection and it was pointed out that the Unemployment Provision Convention, 1934, accepted 26 weeks, or even 13 weeks, as a maximum period of benefit, and that the Unemployment Provision Recommendation, 1934, did not ask that benefit should be paid for longer than is consistent with the solvency of the insurance scheme. The Representative of the Secretary-General, however, indicated that the Office was not prepared to consider any such limitation of the duration of unemployment benefit in view of the presumed intention of Governments not to return to pre-war policies for dealing with unemployment.

As regards paragraph 29 it was indicated that it would be appropriate to refer to the current rate of wages as fixed by collective agreements, and account has been taken of this observation. There was no comment on paragraph 30.

**Emergency Expenses**

The Office text was as follows:

31. Benefits should be provided in respect of extraordinary expenses incurred in cases of sickness, maternity, invalidity and death.

32. Necessary domestic help should be provided, or benefit paid for hiring it, during the hospitalization of the mother of dependent children, if she is an insured woman or the wife of an insured man and is not receiving any benefit in lieu of earnings.

33. A lump sum should be paid at childbirth to insured women and the wives of insured men towards the cost of a layette and similar expenses.

34. A special supplement should be paid to recipients of invalidity or old-age benefit who need constant attendance.

35. A lump sum should be paid on the death of an insured person, or of the wife, husband or dependent child of an insured person, towards the cost of burial.

Paragraph 31, which contains the principle of benefits to be payable in respect of extraordinary expenses incurred in cases of sickness, maternity, invalidity and death, was adopted. The reference in paragraph 32 to the provision of necessary domestic help evoked the observation that such help might well be provided otherwise than through social insurance and that the insertion of words to take account of this possibility was desirable, corresponding to the change made in paragraph 5 (2).

Paragraphs 33 and 34 providing for the payment of a lump sum for a layette and a special supplement for invalids in need of constant attendance aroused no comment.

As regards paragraph 35, which suggests the payment of a funeral benefit, it was observed that such benefit might also be granted on the death of the parents of an insured person, but this comment did not appear to meet with support.

**Employment Injuries**

The Office text was as follows:

36. (1) The contingency for which compensation for an employment injury should be paid is traumatic injury or disease arising out of employment, not brought about deliberately or by the serious and wilful misconduct of the victim, and resulting in temporary or permanent incapacity or death.

(2) Where compensation for an employment injury is payable, the foregoing provisions should be subject to appropriate modifications as indicated in the following paragraphs.

37. (1) Any disease which occurs frequently only to persons employed in certain occupations or is a poisoning caused by a substance used in certain occupations, should, if the person suffering from such a disease was engaged in such an occupation, be presumed to be of occupational origin and give rise to compensation.

(2) A list of diseases presumed to be of occupational origin should be established and should be revised from time to time by a simple procedure.
(3) In fixing any minimum period of employment in the occupation required to establish the presumption of occupational origin and any maximum period during which the presumption of occupational origin will remain valid after leaving the employment, regard should be had to the length of time required for the contraction and manifestation of the disease.

38. (1) Temporary incapacity compensation should be payable under conditions similar to those applicable to the payment of sickness benefit.

(2) Sickness benefit may be substituted for compensation during the first few months at most of temporary incapacity.

(3) Consideration should be given to the possibility of paying compensation from the first day of temporary incapacity if the incapacity lasts longer than the waiting period.

39. (1) Permanent incapacity compensation should be payable in respect of the loss or reduction of earning capacity by reason of the loss of a member or function or by reason of a chronic condition due to injury or disease.

(2) A person who becomes permanently incapacitated should be expected to resume employment in any occupation which may reasonably be indicated for him, having regard to his remaining strength and ability, his previous experience, and any facilities for training available to him.

(3) If no such employment can be offered, the person should receive compensation for total incapacity on a definitive or provisional basis.

(4) If such employment can be offered, but the sum which the person is able to earn by ordinary effort in the employment is significantly less than that which he would probably have earned had he not suffered the injury or disease, he should receive compensation for partial incapacity proportionate to the difference in earning capacity.

(5) Consideration should be given to the possibility of paying suitable compensation in every case of loss of a member or function or disfigurement, even where no reduction of capacity can be proved.

40. Persons exposed to the risk of an occupational disease of gradual development should be examined periodically, and those for whom a change of occupation is indicated, should be eligible for compensation.

41. Compensation for permanent incapacity, total or partial, should be paid from the time when temporary incapacity compensation ceases for the whole duration of permanent incapacity.

42. (1) Persons receiving compensation for permanent partial incapacity should be able to qualify for other benefits under the same conditions as able-bodied persons, where the rates of such benefits are related to the previous earnings of the insured person.

(2) Where the rates of such benefits are not related to the previous earnings of the insured person, a maximum may be fixed for the combined rate of compensation and benefit.

43. (1) Survivors' compensation should, subject to the provisions of the following subparagraphs, be paid to the same dependants as could otherwise qualify for survivors' benefits.

(2) A widow should receive compensation for the whole duration of her widowhood.

(3) A child should receive compensation until the age of 18.

(4) Provision should be made for compensating other members of the family of the deceased who were dependent upon him, without prejudice to the claims of the widow or widower.

(5) The survivors of a person permanently incapacitated in the degree of two thirds or more who dies otherwise than from the effects of an employment injury should be entitled to basic survivors' benefits, whether or not the deceased fulfilled the contribution conditions for such benefit at the time of his death.

Paragraph 36 (1) contains the definition of the contingency in which compensation for employment injuries is payable. An amendment was adopted to the effect that the risk should include accidents occurring in the course of the journey to and from the place of employment.

Paragraphs 36 (2), 37, 38, 39, 40, 41 and 42 met with no objection.

In connection with paragraph 43, however, it was urged that the maximum age up to which compensation should be payable should be raised from 18 to 21 in case of continued studies and that a widower should be compensated on the same terms as a widow. The text has been adjusted to take account of the first point, while the latter may be sufficiently covered by subparagraph (4).

B. PERSONS COVERED

Range of Persons

The Office text was as follows:

44. Social insurance should afford protection, in the contingencies to which they are exposed, to all employed and self-employed persons, together with their dependants, in respect of whom it is practicable:

(a) to collect contributions without incurring disproportionate administrative expenditure; and

(b) to pay benefits with the necessary cooperation of medical and employment services and with due precautions against abuse.

45. Dependent wives (that is to say, wives who are not employed or self-employed) and dependent children (that is to say, persons who are under the age of 16, or who are under the age of 18 and are continuing their general or vocational education) should be protected in virtue of the insurance of their breadwinners.

Paragraph 44 contains the principle by which the range of persons to be covered by social insurance should be determined. It opens with the words "Social insurance should afford protection". An amendment was moved to substitute the words "relieve want" for "afford protection". In this connection it was argued that in paragraph 1 it had been stated that the purpose of income security schemes was to "relieve want". As here, however, it is the function of social insurance and not that of income security schemes in general which is in question, and as a number of members were opposed to any change in the wording, the Office text was retained without alteration.

Paragraph 45, which lists the various categories of dependants to be covered, was not commented on, but the school-leaving age has been substituted for 16, to conform with the change in paragraph 25.
Collection of Contributions

The Office text was as follows:

46. The employer should be made responsible for collecting contributions in respect of all persons employed by him, and should be entitled to deduct the sums due by them from their remu­neration at the time when it is paid.

47. Where membership of an occupational asso­ciation or the possession of a license is compul­sory for any class of self-employed persons, the association or the licensing authority may be made responsible for collecting contributions from the persons concerned.

48. The national or local authority may be made responsible for collecting contributions from self­employed persons registered for the purpose of taxation.

49. Pending the development of agencies to en­force payment of contributions, provision should be made for enabling self-employed persons to contribute voluntarily, either as individuals or as members of associations.

Paragraph 46 lays down the principle that the employer should be responsible for collecting contributions in respect of his workers. It was adopted without opposition.

Paragraphs 47, 48 and 49, containing the Office suggestions for collecting contributions from self-employed persons, passed without observation.

Administration of Benefits

The Office text was as follows:

50. In order to facilitate the efficient adminis­tration of benefits, arrangements should be made for the keeping of records of contributions, for ready means of verifying the presence of the con­tigencies which give rise to benefits, and for a parallel organisation of medical and employment services with preventive and remedial functions.

Paragraph 50, which was adopted as a principle, mentions the essential material conditions for the efficient administration of social insurance benefits.

Employed Persons

The Office text was as follows:

51. Persons employed for remuneration should be insured against the whole range of contingencies covered by social insurance as soon as the collection of contributions in respect of them can be organised and the necessary arrangements can be made for the administration of benefit.

52. Persons whose employment is so irregular, or likely to be so short in its total duration, that they are unlikely to qualify for benefits confined to employed persons, may be excluded from insur­ance for such benefits.

53. Apprentices who receive no remuneration should be insured against employment injuries, and, as from the date at which they would have completed their apprenticeship for their trade, contribute voluntarily, based on the wages paid for workers in that trade should become payable.

The principle contained in paragraph 51 that employed persons should be ins­ured against the whole range of con­tigencies covered by social insurance was adopted.

In paragraph 52 the Office had suggested that persons who are employed so irregularly that the total duration of their employment would not be sufficient for them to qualify for those benefits which are granted to employed persons only might be excluded from insurance in respect of those benefits. The purpose of this provision is to save such persons from having to pay contributions for benefits which they will never receive. This paragraph, however, was taken to mean that building workers, dock workers and others who are employed by the same employer only for a limited period or even for a day would be excluded under this provision. It was accordingly urged that special measures ought to be taken on behalf of the workers who rely on employment for their living but who work only for short spells for any one employer. The Office has taken account of this observation.

Paragraph 53 deals with the case of apprentices who receive no cash wages. Since at the date of the accident no loss of earnings occurs, it is often the practice to pay no compensation immediately. Nevertheless, provision must always be made for granting compensation as from the date when the apprentice would have begun to receive wages. To begin the payment of compensation from any earlier date appears, however, difficult to justify, but the Office text does provide that the compensation, when it becomes payable, should be based on the wages current for the apprentice's occupation.

Self-Employed Persons

The Office text was as follows:

54. Self-employed persons should be insured against the contingencies of invalidity, old age and death under the same conditions as employed persons as soon as the collection of their contributions can be organised.

55. Members of the employer's family living in his house, other than his dependent wife or de­pendent children, should be insured against the said contingencies on the basis of either their actual wages or, if these cannot be ascertained, the market value of their services; the employer should be responsible for the payment of contributions in respect of such persons.

56. Self-employed persons whose earnings are ordinarily so low that they can be presumed to be a merely subsidiary or casual source of income, or that payment of the minimum contribution would be a hardship for them, should be excluded provisionally from insurance and referred for counsel to the employment service or to any special service that may exist for promoting the wel­fare of the occupational group to which they may belong.

57. Persons who, after completing the contribu­tion period prescribed as a qualification for inval­idity and survivors' benefits, continue to be compulsorily insured, either as employed or as self­employed persons, should be given the option, to be exercised within a limited period, of continuing their insurance under the same conditions as self­employed persons, subject to such modifications as may be prescribed.
58. Consideration should be given to the possibility of insuring self-employed persons against sickness and maternity necessitating hospitalisation, sickness which has lasted for several months, and extraordinary expenses incurred in case of sickness, maternity, invalidity or death.

Paragraph 54 lays down the principle that self-employed persons should be insured against invalidity, old age and death.

Paragraph 58 suggests that the possibility should be considered of insuring them also in case of sickness which has lasted for several months, maternity and for emergency expenses. Several members were of the opinion that paragraph 58 should be joined to paragraph 54 and thus become a principle to be adopted by the Committee. It was felt that serious effort should be made to overcome the technical difficulties involved in covering those latter risks in the case of self-employed workers and the combination of paragraphs 54 and 58 was decided upon.

Paragraphs 55, 56 and 57 did not give rise to any observations.

C. BENEFIT RATES AND CONTRIBUTION CONDITIONS

Benefit Rates

The Office text was as follows:

59. Benefits should replace lost earnings, with due regard to family responsibilities, up to as high a level as is practicable without impairing the will to resume work where resumption is a possibility, and without levying charges on the productive groups so heavy that output and employment are checked.

60. Benefits should be related to the previous earnings of the insured person on the basis of which he has contributed: Provided that earnings higher than those prevalent among skilled workers may be ignored for the purpose of determining the rate of benefits, or portions thereof, financed from sources other than the contributions of the insured person.

61. Benefits intended to cover the cost of maintenance only may be appropriate for countries where adequate and economical facilities exist for the population to procure additional protection by voluntary insurance. Such benefits should be commensurate with the earnings of unskilled workers.

62. (1) Sick leave and unemployment benefits should, in the case of unskilled workers, be not less than 50 per cent. of the previous earnings of the insured person if he has no dependants, or 60 per cent. if he has one dependent wife or a housekeeper for his children; for each of not more than two dependent children, an additional 10 per cent. of that wage, less the amount of any child's allowance payable in respect of the child, should be payable.

(2) In the case of workers with high earnings, the foregoing proportions of benefit to previous earnings may be reduced.

63. Maternity benefit should in all cases be sufficient for the full and healthy maintenance of the mother and her child; it should be not less than 100 per cent. of the current wage for female unskilled workers or 75 per cent. of the previous earnings of the beneficiary, whichever is the greater, but may be reduced by the amount of any child's allowance payable in respect of the child.

64. Basic invalidity and old-age benefits should be not less than 30 per cent. of the current wage commonly recognised for male unskilled workers in the district in which the beneficiary resides, if the beneficiary has no dependants, or 45 per cent. of that wage if he has a dependent wife or who would be qualified for widow's benefit or a housekeeper for his children; for each of not more than two dependent children, an additional 10 per cent. of that wage, less the amount of any children's allowances for these children, should be payable.

65. Basic widow's benefit should be not less than 30 per cent. of the current minimum wage commonly recognised for male unskilled workers in the district in which the beneficiary resides; for each of not more than three dependent children, child's benefit at the rate of 10 per cent. of the wage, less the amount of any children's allowances for these children, should be payable.

66. In the case of an orphan, basic child's benefit should be not less than 20 per cent. of the current minimum wage commonly recognised for male unskilled workers, less the amount of any child's allowance payable in respect of the orphan.

67. (1) A portion of every contribution additional to those paid as qualification for basic invalidity, old-age and survivors' benefits may be credited to the insured person for the purpose of increasing the benefits provided for in paragraphs 64, 65 and 66.

(2) In every case in which the retirement is deferred beyond the minimum age at which old-age benefit could have been claimed, basic old-age benefit should be equitably increased.

68. (1) Compensation for employment injuries should not be less than two thirds of the wages lost, or estimated to have been lost, as the result of the injury.

(2) Such compensation should take the form of periodical payments, except in cases in which the competent authority is satisfied that the payment of a lump sum will be more advantageous to the beneficiary.

(3) Periodical payments in respect of permanent incapacity and death should be adjusted currently to significant changes in the wage level in the insured's previous occupation.

Paragraph 59 laying down the principle that benefits should replace lost earnings with due regard to family responsibilities was adopted.

Paragraph 60 concerns benefits related to previous earnings. It contains a proviso, the exact sense of which called for an explanation by the Representative of the Secretary-General. He explained that the intention was that benefits payable out of funds to which employers and possibly the State contributed might be based on earnings not exceeding the level of the wages of skilled workers; where benefits proportional to earnings in excess of this level are payable their excess cost might properly be financed out of the contributions of the insured person alone.

Paragraph 61 admits that flat rate benefits may be appropriate instead of benefits related to earnings, in countries where facilities exist for voluntary insurance providing supplementary protection, but it specifies that such benefits should be commensurate with the earnings of unskilled workers. The Office text, however, describes these benefits as being "intended to cover the cost of maintenance only". An amendment was moved to substitute for these words the expression "flat rate benefits". This proposal met with opposition on the ground that it was
necessary to specify that the flat rate benefits should cover the cost of maintenance in all cases. In view, however, of the fact that the Office text specifies that the benefit must be commensurate with the earnings of unskilled workers, which may be presumed to be at least sufficient for maintenance, it appeared that the proposal to use the expression "flat rate benefits" would not change the sense of the paragraph. The proposal, which was thus essentially a drafting change, was accordingly adopted.

On paragraphs 62 to 68, which contain the Office suggestions relating to benefit rates, two comments were made. The first referred to paragraph 62 (1) and was to the effect that benefits, together with children's allowances, might in the case of an unskilled worker with a large family approach very closely to his total income while at work. The Office text has, however, been modified so as to specify that the basic wage is the net wage, i.e., after deduction of the worker's contribution. The second comment concerned the Office suggestion that compensation for employment injuries should not be less than two thirds of the wages lost: it was to the effect that compensation should be fixed at three quarters of the wages lost.

**Contribution Conditions**

The Office text was as follows:

69. The right to benefits other than compensation for employment injuries should be subject to contribution conditions designed to prove that the normal status of the claimant is that of an employed or self-employed person and to maintain reasonable regularity in the payment of contributions: Provided that a person shall not be disqualified by reason of the failure of his employer duly to collect the contributions payable in respect of him.

70. (1) The contribution conditions for sickness, maternity and unemployment benefits may require that contributions shall have been paid in respect of not less than a quarter of the prescribed period, such as two years, completed before the contingency occurs.

(2) The contribution conditions for maternity benefit may require that the first contribution shall have been paid not less than ten months before the expected date of confinement, but even though the contribution conditions are not fulfilled, maternity benefit at the minimum rate should be paid during the period of compulsory abstinence from work after confinement, if the claimant's normal status appears, after consideration of the case, to be that of an employed person.

71. (1) The contribution conditions for basic invalidity, old-age and survivors' benefits may require that contributions shall have been paid in respect of not less than two fifths of a prescribed period, such as ten years, completed before the contingency occurs; payment of contributions in respect of not less than three quarters of a prescribed period which has elapsed since entry into insurance, should be recognised as an alternative qualification for benefit.

(2) The contribution conditions for old-age benefit may provide that the first contribution shall have been paid not less than five years before the claim for benefit is made.

(3) The right to benefit may be suspended where an insured person wilfully fails to pay any contribution due by him in respect of any period of self-employment or to pay any penalty imposed for late payment of contributions.

72. The insurance status of an insured person at the date when he becomes entitled to invalidity or old-age benefit should be maintained during the currency of such benefit for the purposes of ensuring him, in the event of recovery from invalidity, as full protection under the scheme as he was entitled to on the occurrence of the invalidity, and of entitling his survivors to survivors' benefits.

Paragraph 69 lays down the principle that the right to benefits other than compensation for employment injuries should be subject to contribution conditions. It contains a proviso that failure of the employer to collect contributions due in respect of his workers should not disqualify the latter from benefit.

Paragraphs 70 and 71 contain the Office suggestions for minimum contribution periods, the completion of which entitles the insured person to benefit. Several members observed that the conditions suggested by the Office were not free from objection and that other conditions equally satisfactory could be devised. In this connection, however, it was pointed out that the conditions suggested by the Office were, by their very terms, intended to serve as examples only.

Paragraph 72 secures the maintenance of the insurance status of persons receiving invalidity or old-age benefit so that in case of recovery from invalidity a fresh qualifying period is not required, and that in case of death survivors' benefits may be payable.

**D. DISTRIBUTION OF COST**

The Office text was as follows:

73. The cost of benefits, including the cost of administration, should be distributed among insured persons, employers and taxpayers in such a way as to be equitable to insured persons individually, to avoid hardship to insured persons of small means, and to cause the least disturbance to production.

74. (1) The contribution of an insured person should not exceed such proportion of his current earnings taken into account for reckoning benefits as applied to the estimated average earnings of all persons insured against the same contingencies, would, assuming such persons to contribute while earning from the minimum age for entering employment onwards, yield a contribution income the probable present value of which would equal the probable present value of the benefits to which they may become entitled (excluding compensation for employment injuries). (2) In accordance with this principle the contributions of employed persons and self-employed persons for the same benefits may, as a rule, represent the same proportion of their respective earnings.

75. A minimum absolute rate, based on the minimum rate of earnings which may be deemed to be indicative of substantial gainful work, may be prescribed for the insured person's contribution with respect to benefits the whole or part of which does not vary with the rate of previous earnings.

76. (1) Employers may be required to contri-
but, particularly by subsidising the insurance of low wage earners, as much as half the total cost of benefits confined to employed persons, excluding compensation for employment injuries.

(2) If employers are required to contribute with respect to benefits not confined to employed persons, regard should be had to the possible effect of employers' contributions on the volume of employment.

77. (1) The entire cost of compensation for employment injuries, except in so far as sickness benefit may be substituted for compensation in case of temporary incapacity, should be contributed by employers.

(2) Consideration should be given to the possibility of applying some method of merit rating in the calculation of contributions in respect of compensation for employment injuries.

78. The rates of contribution of insured persons and employers should be kept as stable as possible: Provided that the initial rate of contributions for invalidity, old-age and survivors' benefits may, in order to avoid disturbance to the national economy and having regard to an expected increase in national productivity, be fixed substantially below the permanent rate, to be attained gradually in a limited period or as soon as favourable economic conditions are present.

79. (1) The residual cost of benefits should be met from taxation.

(2) Among the elements which may properly be included in the residual cost are:

(a) the contribution deficit resulting from bringing persons into insurance when above the minimum age for entering employment;

(b) the contingent liability involved in guaranteeing the payment of basic invalidity, old-age and survivors' benefits and the payment of adequate maternity benefit;

(c) the liability resulting from the continued payment of unemployment benefit when unemployment persists at an excessive level; and

(d) subsidies to the insurance of persons of small means.

Paragraph 78 contains the principle that the cost of benefits and administration should be shared among insured persons, employers and the community and was adopted without amendment.

Paragraph 74 (1) attempts to lay down a criterion by which the maximum contribution which may equitably be charged to an insured person should be judged. The wording of this provision, however, is admittedly complicated and, as a Government member pointed out, the Office was offending against its own suggestion, contained in paragraph 83 (1), that social insurance legislation should be drafted in easily intelligible language.

Paragraph 74 (1) has accordingly been redrafted with the assistance of the Reporter and so likewise have paragraphs 78 and 79.

Paragraph 76 has been modified in order to take account of the fact that in a number of countries, the employer's contribution is substantially more than that of the insured person and that the employer's share is very frequently higher than that of the worker in the case of the low-wage earners.

Similarly, in paragraph 77 (1), the reference to the possible exclusion of compensation paid in the form of sickness benefit, from the compensation charge to be borne by the employer, has been deleted.

E. Administration

The Office text was as follows:

80. The administration of social insurance should be unified within a co-ordinated system of social security services, and contributors should, through their organisations, be represented on the bodies which determine or advise upon administrative policy and propose legislation or frame regulations.

81. Social insurance should be administered under the direction of a single authority; this authority should be associated with the authorities administering social assistance, medical care services and employment services in a co-ordinating body for matters of common interest, such as the certification of inability to work or to obtain work.

82. The unified administration of social insurance should be compatible with the operation of separate insurance schemes, compulsory or voluntary in character, providing supplementary, but not alternative, benefits for certain occupational groups, such as miners and seamen, and public officials, the staffs of individual undertakings and members of mutual benefit societies.

83. (1) The law and regulations relating to social insurance should be drafted in such a way that beneficiaries and contributors can easily understand their rights and duties.

(2) In devising procedures to be followed by beneficiaries and contributors, simplicity should be a primary consideration.

84. Central and regional advisory councils, representing such bodies as trade unions, employers' associations, chambers of commerce, farmers' associations, women's associations and child protection societies, should be established for the purpose of making recommendations for the amendment of the law and administrative methods, and generally of maintaining contact between the administration of social insurance and groups of contributors and beneficiaries.

85. Employers should be closely associated with the administration of compensation for employment injuries, particularly in connection with the prevention of accidents and occupational diseases and with merit rating.

86. (1) Claimants should have a right of appeal in case of dispute with the administrative authority concerning such questions as the right to benefit and the rate thereof.

(2) Appeals should preferably be referred to special tribunals, which should include judges who are experts in social insurance law, assisted by assessors, representative of the group to which the claimant belongs, and, where employed persons are concerned, by representatives of employers also.

(3) In any dispute concerning liability to insurance or the rate of contribution, for an employed or self-employed person, a person whose employer's contribution is in question, an employer should have a right of appeal.

(4) Provision for uniformity of interpretation should be assured by a superior appeal tribunal.

Paragraph 80 recommends that the administration of social insurance should be unified within a co-ordinated system of social security services and provides for representation of the contributors. It was
pointed out that in many countries accident insurance is still a separate branch of social insurance and that, in other countries, there exist a number of separate schemes on the same plane, which it is not expedient to amalgamate. It was therefore agreed that the object of the principle might be properly attained not only by unification but also by co-ordinating the separate institutions.

Paragraph 81 indicates that social insurance should be administered under the direction of a single authority. It was pointed out, however, that in federal countries the distribution of legislative competence might not permit of any such concentration in the hands of a single authority, and note has been taken of this point by a redrafting of this paragraph.

II. SOCIAL ASSISTANCE

A. MAINTENANCE OF CHILDREN

The Office text was as follows:

87. Society should normally co-operate with parents through general measures of assistance designed to secure the well-being of dependent children.

88. Public subsidies in kind or in cash or in both should be established in order to assure the healthy nurture of children, help to maintain large families, and complete the provision made for children through social insurance.

89. Where the purpose in view is to assure the healthy nurture of children, subsidies should take the form of such advantages as free or below-cost infants' food and school meals and below-cost dwellings for families with several children.

90. (1) Where the purpose in view is to help to maintain large families or to complete the provision made for children by subsidies in kind and through social insurance, subsidies should take the form of children's allowances.

(2) Such allowances should be payable, irrespective of the parents' income, according to a prescribed scale, which should represent a substantial contribution to the cost of maintaining a child, should allow for the higher cost of maintaining older children, and should, as a minimum, be granted to all children for whom no provision is made through social insurance.

91. Society as a whole should accept responsibility for the maintenance of dependent children in so far as parental responsibility for maintaining them cannot be enforced.

Paragraph 87 recommends that society should co-operate with parents through general measures of assistance, to secure the well-being of dependent children. This was adopted without change.

A Government member proposed the deletion of paragraphs 88 to 91, which deal with benefits in cash and in kind for dependent children, and indeed, of all the remaining paragraphs of the proposed Recommendation. In his view, it would suffice to have a simple affirmation of principle to the effect that social assistance should cover cases of want not covered by social insurance. The allowances paid by way of social assistance should not be fixed according to a prescribed scale but should be adapted to meet the needs of each individual.

As regards family allowances, it was pointed out that in countries which are suffering from overpopulation, it could not be a policy of the Government to encourage the creation of large families.

B. MAINTENANCE OF NEEDY INVALIDS, AGED PERSONS AND WIDOWS

The Office text was as follows:

92. Invalids, aged persons and widows who are not receiving social insurance benefits because they or their husbands, as the case may be, were not compulsorily insured, and whose incomes do not exceed a prescribed level, should be entitled to special maintenance allowance at prescribed rates.

93. The persons who should be entitled to maintenance allowance should include:

(a) persons belonging to occupational groups, or residing in districts to which social insurance does not yet apply, or has not yet applied for as long as the qualifying period for basic invalidity, old-age or survivors' benefits, as the case may be, and the widows and dependent children of such persons; and

(b) persons who are already invalids at the time when they would normally enter insurance.

94. Maintenance allowances should be sufficient for full, long-term maintenance; they should vary with the current cost of living, and may vary as between urban and rural areas.

95. Maintenance allowances should be paid at the full rate to persons whose other income does not exceed a prescribed level and at reduced rates in other cases.

96. The provisions of the present Recommendation defining the contingencies in which invalidity, old-age and survivors' benefits should be paid should be applied, in so far as they are relevant, to maintenance allowances.

Paragraph 92 contains the principle that maintenance allowances at prescribed rates should be paid to invalids, aged persons and widows who have not had the opportunity of being insured. This principle was adopted.

No observations were made on the remaining paragraphs, although, of course, these paragraphs had been included in the proposal to delete all detailed provisions relating to social assistance.

C. GENERAL ASSISTANCE

The Office text was as follows:

97. (1) Appropriate allowances in cash or partly in cash and partly in kind should be provided for all persons who are in want and do not require internment for corrective care.

(2) The range of cases in which the amount of the allowance is entirely discretionary should be gradually narrowed as the result of the improved classification of cases of want, and the establishment of budgets corresponding to the cost of maintenance in short-term and long-term indigency.
The grant of allowances may be subject to compliance by the recipient with directions given by the authorities administering medical or employment services in order that the assistance may yield its greatest constructive effect.

Paragraph 97 (1) simply lays down that appropriate allowances should be provided for all other persons in want. This subparagraph was adopted and no observations were made on the remaining subparagraphs.

DRAFT RECOMMENDATION CONCERNING INCOME SECURITY

Whereas the Atlantic Charter contemplates "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

Whereas the Conference of the International Labour Organisation, by a resolution adopted on 5 November 1941, endorsed this principle of the Atlantic Charter and pledged the full co-operation of the International Labour Organisation in its implementation; and

Whereas income security is an essential element in social security; and

Whereas the International Labour Organisation has promoted the development of income security—

by the adoption by the International Labour Conference of Conventions and Recommendations relating to workmen's compensation for accidents and occupational diseases, sickness insurance, provision for maternity, old-age, invalidity, and widows' and orphans' pensions, and provision for unemployment,

by the adoption by the First and Second Labour Conferences of American States of the resolutions constituting the Inter-American Social Insurance Code, the participation of a delegation of the Governing Body of the First Inter-American Conference on Social Security which adopted the Declaration of Santiago de Chile, and the approval of the Governing Body of the Statute of the Inter-American Conference on Social Security established as a permanent agency of co-operation between social security administrations and institutions acting in concert with the International Labour Office, and by the participation of the International Labour Office in an advisory capacity in the framing of income security schemes in a number of countries and by other measures; and

Whereas some Members have not taken such steps as are within their competence to promote the well-being and development of their people although their need for improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security is greatest; and

Whereas it is now highly desirable that such Members take all necessary steps as soon as possible to secure the accepted international minimum standards and develop those standards; and

Whereas it is now desirable to take further steps towards the attainment of income security by the unification or co-ordination of social insurance schemes, the extension of such schemes to all workers and their families, including rural populations and the self-employed, and the elimination of inequitable anomalies; and

Whereas the formulation of certain general principles which should be followed by Members of the Organisation in developing their income security schemes along these lines on the foundation of the existing Conventions and Recommendations pending the unification and amplification of the provisions of the said Conventions and Recommendations, will contribute to this end;

The Conference:

(a) recommends the Members of the Organisation to apply progressive and consistent general guiding principles, as rapidly as national conditions allow, in developing their income security schemes with a view to the implementation of the fifth principle of the Atlantic Charter; and to report to the International Labour Office from time to time as requested by the Governing Body, concerning the measures taken to give effect to the said general guiding principles;

(b) calls the attention of the Members of the Organisation to the suggestions for the application of these general guiding principles submitted to the Conference and contained in the Annex to this Recommendation.

BASIC PRINCIPLES

1. Income security schemes should relieve want and prevent destitution by restoring, up to a reasonable level, income which is lost by reason of inability to work (including old age) or to obtain remunerative work or by reason of the death of a breadwinner.

2. Income security should be organised as far as possible on the basis of compulsory social insurance, whereby insured persons fulfilling prescribed qualifying conditions are entitled, in consideration of the contributions they have paid to an insurance institution, to benefits payable at rates, and in contingencies, defined by law.

3. Provision for needs not covered by compulsory social insurance should be made by social assistance; certain categories of persons, particularly dependent
children and needy invalids, aged persons and widows, should be entitled to allowances at reasonable rates according to a prescribed scale.

4. Social assistance appropriate to the needs of the case should be provided for other persons in want.

**SOCIAL INSURANCE**

5. The range of contingencies to be covered by compulsory social insurance should embrace all contingencies in which an insured person is prevented from earning his living, whether by inability to work or inability to obtain remunerative work, or in which he dies leaving a dependent family, and should include certain associated emergencies, generally experienced, which involve extraordinary strain on limited incomes, in so far as they are not otherwise covered.

6. Compensation should be provided in cases of incapacity for work and of death resulting from employment.

7. In order that the benefits provided by social insurance may be closely adapted to the variety of needs, the contingencies covered should be classified as follows:
   - (a) sickness;
   - (b) maternity;
   - (c) invalidity;
   - (d) old age;
   - (e) death of breadwinner;
   - (f) unemployment;
   - (g) emergency expenses; and
   - (h) employment injuries.

Provided that benefits should not be payable at the same time for more than one of the following contingencies: invalidity, old age and unemployment.

8. Supplements for each of the first two children should be added to all benefits payable for loss of earnings, provision for further children being left to be made by means of children's allowances payable out of public funds or under contributory schemes.

9. The contingency for which sickness benefit should be paid is loss of earnings due to abstention from work necessitated on medical grounds by an acute condition, due to disease or injury, requiring medical treatment or supervision.

10. The contingency for which maternity benefit should be paid is loss of earnings due to abstention from work during prescribed periods before and after childbirth.

11. The contingency for which invalidity benefit should be paid is inability to engage in any substantially gainful work by reason of a chronic condition, due to disease or injury, or by reason of the loss of a member or function.

12. The contingency for which old-age benefit should be paid is the attainment of a prescribed age, which should be that at which persons commonly become incapable of efficient work, the incidence of sickness and invalidity becomes heavy, and unemployment, if present, is likely to be permanent.

13. The contingency for which survivors' benefits should be paid is the loss of support presumably suffered by the dependants as the result of the death of the head of the family.

14. The contingency for which unemployment benefit should be paid is loss of earnings due to the unemployment of an insured person who is ordinarily employed, capable of regular employment in some occupation, and seeking suitable employment, or due to part-time unemployment.

15. Benefits should be provided in respect of extraordinary expenses, not otherwise covered, incurred in cases of sickness, maternity, invalidity and death.

16. The contingency for which compensation for an employment injury should be paid is traumatic injury or disease resulting from employment, not brought about deliberately or by the serious and wilful misconduct of the victim, and resulting in temporary or permanent incapacity or death.

17. Social insurance should afford protection, in the contingencies to which they are exposed, to all employed and self-employed persons, together with their dependants, in respect of whom it is practicable:
   - (a) to collect contributions without incurring disproportionate administrative expenditure; and
   - (b) to pay benefits with the necessary co-operation of medical and employment services and with due precautions against abuse.

18. The employer should be made responsible for collecting contributions in respect of all persons employed by him, and should be entitled to deduct the sums due by them from their remuneration at the time when it is paid.

19. In order to facilitate the efficient administration of benefits, arrangements should be made for the keeping of records of contributions, for ready means of verifying the presence of the contingencies which give rise to benefits, and for a parallel organisation of medical and employment services with preventive and remedial functions.

20. Persons employed for remuneration should be insured against the whole range of contingencies covered by social insurance as soon as the collection of contributions in respect of them can be organised and the necessary arrangements can be made for the administration of benefit.
21. Self-employed persons should be insured against the contingencies of invalidity, old age and death, under the same conditions as employed persons as soon as the collection of their contributions can be organised. Consideration should be given to the possibility of insuring them also against sickness and maternity necessitating hospitalisation, sickness which has lasted for several months, and extraordinary expenses incurred in case of sickness, maternity, invalidity or death.

22. Benefits should replace lost earnings, with due regard to family responsibilities, up to as high a level as is practicable without impairing the will to resume work where resumption is a possibility, and without levying charges on the productive groups so heavy that output and employment are checked.

23. Benefits should be related to the previous earnings of the insured person on the basis of which he has contributed: Provided that any excess of earnings over those prevalent among skilled workers may be ignored for the purpose of determining the rate of benefits, or portions thereof, financed from sources other than the contributions of the insured person.

24. Benefits at flat rates may be appropriate for countries where adequate and economical facilities exist for the population to procure additional protection by voluntary insurance. Such benefits should be commensurate with the earnings of unskilled workers.

25. The right to benefits other than compensation for employment injuries should be subject to contribution conditions designed to prove that the normal status of the claimant is that of an employed or self-employed person and to maintain reasonable regularity in the payment of contributions: Provided that a person shall not be disqualified for benefits by reason of the failure of his employer duly to collect the contributions payable in respect of him.

26. The cost of benefits, including the cost of administration, should be distributed among insured persons, employers and taxpayers in such a way as to be equitable to insured persons, to avoid hardship to insured persons of small means, as well as any disturbance to production.

27. The administration of social insurance should be unified or co-ordinated within a general system of social security services, and contributors should, through their organisations, be represented on the bodies which determine or advise upon administrative policy and propose legislation or frame regulations.

28. Society should normally co-operate with parents through general measures of assistance designed to secure the well-being of dependent children.

29. Invalids, aged persons and widows who are not receiving social insurance benefits because they or their husbands, as the case may be, were not compulsorily insured, and whose incomes do not exceed a prescribed level, should be entitled to special maintenance allowances at prescribed rates.

30. Appropriate allowances in cash or partly in cash and partly in kind should be provided for all persons who are in want and do not require internment for corrective care.

ANNEX

(The paragraphs in bold type are the general guiding principles and the sub-paragraphs are the suggestions for application.)

BASIC PRINCIPLES

1. Income security schemes should relieve want and prevent destitution by restoring, up to a reasonable level, income which is lost by reason of inability to work (including old age) or to obtain remunerative work or by reason of the death of a breadwinner.

2. Income security should be organised as far as possible on the basis of compulsory social insurance, whereby insured persons fulfilling prescribed qualifying conditions are entitled, in consideration of the contributions they have paid to an insurance institution, to benefits payable at rates, and in contingencies, defined by law.

3. Provision for needs not covered by compulsory social insurance should be made by social assistance; certain categories of persons, particularly dependent children and needy invalids, aged persons and widows, should be entitled to allowances at reasonable rates, according to a prescribed scale.

4. Social assistance appropriate to the needs of the case should be provided for other persons in want.

I. SOCIAL INSURANCE

A. CONTINGENCIES COVERED

Range of Contingencies to be Covered

5. The range of contingencies to be covered by compulsory social insurance should embrace all contingencies in which an insured person is prevented from earning his living, whether by inability to work or
inability to obtain remunerative work, or in which he dies leaving a dependent family, and should include certain associated emergencies generally experienced, which involve extraordinary strain on limited incomes in so far as they are not otherwise covered.

6. Compensation should be provided in cases of incapacity for work and of death resulting from employment.

7. In order that the benefits provided by social insurance may be closely adapted to the variety of needs, the contingencies covered should be classified as follows:

(a) sickness;
(b) maternity;
(c) invalidity;
(d) old age;
(e) death of breadwinner;
(f) unemployment;
(g) emergency expenses; and
(h) employment injuries.

Provided that benefits should not be payable at the same time for more than one of the following contingencies: invalidity, old age and unemployment.

8. Supplements for each of the first two children should be added to all benefit payable for loss of earnings, provision for further children being left to be made by means of children's allowances payable out of public funds or under contributory schemes.

Sickness

9. The contingency for which sickness benefit should be paid is loss of earnings due to abstention from work necessitated on medical grounds by an acute condition due to disease or injury, requiring medical treatment or supervision.

(1) The necessity for abstention from work should be judged, as a rule, with reference to the previous occupation of the insured person, which he may be expected to resume.

(2) Benefit need not be paid for the first few days of a period of sickness, but if sickness recurs within a few months, a fresh waiting period should not be imposed.

(3) Benefit should preferably be continued until the beneficiary is fit to return to work, dies or becomes an invalid. If, however, it is considered necessary to limit the duration of benefit, the maximum period should not be less than 26 weeks for a single case, and provision should be made for extending the duration of benefit in the case of specified diseases, such as tuberculosis, which often involve lengthy, though curable, sickness: Provided that at the outset of the operation of the scheme it may be necessary to provide for a shorter period than 26 weeks.

Maternity

10. The contingency for which maternity benefit should be paid is loss of earnings due to abstention from work during prescribed periods before and after childbirth.

(1) A woman should have the right to leave her work if she produces a medical certificate stating that her confinement will probably take place within six weeks, and no woman should be permitted to work during the six weeks following her confinement.

(2) During these periods maternity benefit should be payable.

(3) Absence from work for longer periods or on other occasions may be desirable on medical grounds, having regard to the physical condition of the beneficiary and the exigencies of her work; during any such periods sickness benefits should be payable.

(4) The payment of maternity benefit may be made conditional on the utilisation by the beneficiary of health services provided for her and her child.

Invalidity

11. The contingency for which invalidity benefit should be paid is inability to engage in any substantially gainful work by reason of a chronic condition, due to disease or injury, or by reason of the loss of a member or function.

(1) A handicapped person should be expected to engage in any occupation which may reasonably be indicated for him, having regard for his remaining strength and ability, his previous experience, and any facilities for training available to him.

(2) A person for whom such an occupation can be indicated but is not yet available, and a person following a training course, should receive provisional invalidity benefit, training benefit or unemployment benefit, if he is otherwise qualified for it.

(3) A person for whom no such occupation can be indicated should receive invalidity benefit.

(4) Beneficiaries whose permanent inability to engage regularly in any gainful occupation has been confirmed should be allowed to supplement their invalidity benefit by casual earnings of small amount.

(5) Where the rate of invalidity benefit is related to the rate of the previous earnings of the insured person, the right to benefit should be admitted if the handicapped person is not able to earn by ordinary effort as much as one third of the normal earnings in his previous occupa-
tion of able-bodied persons having the same training.

(6) Invalidity benefit should be paid from the date when sickness benefit ceases, for the whole duration of invalidity, provided that when the beneficiary reaches the age at which old-age benefit may be claimed the latter may be substituted for invalidity benefit.

Old Age

12. The contingency for which old-age benefit should be paid is the attainment of a prescribed age, which should be that at which persons commonly become incapable of efficient work, the incidence of sickness and invalidity becomes heavy, and unemployment, if present, is likely to be permanent.

(1) The minimum age at which old-age benefit may be claimed should be fixed at not more than 65 in the case of men and 60 in the case of women: Provided that a lower age may be fixed for persons who have worked for many years in arduous or unhealthy occupations.

(2) Payment of old-age benefit may, if the basic benefit can be considered sufficient for subsistence, be made conditional on retirement from regular work in any gainful occupation; where such retirement is required, the receipt of casual earnings of relatively small amount should not disqualify for old-age benefit.

Death of Breadwinner

13. The contingency for which survivors' benefits should be paid is the loss of support presumably suffered by the dependants as the result of the death of the head of the family.

(1) Survivors' benefits should be paid: (a) to the widow of an insured man; (b) for the children, stepchildren, adopted children and, subject to their previous registration as dependants, illegitimate children of an insured man or of an insured woman who supported the children; and (c) under conditions to be defined by national laws, to an unmarried woman with whom the deceased cohabited.

(2) Widow's benefit should be paid to a widow who has in her care a child for whom child's benefit is payable or who, at her husband's death or later, is an invalid or has attained the minimum age at which old-age benefit may be claimed; a widow who does not fulfil one of these conditions should be paid widow's benefit for a minimum period of several months, and thereafter if she is unemployed until suitable employment can be offered to her, after training if necessary.

(3) Child's benefit should be paid for a child who is under the school-leaving age, or who is under the age of 18 and is continuing his general or vocational education.

Unemployment

14. The contingency for which unemployment benefit should be paid is loss of earnings due to the unemployment of an insured person who is ordinarily employed, capable of regular employment in some occupation, and seeking suitable employment, or due to part-time unemployment.

(1) Benefit need not be paid for the first few days of a period of unemployment reckoned from the date on which the claim is registered, but if unemployment recurs within a few months, a fresh waiting period should not be imposed.

(2) Benefit should continue to be paid until suitable employment is offered to the insured person.

(3) During an initial period reasonable in the circumstances of the case, only the following should be deemed to be suitable employment:

(a) employment in the usual occupation of the insured person in a place not involving a change of residence and at the current rate of wages, as fixed by collective agreements where applicable; or

(b) another employment acceptable to the insured person.

(4) After the expiration of the initial period:

(a) employment involving a change of occupation may be deemed to be suitable if the employment offered is one which may reasonably be offered to the insured person, having regard to his strength, ability, previous experience and any facilities for training available to him;

(b) employment involving a change of residence may be deemed to be suitable if suitable accommodation is available in the new place of residence;

(c) employment under conditions less favourable than the insured person habitually obtained in his usual occupation and district may be deemed to be suitable if the conditions offered conform to the standard generally observed in the occupation and district in which the employment is offered.

Emergency Expenses

15. Benefits should be provided in respect of extraordinary expenses, not otherwise covered, incurred in cases of sickness, maternity, invalidity and death.

(1) Necessary domestic help should be
provided, or benefit paid for hiring it, during the hospitalisation of the mother of dependent children, if she is an insured woman or the wife of an insured man and is not receiving any benefit in lieu of earnings.

(2) A lump sum should be paid at childbirth to insured women and the wives of insured men towards the cost of a layette and similar expenses.

(3) A special supplement should be paid to recipients of invalidity or old-age benefit who need constant attendance.

(4) A lump sum should be paid on the death of an insured person, or of the wife, husband or dependent child of an insured person, towards the cost of burial.

**Employment Injuries**

16. The contingency for which compensation for an employment injury should be paid is traumatic injury or disease resulting from employment, not brought about deliberately or by the serious and wilful misconduct of the victim, and resulting in temporary or permanent incapacity or death.

(1) Injuries arising out of employment should be deemed to include accidents occurring on the way to or from the place of employment.

(2) Where compensation for an employment injury is payable, the foregoing provisions should be subject to appropriate modifications as indicated in the following paragraphs.

(3) Any disease which occurs frequently only to persons employed in certain occupations or is a poisoning caused by a substance used in certain occupations, should, if the person suffering from such a disease was engaged in such an occupation, be presumed to be of occupational origin and give rise to compensation.

(4) A list of diseases presumed to be of occupational origin should be established and should be revised from time to time by a simple procedure.

(5) In fixing any minimum period of employment in the occupation required to establish the presumption of occupational origin and any maximum period during which the presumption of occupational origin will remain valid after leaving the employment, regard should be had to the length of time required for the contraction and manifestation of the disease.

(6) Temporary incapacity compensation should be payable under conditions similar to those applicable to the payment of sickness benefit.

(7) Consideration should be given to the possibility of paying compensation from the first day of temporary incapacity if the incapacity lasts longer than the waiting period.

(8) Permanent incapacity compensation should be payable in respect of the loss or reduction of earning capacity by reason of the loss of a member or function or by reason of a chronic condition due to injury or disease.

(9) A person who becomes permanently incapacitated should be expected to resume employment in any occupation which may reasonably be indicated for him, having regard to his remaining strength and ability, his previous experience, and any facilities for training available to him.

(10) If no such employment can be offered, the person should receive compensation for total incapacity on a definitive or provisional basis.

(11) If such employment can be offered, but the sum which the person is able to earn by ordinary effort in the employment is significantly less than that which he would probably have earned had he not suffered the injury or disease, he should receive compensation for partial incapacity proportionate to the difference in earning capacity.

(12) Consideration should be given to the possibility of paying suitable compensation in every case of loss of a member or function or disfigurement, even where no reduction of capacity can be proved.

(13) Persons exposed to the risk of an occupational disease of gradual development should be examined periodically, and those for whom a change of occupation is indicated, should be eligible for compensation.

(14) Compensation for permanent incapacity, total or partial, should be paid from the time when temporary incapacity compensation ceases for the whole duration of permanent incapacity.

(15) Persons receiving compensation for permanent partial incapacity should be able to qualify for other benefits under the same conditions as able-bodied persons, where the rates of such benefits are related to the previous earnings of the insured person.

(16) Where the rates of such benefits are not related to the previous earnings of the insured person, a maximum may be fixed for the combined rate of compensation and benefit.

(17) Survivors' compensation should, subject to the provisions of the following subparagraphs, be paid to the same dependants as could otherwise qualify for survivors' benefits.

(18) A widow should receive compensation for the whole duration of her widowhood.

(19) A child should receive compensation until the age of 18, or 21 if he is continuing his general or vocational education.

(20) Provision should be made for compensating other members of the family of
the deceased who were dependent upon him, without prejudice to the claims of the widow and children.

(21) The survivors of a person permanently incapacitated in the degree of two thirds or more who dies otherwise than from the effects of an employment injury should be entitled to basic survivors' benefits, whether or not the deceased fulfilled the contribution conditions for such benefit at the time of his death.

B. PERSONS COVERED

Range of Persons to Be Covered

17. Social insurance should afford protection, in the contingencies to which they are exposed, to all employed and self-employed persons, together with their dependants, in respect of whom it is practicable:

(a) to collect contributions without incurring disproportionate administrative expenditure; and

(b) to pay benefits with the necessary co-operation of medical and employment services and with due precautions against abuse.

(1) Dependent wives (that is to say, wives who are not employed or self-employed) and dependent children (that is to say, persons who are under the school-leaving age, or who are under the age of 18 and are continuing their general or vocational education) should be protected in virtue of the insurance of their breadwinners.

Collection of Contributions

18. The employer should be made responsible for collecting contributions in respect of all persons employed by him, and should be entitled to deduct the sums due by them from their remuneration at the time when it is paid.

(1) Where membership of an occupational association or the possession of a licence is compulsory for any class of self-employed persons, the association or the licensing authority may be made responsible for collecting contributions from the persons concerned.

(2) The national or local authority may be made responsible for collecting contributions from self-employed persons registered for the purpose of taxation.

(3) Pending the development of agencies to enforce payment of contributions, provision should be made for enabling self-employed persons to contribute voluntarily, either as individuals or as members of associations.

Administration of Benefits

19. In order to facilitate the efficient administration of benefits, arrangements should be made for the keeping of records of contributions, for ready means of verifying the presence of the contingencies which give rise to benefits, and for a parallel organisation of medical and employment services with preventive and remedial functions.

Employed Persons

20. Persons employed for remuneration should be insured against the whole range of contingencies covered by social insurance as soon as the collection of contributions in respect of them can be organised and the necessary arrangements can be made for the administration of benefit.

(1) Persons whose employment is so irregular, or likely to be so short in its total duration, that they are unlikely to qualify for benefit confined to employed persons, may be excluded from insurance for such benefits. Special provision should be made on behalf of persons who ordinarily work for a very short period for the same employer.

(2) Apprentices who receive no remuneration should be insured against employment injuries, and, as from the date at which they would have completed their apprenticeship for their trade, compensation based on the wages current for workers in that trade should become payable.

Self-Employed Persons

21. Self-employed persons should be insured against the contingencies of invalidity, old age and death under the same conditions as employed persons as soon as the collection of their contributions can be organised. Consideration should be given to the possibility of insuring them also against sickness and maternity necessitating hospitalisation, sickness which has lasted for several months, and extraordinary expenses incurred in case of sickness, maternity, invalidity or death.

(1) Members of the employer's family living in his house, other than his dependent wife or dependent children, should be insured against the said contingencies on the basis of either their actual wages or, if these cannot be ascertained, the market value of their services; the employer should be responsible for the payment of contributions in respect of such persons.

(2) Self-employed persons whose earnings are ordinarily so low that they can be presumed to be a merely subsidiary or casual source of income, or that payment of the minimum contribution would be a hardship for them, should be excluded provisionally from insurance and referred for counsel to the employment service or to any special service that may exist for promoting the welfare of the occupational group to which they may belong.
(3) Persons who, after completing the contribution period prescribed as a qualification for invalidity and survivors' benefits, cease to be compulsorily insured, either as employed or as self-employed persons, should be given the option, to be exercised within a limited period, of continuing their insurance under the same conditions as self-employed persons, subject to such modifications as may be prescribed.

C. BENEFIT RATES AND CONTRIBUTION CONDITIONS

Benefit Rates

22. Benefits should replace lost earnings, with due regard to family responsibilities, up to as high a level as is practicable without impairing the will to resume work where resumption is a possibility, and without levying charges on the productive groups so heavy that output and employment are checked.

23. Benefits should be related to the previous earnings of the insured person on the basis of which he has contributed: Provided that any excess of earnings over the minimum wage commonly recognised for male unskilled workers in the district in which the beneficiary resides; for each of not more than two dependent children, an additional 10 per cent. of that wage, less the amount of any child's allowances for these children, should be payable.

24. Benefits at flat rates may be appropriate for countries where adequate and economical facilities exist for the population to procure additional protection by voluntary insurance. Such benefits should be commensurate with the earnings of unskilled workers.

(1) Sickness and unemployment benefits should, in the case of unskilled workers, be not less than 40 per cent. of the previous net earnings of the insured person if he has no dependants, or 60 per cent. thereof if he has a dependent wife or housekeeper for his children; for each of not more than two dependent children, an additional 10 per cent. thereof, less the amount of any children's allowances for these children, should be payable.

(2) In the case of workers with high earnings, the foregoing proportions of benefit to previous earnings may be somewhat reduced.

(3) Maternity benefit should in all cases be sufficient for the full and healthy maintenance of the mother and her child; it should be not less than 100 per cent. of the current net wage for female unskilled workers or 75 per cent. of the previous net earnings of the beneficiary, whichever is the greater, but may be reduced by the amount of any child's allowance payable in respect of the child.

(4) Basic invalidity and old-age benefits should be not less than 30 per cent. of the current wage commonly recognised for male unskilled workers in the district in which the beneficiary resides, if the beneficiary has no dependants, or 45 per cent. thereof if he has a dependent wife who would be qualified for widow's benefit or a housekeeper for his children; for each of not more than two dependent children, an additional 10 per cent. of that wage, less the amount of any children's allowances for these children, should be payable.

(5) Basic widow's benefit should be not less than 30 per cent. of the current minimum wage commonly recognised for male unskilled workers, less the amount of any child's allowance payable in respect of the orphan.

(6) In the case of an orphan, basic child's benefit should be not less than 20 per cent. of the current minimum wage commonly recognised for male unskilled workers, less the amount of any child's allowance payable in respect of the orphan.

(7) A portion of every contribution additional to those paid as a qualification for basic invalidity, old-age and survivors' benefits may be credited to the insured person for the purpose of increasing the benefits provided for in paragraphs (4), (5) and (6).

(8) In every case in which retirement is deferred beyond the minimum age at which old-age benefit could have been claimed, basic old-age benefit should be equitably increased.

(9) Compensation for employment injuries should not be less than two thirds of the wages lost, or estimated to have been lost, as the result of the injury.

(10) Such compensation should take the form of periodical payments, except in cases in which the competent authority is satisfied that the payment of a lump sum will be more advantageous to the beneficiary.

(11) Periodical payments in respect of permanent incapacity and death should be adjusted currently to significant changes in the wage level in the insured person's previous occupation.

Contribution Conditions

25. The right to benefits other than compensation for employment injuries should be subject to contribution conditions designed to prove that the normal status of the claimant is that of an employed or self-employed person and to maintain reasonable regularity in the payment of contributions: Provided that a person shall not be disqualified for benefits by reason of the failure of his employer duly to collect the contributions payable in respect of him.
(1) The contribution conditions for sickness, maternity and unemployment benefits may require that contributions shall have been paid in respect of not less than a quarter of a prescribed period, such as two years, completed before the contingency occurs.

(2) The contribution conditions for maternity benefit may require that the first contribution shall have been paid not less than ten months before the expected date of confinement, but even though the contribution conditions are not fulfilled, maternity benefit at the minimum rate shall have been paid in respect of not less than five years, completed before the expected date of confinement, if the claimant's normal status appears, after consideration of the case, to be that of an employed person.

(3) The contribution conditions for basic invalidity, old-age and survivors' benefits may require that contributions shall have been paid in respect of not less than two fifths of a prescribed period, such as five years, completed before the contingency occurs; payment of contributions in respect of not less than three quarters of a prescribed period, such as ten years, or of any longer period which has elapsed since entry into insurance, should be recognised as an alternative qualification for benefit.

(4) The contribution conditions for old-age benefit may provide that the first contribution shall have been paid not less than five years before the claim for benefit is made.

(5) The right to benefit may be suspended where an insured person wilfully fails to pay any contribution due by him in respect of any period of self-employment or to pay any penalty imposed for late payment of contributions.

(6) The insurance status of an insured person at the date when he becomes entitled to invalidity or old-age benefit should be maintained during the currency of such benefit for the purposes of ensuring him, in the event of recovery from invalidity, as full protection under the scheme as he was entitled to on the occurrence of the invalidity, and of entitling his survivors to survivors' benefits.

D. DISTRIBUTION OF COST

26. The cost of benefits, including the cost of administration, should be distributed among insured persons, employers and taxpayers in such a way as to be equitable to insured persons, to avoid hardship to insured persons of small means, as well as any disturbance to production.

(1) The contribution of an insured person should not exceed such proportion of his earnings taken into account for reckoning benefits as, applied to the estimated average earnings of all persons insured against the same contingencies, would yield a contribution income the probable present value of which would equal the probable present value of the benefits to which they may become entitled (excluding compensation for employment injuries).

(2) In accordance with this principle the contributions of employed persons and self-employed persons for the same benefits may, as a rule, represent the same proportion of their respective earnings.

(3) A minimum absolute rate, based on the minimum rate of earnings which may be deemed to be indicative of substantial gainful work, may be prescribed for the insured person's contribution with respect to benefits the whole or part of which does not vary with the rate of previous earnings.

(4) Employers should be required to contribute, particularly by subsidising the insurance of low wage earners, not less than half the total cost of benefits confined to employed persons, excluding compensation for employment injuries.

(5) The entire cost of compensation for employment injuries should be contributed by employers.

(6) Consideration should be given to the possibility of applying some method of merit rating in the calculation of contributions in respect of compensation for employment injuries.

(7) The rates of contribution of insured persons and employers should be kept as stable as possible, and for this purpose a stabilisation fund should be constituted.

(8) The cost of benefits which cannot properly be met by contributions should be covered by the community.

(9) Among the elements of cost which may be charged to the community may be mentioned:

(a) the contribution deficit resulting from bringing persons into insurance when already elderly;

(b) the contingent liability involved in guaranteeing the payment of basic invalidity, old-age and survivors' benefits and the payment of adequate maternity benefit;

(c) the liability resulting from the continued payment of unemployment benefit when unemployment persists at an excessive level; and

(d) subsidies to the insurance of self-employed persons of small means.

E. ADMINISTRATION

27. The administration of social insurance should be unified or co-ordinated
within a general system of social security services, and contributors should, through their organisations, be represented on the bodies which determine or advise upon administrative policy and propose legislation or frame regulations.

(1) Social insurance should be administered under the direction of a single authority, subject, in federal countries, to the distribution of legislative competence; this authority should be associated with the authorities administering social assistance, medical care services and employment services in a co-ordinating body for matters of common interest, such as the certification of inability to work or to obtain work.

(2) The unified administration of social insurance should be compatible with the operation of separate insurance schemes, compulsory or voluntary in character, providing supplementary, but not alternative, benefits for certain occupational groups, such as miners and seamen, public officials, the staffs of individual undertakings and members of mutual benefit societies.

(3) The law and regulations relating to social insurance should be drafted in such a way that beneficiaries and contributors can easily understand their rights and duties.

(4) In devising procedures to be followed by beneficiaries and contributors, simplicity should be a primary consideration.

(5) Central and regional advisory councils, representing such bodies as trade unions, employers' associations, chambers of commerce, farmers' associations, women's associations and child protection societies, should be established for the purpose of making recommendations for the amendment of the law and administrative methods, and generally of maintaining contact between the administration of social insurance and groups of contributors and beneficiaries.

(6) Employers and workers should be closely associated with the administration of compensation for employment injuries, particularly in connection with the prevention of accidents and occupational diseases and with merit rating.

(7) Claimants should have a right of appeal in case of dispute with the administrative authority concerning such questions as the right to benefit and the rate thereof.

(8) Appeals should preferably be referred to special tribunals, which should include judges who are experts in social insurance law, assisted by assessors, representative of the group to which the claimant belongs, and, where employed persons are concerned, by representatives of employers also.

(9) In any dispute concerning liability to insurance or the rate of contribution, for an employed or self-employed person, and where an employer's contribution is in question, an employer should have a right of appeal.

(10) Provision for uniformity of interpretation should be assured by a superior appeal tribunal.

II. SOCIAL ASSISTANCE

A. MAINTENANCE OF CHILDREN

28. Society should normally co-operate with parents through general measures of assistance designed to secure the well-being of dependent children.

(1) Public subsidies in kind or in cash or in both should be established in order to assure the healthy nurture of children, help to maintain large families, and complete the provision made for children through social insurance.

(2) Where the purpose in view is to assure the healthy nurture of children, subsidies should take the form of such advantages as free or below-cost infants' food and school meals and below-cost dwellings for families with several children.

(3) Where the purpose in view is to help to maintain large families or to complete the provision made for children by subsidies in kind and through social insurance, subsidies should take the form of children's allowances.

(4) Such allowances should be payable, irrespective of the parents' income, according to a prescribed scale, which should represent a substantial contribution to the cost of maintaining a child, should allow for the higher cost of maintaining older children, and should, as a minimum, be granted to all children for whom no provision is made through social insurance.

(5) Society as a whole should accept responsibility for the maintenance of dependent children in so far as parental responsibility for maintaining them cannot be enforced.

B. MAINTENANCE OF NERVOUS INVALIDS, AGED PERSONS AND WIDOWS

29. Invalids, aged persons and widows who are not receiving social insurance benefits because they or their husbands, as the case may be, were not compulsorily insured, and whose incomes do not exceed a prescribed level, should be entitled to special maintenance allowances at prescribed rates.

(1) The persons who should be entitled to maintenance allowances should include:
Appendix VII: Social Security

(a) persons belonging to occupational groups, or residing in districts to which social insurance does not yet apply, or has not yet applied for as long as the qualifying period for basic invalidity, old-age or survivors' benefits, as the case may be, and the widows and dependent children of such persons; and

(b) persons who are already invalids at the time when they would normally enter insurance.

(2) Maintenance allowances should be sufficient for full, long-term maintenance; they should vary with the current cost of living, and may vary as between urban and rural areas.

(3) Maintenance allowances should be paid at the full rate to persons whose other income does not exceed a prescribed level and at reduced rates in other cases.

(4) The provisions of the present Recommendation defining the contingencies in which invalidity, old-age and survivors' benefits should be paid should be applied, in so far as they are relevant, to maintenance allowances.

C. General Assistance

30. Appropriate allowances in cash or partly in cash and partly in kind should be provided for all persons who are in want and do not require internment for corrective care.

(1) The range of cases in which the amount of the allowance is entirely discretionary should be gradually narrowed as the result of the improved classification of cases of want, and the establishment of budgets corresponding to the cost of maintenance in short-term and long-term indigency.

(2) The grant of allowance may be subject to compliance by the recipient with directions given by the authorities administering medical or employment services in order that the assistance may yield its greatest constructive effect.

RESOLUTION CONCERNING SOCIAL SECURITY IN ASIATIC COUNTRIES

Whereas the proposals for the promotion of social security before the Committee are for the most part inapplicable to Asiatic countries such as India in their present stage of industrial development, and

Whereas the Asiatic Member States constitute a large part of the world with vast populations which should not be excluded from the benefits of the proposed measures for the promotion of social security, having regard to the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation,

This Committee recommends that an Asiatic regional conference be held at as early a date as possible and that the question of the organisation of social security be included in the agenda of that conference.

Philadelphia, 8 May 1944.

(Signed)

GUILLERMO PADILLA CASTRO,
Chairman.

EMIL SHOENBAUM,
Reporter.

(2) Second Report of the Committee on Social Security.

SOCIAL SECURITY FOR PERSONS DISCHARGED FROM THE ARMED FORCES, ETC.

The Office text in the form of a proposed Recommendation provides for the social security of members of the armed forces and assimilated services under three heads: mustering-out grant; unemployment insurance and assistance; and pension and sickness insurance.

The expression "assimilated services" which occurs in all the paragraphs seemed to some members to be too vague and an explanation was requested. The Representative of the Secretary-General explained that it was meant to include women's services, civilian defence services and the like, but that each country was of course free to determine the precise meaning of the term. Apprehensions were expressed, particularly on behalf of the occupied countries, that the benefits to be paid under the proposed Recommendation might involve a disproportionately heavy charge on the national revenue which would have to meet other categories of need resulting from the war and perhaps equally deserving of assistance.

Each paragraph of the Office text was adopted individually. A few amendments, of form rather than substance, were left to be incorporated in the text by the Drafting Committee.

The Committee decided to transmit the text to the Conference with a view to its adoption as a Recommendation. Some employers, however, maintained the view, which they had already expressed, that the decision whether the single or double discussion procedure should be applied, should be left to the Conference.

MUSTERING-OUT GRANT

The Office text was as follows:

1. Persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services should receive on their

See Proceedings, p. 216.
discharge a special grant, which may be related to their length of service and should be paid in the form of a lump sum, in the form of periodical payments, or partly in the form of a lump sum and partly in the form of periodical payments.

Paragraph 1 of the Office text provides for the payment of a special grant to persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services.

The Brazilian Government member explained that in Brazil persons called up for service continue to receive half their wages in addition to their service pay and that, in the circumstances, the payment of a special grant on discharge might be considered unnecessary. It was agreed to take this point into account, and, subject to this observation, paragraph 1 was adopted.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE AND ASSISTANCE

The Office text was as follows:

2. Persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services, so far as administratively practicable, be treated under unemployment insurance schemes as insured contributors in respect of whose contributions have been paid for a period equal to their period of service. The resulting financial liability should be borne by the State.

3. Where persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services or from war employment exhaust their right to benefit before suitable employment is offered to them, or are not covered by an unemployment insurance scheme, an allowance financed wholly from State funds should be paid, irrespective of need, until suitable employment is available.

Paragraph 2 provides that in countries where unemployment insurance schemes exist, discharged persons should be treated as persons who have been insured throughout their period of service, so that on discharge they may be entitled to benefits. This paragraph was adopted.

Paragraph 3 deals with the situation of persons discharged from the armed and assimilated services from war employment and who exhaust their right to insurance benefit before they find suitable employment or who are not covered by unemployment insurance at all. A question as to how “war employment” might be defined received the response from the Representative of the Secretary-General that this could be left to national laws to determine. A member pointed out that some countries might find themselves obliged to apply a needs test in the grant of unemployment assistance and that this possibility ought to be taken into account.

In connection with these paragraphs the Brazilian Government member mentioned that in his country mobilized workers were guaranteed reinstatement in their previous employment, so that the provisions here proposed were not necessary in Brazil.

PENSION AND SICKNESS INSURANCE

The Office text was as follows:

4. (1) Where a compulsory insurance scheme providing pensions in case of invalidity, old age or death, and covering the majority of the working population is in force, periods of service in the armed forces and assimilated services should be reckoned as contribution periods for the purpose of determining whether any requirement in regard to a minimum qualifying period has been fulfilled.

(2) Where the rate of pension varies with the number of contributions credited to the insured person, the period of service should be taken into account for the purpose of increasing the rate of pension.

(3) Where contributions are graduated according to remuneration, contributions should be credited in respect of periods of service on the basis of a uniform hypothetical remuneration of reasonable amount: Provided that contributions credited to persons insured immediately before beginning their service may be based on the remuneration which they were receiving at that time if such remuneration was higher than the hypothetical remuneration.

(4) Persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services should retain, during the period between their discharge and the time at which they can be considered to be re-established in civil life, their rights in respect of the contributions credited to their account; in no case should this period be less than twelve months.

5. (1) Where a compulsory insurance scheme providing sickness, maternity and medical benefits and covering the majority of the working population is in force, persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services should be entitled to such benefits in respect of sickness or childbirth occurring during the period between their discharge and the time at which they can be considered to be re-established in civil life; in no case should this period be less than twelve months.

(2) Where the compulsory insurance scheme provides maternity and medical benefits for the dependants of insured persons, discharged persons should be entitled to such benefits for their dependants.

(3) Where the rate of sickness benefits is proportional to the remuneration of the insured person, the rate of benefit payable to discharged persons should be based on a uniform hypothetical remuneration of reasonable amount.

6. The States should bear the liability created by crediting persons serving in the armed forces or assimilated services with pension insurance contributions and insuring them against sickness pending their re-establishment in civil life: Provided that, where the pay of any class of such persons may, having regard to the value of their subsistence and of dependants’ allowances, be considered at least equivalent on the whole to the wages prevailing in industry, a portion of the pension insurance contribution may be deducted from their service pay.

Paragraphs 4 and 5 provide for the crediting of contributions to pension insurance during the period of service in the armed and assimilated services for the maintenance of rights after discharge for a period of at least twelve months.

Paragraph 5 contains corresponding provisions in connection with sickness insurance.

Paragraphs 4 and 5 were adopted with slight drafting changes.

Paragraph 6 provides that the State
should as a rule bear the liability created by crediting insurance rights to members of the armed forces or assimilated services. Here again Brazil presented a special situation, since mobilised workers, drawing as they do part of their pay, are required to continue their contributions during service as are likewise their employers and the State.

DRAFT RECOMMENDATION CONCERNING INCOME SECURITY AND MEDICAL CARE FOR PERSONS DISCHARGED FROM THE ARMED FORCES AND ASSIMILATED SERVICES AND FROM WAR EMPLOYMENT

Whereas persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services have been obliged to interrupt their careers and will be faced with initial expenditure in re-establishing themselves in civil life;

Whereas persons discharged from the armed forces or assimilated services or from war employment may in certain cases remain unemployed for a time before obtaining suitable employment;

Whereas it is undesirable that persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services should find themselves at a disadvantage in respect of pension insurance as compared with persons who have remained in civil employment, and the Invalidity, Old-Age and Survivors' Insurance Recommendation, 1933, while providing for the maintenance of the rights under pension insurance schemes of persons engaged in military service who were insured before beginning such service, does not provide for the attribution of any rights under such schemes to persons not insured before entering military service;

Whereas it is desirable that persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services should be protected by insurance in respect of sickness occurring between their discharge and their re-establishment in civil life by entry into insurable employment or otherwise; and

Whereas it is necessary to make equitable provision in regard to these matters without prejudice to the satisfaction of other essential needs, such as those of military and civilian war victims, which must also be a charge on the national income;

The Conference recommends the Members of the Organisation to apply the following principles and to communicate information to the International Labour Office, as requested by the Governing Body, concerning the measures taken to give effect to these principles:

I. MUSTERING-OUT GRANT

1. Persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services should, except in cases in which they have, in virtue of national laws or regulations, continued to receive a substantial part of their remuneration, receive on their discharge a special grant, which may be related to their length of service and should be paid in the form of a lump sum, in the form of periodical payments, or partly in the form of a lump sum and partly in the form of periodical payments.

II. UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE AND ASSISTANCE

2. Persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services should, so far as is administratively practicable, be treated under unemployment insurance schemes as insured contributors in respect of whom contributions have been paid for a period equal to their period of service. The resulting financial liability should be borne by the State.

3. Where persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services or from war employment, as defined by national laws or regulations, exhaust their right to benefit before suitable employment is offered to them, or are not covered by an unemployment insurance scheme, an allowance financed wholly from State funds should be paid until suitable employment is available; the allowance should, if possible, be paid irrespective of need.

III. PENSION AND SICKNESS INSURANCE

4. (1) Where a compulsory insurance scheme providing pensions in case of invalidity, old age or death and covering a substantial part of the working population is in force, periods of service in the armed forces and assimilated services should be reckoned as contribution periods for the purpose of determining whether any requirement in regard to a minimum qualifying period has been fulfilled.

(2) Where the rate of pension varies with the number of contributions credited to the insured person, the period of service should be taken into account for the purpose of increasing the rate of pension.

(3) Where contributions are graduated according to remuneration, contributions should be credited in respect of periods of service on the basis of a uniform hypothetical remuneration of reasonable amount: Provided that contributions credited to persons insured immediately before beginning their service may be based on the remuneration which they were receiving at the time if such remuneration was
higher than the hypothetical remuneration.

(4) Persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services should retain, during the period between their discharge and the time at which they can be considered to be re-established in civil life, their rights in respect of the contributions credited to their account; these rights should be maintained for a period of not less than twelve months.

5. (1) Where a compulsory insurance scheme providing sickness, maternity and medical benefits and covering a substantial part of the working population is in force, persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services should be entitled to such benefits in respect of sickness or childbirth occurring during the period between their discharge and the time at which they can be considered to be re-established in civil life; these rights should be maintained for a period of not less than twelve months.

(2) Where the compulsory insurance scheme provides maternity and medical benefits for the dependants of insured persons, discharged persons protected by the scheme should be entitled to such benefits for their dependants.

(3) Where the rate of sickness benefits is proportional to the remuneration of the insured person, the rate of benefit payable to discharged persons should be based on a uniform hypothetical remuneration of reasonable amount.

6. (1) The State should bear the liability created by crediting persons serving in the armed forces or assimilated services with pension insurance contributions and insuring them against sickness pending their re-establishment in civil life: Provided that, where the pay of any class of such persons may, having regard to the value of their subsistence and dependants' allowances, be considered at least equivalent on the whole to the wages prevailing in industry, a portion of the pension insurance contribution may be deducted from their service pay.

(2) The provisions of subparagraph (1) shall not apply in cases where, in virtue of national laws or regulations, such persons continue to receive, during their service, a substantial part of their remuneration, and the normal contributions required by law continue to be payable in respect of them.

Philadelphia, 8 May 1944.

(Signed) G. PADILLA CASTRO, Chairman.

E. SHOENBAUM, Reporter.

(3) Third Report of the Committee on Social Security.1

MEDICAL CARE SERVICES

The Subcommittee on Medical Care Services set up in accordance with the decisions of the Committee on Social Security held its first sitting in the afternoon of 1 May 1944 and has altogether held five sittings.

The following were the members of the Subcommittee:

Government members:
United States of America: Mr. Altmeier.
Brazil: Mr. Xavier Lopes.
Chile: Mr. Bustos Acevedo.
Egypt: Mr. Ramzy.
Netherlands: Mrs. Polak.
Venezuela: Mr. Lares Gabaldón.

Substitutes:
Australia: Mr. Barnard.
Brazil: Mr. di Piero.
Canada: Mr. Weir.
Haiti: Mr. Thébaud.

Employers' members:
Mr. Ashurst (British Empire).
Mr. Dennison (United States of America).
Mr. Williams (Union of South Africa).

Substitutes:
Mr. Kean (British Empire).
Mr. Mulherkar (India).

Workers' members:
Dame Anne Loughlin (British Empire).
Mr. Johansen (Norway).
Mr. Kosina (Czecho-Slovakia).

Substitutes:
Miss Hancock (British Empire).
Mr. Liu Hsuan-tsui (China).

On the proposal of Mr. Helvecio Xavier Lopes, Mr. Bustos Acevedo, Chilean Government member, was appointed Chairman.

1 See Proceedings, p. 221.
Mr. Flores and Miss Bodmer attended as assistant representatives of the Secretary-General.

It was decided to discuss the proposed Recommendation on medical care paragraph by paragraph.

I. GENERAL

Essential Features of Medical Care Services

The Office text was as follows:

1. A medical care service should meet the need of the individual for care by members of the medical and allied professions and for such other facilities as are provided at medical institutions:
   (a) with a view to restoring the individual's health, preventing the further development of disease and alleviating suffering, when he is afflicted by ill health (curative care); and
   (b) with a view to protecting and improving his health when it is threatened (preventive care).

2. The nature and extent of the care provided by the service should be defined by law.

3. The authorities or bodies responsible for the administration of the service should secure medical care for its beneficiaries, preferably by contracting with members of the medical or allied professions and by arranging for hospital and other institutional services.

4. The cost of the service should be met from funds raised by a progressive tax specifically imposed for the purpose of financing the medical care service or all health services, or by general income tax.

5. Medical care should be provided either through a public medical care service, or through a social insurance medical care service with supplementary provision by way of social assistance to meet the requirements of needy persons not covered by social insurance.

6. Where medical care is provided through a public medical care service—
   (a) every member of the community should be entitled to all care provided by the service;
   (b) the service should be financed out of funds raised by a progressive tax specifically imposed for the purpose of financing the medical care service or all health services, or by general income tax.

7. Where medical care is provided through a social insurance medical care service—
   (a) every insured person, including a dependent wife or husband and a dependent child, should be entitled to all care provided by the service;
   (b) care for other persons if they are unable to obtain it at their own expense should be provided by way of social assistance;
   (c) the service should be financed by contributions from insured persons and possibly from their employers, and by subsidies from public funds to meet the cost of care not covered by such contributions.

On the proposal of Mr. Lares, seconded by Dame Anne Loughlin, the words "when it is threatened" in paragraph 1 (b) were deleted.

In reply to a question raised by Mr. Thébaud, it was pointed out that the definition referred to in paragraph 2 might be contained either in a special act on medical care services or in a general act on social security, as the case might be. The purpose of this paragraph was to distinguish the compulsory medical care service from schemes created by private initiative. Paragraph 2 was then adopted without amendment.

Mr. di Piero pointed out that the words "preferably by contracting with members of the medical and allied professions" in paragraph 3, would, according to their usage of the term "contracting", exclude the Brazilian system under which medical officers were employed by the administration of the service. At his suggestion, the text was redrafted, the words "securing the services of" being substituted for "preferably by contracting with".

A prolonged discussion ensued on paragraph 4; Dame Anne Loughlin asked whether a person was able to contribute to the cost of the service?

Mr. Mulherkar, on the other hand, objected to the word "levy" which had a special meaning in India, and desired the service to be a charge on the general revenue of the country.

Mr. Altmeeyer thought it advisable to state explicitly that the paragraph also referred to social insurance, and suggested the substitution of the words "contributions related to the income of insured persons or to the income of members of the community, or both" for "levies on the income of members of the community to pay". He also suggested reversing the order of the following paragraphs, so as to place social insurance first in every case.

Mr. Weir pointed out that paragraph 4 served as a background for paragraphs 6 and 7, of which the former dealt with a public medical service and the latter with health insurance.

Mr. Ashurst thought that paragraph 4 should rather come after paragraphs 6 and 7.

After a further exchange of opinions, it was decided to leave the discussion of paragraph 4, 6(b) and 7(c) over to the next sitting, and to ask the Office to submit a redrafted text taking account of the various suggestions voiced at the sitting.

In the discussion on paragraph 5, Mr. Lares stressed the desirability of extending the coverage of social insurance also to the most needy by letting the State pay contributions on their behalf. It was pointed out by the representatives of the Office that paragraph 15 provided for this case. After further debate on this point, in which Dame Anne Loughlin, Mr. Altmeeyer, Mr. Barnard, Mr. Ashurst, Mr. di Piero and the Chairman took part, it was made clear that social assistance was provided for as a transitional measure only, pending the extension of social insurance to the whole population, including indigents.

The advisability of providing in the Recommendation for two forms of medical care services, namely, social insurance and
public service, was questioned by a number of members, including Dame Anne Loughlin, Mr. Thébaud, Mr. Lares, Mr. Kosina and Mr. di Piero.

Mr. Barnard, however, declared that Australia did not desire social insurance. They preferred a service financed by a graduated tax under which everybody would pay according to his ability. They were prepared to accept this part of the Recommendation because other countries might prefer social insurance to a public medical care service but expected the others to do the same and not to oppose the inclusion of the provisions concerning a public service, as an alternative to insurance.

Mr. Williams emphasised the variety of economic conditions in different countries, and in particular drew attention to the difficulties in countries with a mixed population of which one section was in an economically weaker position than the others.

Mr. Weir also pointed to the wide diversity of conditions. Canada was not yet in favour of State medicine, and therefore proposed to introduce health insurance; both alternatives were left open in the Recommendation and there was no contradiction. The representatives of the Office confirmed that, under the provisions recommended, countries might choose social insurance or a public service to provide medical care for the whole population according to their desire.

The text proposed by the I.L.O. was accepted, subject to mentioning social insurance first.

Paragraph 6 (a) was agreed to.

Mr. di Piero proposed to insert in paragraph 7 (a) "and dependent parents" after the words "dependent children". In the ensuing discussion it was made clear that such dependants would be covered by the procedure suggested in paragraphs 12 to 19.

Mr. Falk suggested the use of the more general term "qualified dependants" without mentioning specifically which dependants were to be covered. He also desired to state explicitly that the same care as was provided for insured contributors should be made available to persons unable to pay contributions and that contributions should be paid on their behalf by the public authorities. The representatives of the Office drew attention to the fact that such persons were also insured and therefore included under paragraph 7 (a) as proposed by the Office. After a further exchange of opinions, it was agreed that the Office redraft this section for submission to the next sitting of the Subcommittee.

The text of paragraphs 1 to 7, as re-drafted by the Office was submitted to the Subcommittee at its second sitting, and paragraphs 4, 6 (c) and 7 (b) (new text) were brought up for discussion.

The Office text was as follows:

1. A medical care service should meet the need of the individual for care by members of the medical and allied professions and for such other facilities as are provided at medical institutions—

(a) with a view to restoring the individual's health, preventing the further development of disease and alleviating suffering, when he is afflicted by ill health (curative care); and

(b) with a view to protecting and improving his health (preventive care).

2. The nature and extent of the care provided by the service should be defined by law.

3. The authorities or bodies responsible for the administration of the service should provide medical care for its beneficiaries by securing the services of members of the medical and allied professions and by arranging for hospital and other institutional services.

4. The cost of the service should be met collectively by regular periodical payments which may take the form of social insurance contributions or of taxes, or of both.

Forms of Medical Care Service

5. Medical care should be provided either through a social insurance medical care service with supplementary provision by way of social assistance to meet the requirements of needy persons not yet covered by social insurance, or through a public medical care service.

6. Where medical care is provided through a social insurance medical care service—

(a) every insured contributor and his qualified dependants, including a dependent wife or husband and dependent children, as well as every other person insured by virtue of contributions paid on his behalf, should be entitled to all care provided by the service;

(b) care for persons not yet insured should be provided by way of social assistance if they are unable to obtain it at their own expense; and

(c) the service should be financed by contributions from insured persons, and possibly from their employers, and by subsidies from public funds, to meet the cost of care not covered by such contributions.

7. Where medical care is provided through a public medical care service—

(a) every member of the community should be entitled to all care provided by the service;

(b) the service should be financed out of the funds raised either by a progressive tax specifically imposed for the purpose of financing the medical care service or of financing all health services, or by general income tax.

Mr. Lares objected to the word "collectively" in paragraph 4, and proposed that the cost should be met out of funds obtained from contributions related to the income of the insured, contributions from the employers of labour, and from subsidies from public funds, to meet the costs which are not covered by these contributions. It was explained, however, that this version would not cover the public medical care service. Mr. Mulherkar then proposed the following redrafting of paragraph 4: "The cost of the service should be met from contributions related to the
income of the insured persons, or from the general revenues of the State, or both." Mr. Ashurst did not wish to relate contributions to income if this meant a percentage of wages or other income, and preferred the Office version. Mr. Mulherkar observed that the original text proposed by the Office related contributions to ability to pay. The Office representatives pointed out that the redrafted text took account of the desire expressed by the Subcommittee at its first meeting to delete reference to ability to pay. Dame Anne Loughlin proposed to adopt the new version prepared by the Office. Mr. Mulherkar thereupon withdrew his amendment and paragraph 4 was agreed to in the amended form.

Mr. Bhole proposed the deletion of the word "possibly" in paragraph 6 (c) as redrafted.

Mr. Falk enquired why the I.L.O. had restricted the obligation of the employer to contribute to the cost by this formula. Employers, it was stated in the reply, would evidently be required to contribute under a scheme limited to employed persons; with the extension of social insurance to the entire population, however, including self-employed, indigents and other sections, it might be thought preferable, not to exempt employers from contributing to the cost of the service, but to let them contribute as taxpayers to the insurance of all classes of the population.

Mr. di Piero and Dame Anne Loughlin agreed to the deletion of the word "possibly".

The Chairman suggested also to delete the word "and", as in this way it would be made quite clear that the State had to subsidise the insurance of the self-employed.

Mr. Mulherkar, seconded by Mr. Lares, then proposed to delete the words "to meet the cost of care not covered by such contributions" at the end of subparagraph (c) of paragraph 6. The State should be obliged to subsidise social insurance.

The redrafted text of paragraph 6 was then adopted, subject to these amendments, and paragraph 7 (b) was also adopted in the redrafted form.

II. PERSONS COVERED

Complete Coverage

The Office text was as follows:

8. The medical care service should aim at covering all members of the community, whether or not they be gainfully occupied.

9. Where the whole of the population is to be covered by the service and it is desired to integrate medical care with general health services, a public service may be appropriate.

10. Where the service is limited to a section of the population or to a specified area, or where the existing machinery already exists for other branches of social insurance and it is possible ultimately to bring under the insurance scheme the whole or the majority of the population, social insurance may be appropriate.

Dame Anne Loughlin proposed to substitute the word "cover" for "aim at covering" in paragraph 8 of the original text. Mr. Lares supported this amendment, which was agreed to by the Subcommittee. Paragraph 9 was accepted without change except for a drafting amendment in the Spanish text, suggested by Mr. di Piero.

Paragraph 10 was adopted without amendment.

Coverage through a Public Medical Care Service

The Office text was as follows:

11. Where medical care is provided through a public medical care service, the provision of care should not depend on any qualifying conditions, such as payment of taxes or compliance with a means test, and all beneficiaries should have an equal right to the care provided.

Mr. Lares suggested replacing "beneficiaries" by "members of the community" so as to make it quite clear that the service should cover everybody; not only permanent residents but also those temporarily present should be entitled to care.

Paragraph 11 was adopted with this amendment.

Coverage through a Social Insurance Medical Care Service

The Office text was as follows:

12. Where medical care is provided through a social insurance medical care service, all members of the community should have the right to care as insured persons, or, pending their inclusion in the scope of insurance, should have the right to receive care at the expense of the public authority when unable to provide it for themselves.

13. All adults whose income exceeds the subsistence level should be required to pay insurance contributions.

14. The dependent wife or husband of an adult contributor should be insured in virtue of the contribution of her or his breadwinner, without any addition on that account.

15. Other adults who prove that their income does not exceed the subsistence level should preferably be entitled to care as insured persons, the contribution being paid on their behalf by the public authority.

16. If and so long as adults unable to pay the contribution are not insured as provided in paragraph 15, they should receive care at the expense of the public authority.

17. All children under the age of 16 years or who are dependent on others for regular support while continuing their general or vocational education, should be insured in virtue of contributions paid by or on behalf of adult insured persons in general, and no additional contribution should be payable on their behalf by their parents or guardians.

18. If and so long as children are not insured as provided in paragraph 17, because the service does not extend to the whole population, they should be insured in virtue of the contribution paid by or on behalf of their father or mother without any addition on that account, or where
they are orphans or abandoned or otherwise in need of care should receive care at the expense of the public authority.

18. Where any person is insured under a scheme of social insurance for cash benefits or is receiving benefit under such a scheme, he and his dependent wife and dependent children should also be insured under the medical care service.

Mr. Lares wished to combine paragraphs 12 and 15 by deleting all words after “insured persons” in the fourth line of paragraph 12, and substituting the text of paragraph 15 for the deleted text. Mr. di Piero, however, pointed out that this would not suit his country, as they were not yet in a position to dispense with social assistance and to unify all medical care services. Mr. Falk observed that paragraph 12 stated the general principle, while paragraphs 13 to 19 offered illustrations as to how this principle could be applied. These paragraphs, however, followed only one particular pattern which was practically non-existent as yet. He thought that the text should not be confined to this one pattern, and intended to submit to the Drafting Committee suggestions for an alternative method of application. If the service was to cover the whole population, no further problems arose, but under a limited scheme it would not be advisable to separate the right to care of the parents from that of the children, and thus to divide the family. The Chairman reiterated the purpose of this chapter to provide for the ultimate inclusion of the whole population under social insurance, thus leaving nobody to be looked after by social assistance. The methods proposed were the same as those planned in the Chilean bill for the extension of social insurance.

Paragraph 12 was then agreed to without amendment.

Dame Anne Loughlin inquired about the definition of “adults” in paragraph 13. It was explained that “adults” were meant to include all persons who did not come under the definition of “children” in paragraph 17. The text would have to be redrafted to make this clear. Dame Anne Loughlin also wished to know what exactly was meant by “persons whose income does not exceed the subsistence level”, and whether these mainly included indigents. Mr. Lares observed that persons whose income was below subsistence level need not necessarily be indigents. The Office, it was stated, had thought that it would be more precise to refer to “persons whose income did not exceed the subsistence level” than to “indigents”, which was a rather vague notion.

Mr. Mulherkar then submitted an amendment to the effect that it should be the obligation of the State Member to lay down rules as to what constitutes the subsistence level in his country. He did not think it advisable for the International Labour Office to determine the subsistence levels in different countries.

The Chairman proposed that paragraphs 13 and 15 be referred to the Drafting Committee, which should take into account the discussion as well as Mr. Mulherkar’s amendment. Once the whole population was insured for medical care, it would also be understood that all should have at least a subsistence income.

Mr. Lares suggested substituting in paragraph 14 “qualified dependants” for “dependent wife or husband”, but it was pointed out that the principle of including the dependent wife and children in virtue of the breadwinner’s contribution had already been sanctioned by international Conventions.

The Chairman remarked that once the insurance service applied to everybody, all dependants, including mothers and fathers, aunts and grandmothers, etc., would anyhow be insured.

Paragraph 14, as proposed by the I.L.O., was then agreed to without amendment.

Mr. Lares wished to delete in paragraph 15 the word “preferably”, which gave the impression that indigents should have a preferential right to being insured. The Chairman declared that paragraph 15 would be redrafted together with paragraph 13, as previously decided.

Paragraph 16 was agreed to without amendment.

An amendment to paragraph 17 submitted by Mr. Di Piero proposed to substitute the age limit of 18 years for that of 16 years, as this was the age limit prescribed in Brazil and a number of other countries. Following an exchange of opinion in which the Chairman, Mr. Lares and Mr. di Piero took part, the Office representatives recalled that 16 years was the age limit already provided for in international Conventions. The adoption of this minimum limit would not preclude countries from fixing a higher age limit in their own legislation. It was finally agreed to add after the words “16 years” “or such higher age as may be prescribed”.

Paragraph 18 was agreed to without amendment, except for some redrafting of the Spanish text.

As to paragraph 19, “qualified dependants, including a dependent wife or husband and dependent children” was substituted for “his dependent wife and dependent children”.

III. THE PROVISION OF MEDICAL CARE AND ITS CO-ORDINATION WITH GENERAL HEALTH SERVICES

Range of Service

The Office text was as follows:

20. Complete preventive and curative care should be constantly available, rationally organised and co-ordinated with general health services.

Mr. di Piero wished to insert “as far as possible” before the word “co-ordinated” in the third line of paragraph 20. In reply to a question by Dame Anne Loughlin, the Chairman explained that this para-
graph dealt with the co-ordination of medical care services and general health services, and not the co-ordination of different medical care services. The text proposed by the Office was adopted, subject to Mr. di Piero's amendment.

Constant Availability of Complete Care

The Office text was as follows:

21. Complete preventive and curative care should be available at any time and place to all members of the community covered by the service, on the same conditions, without any hindrance or barrier of an administrative, financial or political nature, or otherwise unrelated to health matters.

22. The care afforded should comprise both general-practitioner and specialist outpatient and in-patient care, including domiciliary visiting; dental care; nursing care at home or in hospital; physical therapy, sanatoria or other medical institutions; together with the requisite dental, pharmaceutical and other medical or surgical supplies, including artificial limbs, and the care furnished by such other professions as may at any time be legally recognised as belonging to the allied professions.

23. All care and supplies should be available at any time and without time limit, when and as long as they are needed, subject only to the doctor's judgment and to such reasonable limitations as may be imposed by the technical organisation of the service.

24. Beneficiaries should be able to obtain care at the centres or offices provided, wherever they happen to be when the need arises, whether at their place of residence or elsewhere within the total area in which the service is available, irrespective of their membership in any particular insurance institution, arrears in contributions or of other non-health factors.

25. The administration of the medical care service should be unified for appropriate health areas sufficiently large for a self-contained and well balanced service, and should be centrally supervised.

26. Where the medical care service covers only a section of the population or is at present administered by different types of insurance institutions and authorities, care should be secured collectively by the institutions and authorities concerned through joint contracts with, or employment of members of the medical and allied professions, and by the joint establishment or maintenance of health-centres and other medical institutions, pending the regional and national unification of the services.

27. Arrangements should be made by the administration of the services for securing adequate hospital and other residential accommodation and care, either by contracts with existing public and approved private institutions, or by the establishment and maintenance of appropriate institutions.

Paragraph 21 was agreed to without amendment.

Mr. di Piero proposed to insert "in so far as possible" after the words "together with" in the seventh line of paragraph 22. It would not be possible in all countries to provide immediately all the supplies enumerated in this paragraph, however desirable this might be. The proposed text was adopted, subject to the insertion suggested.

As to paragraph 23, it was explained, in reply to a question put by Mr. Williams, that "such reasonable limitations as may be imposed by the technical organisation of the service" referred to certain inevitable delays such as the provision of transport for patients in rural areas to towns with hospitals or specialist centres, or the necessity for patients to await their turn at a busy health centre. Provision was made in paragraph 56 to avoid as far as possible long hours of waiting by arranging for consultation by appointment. Mr. Williams thought that some overriding control might be desirable, and that provisions for appeal by beneficiaries against the doctor's decisions should be allowed. His attention was drawn to paragraphs 65 as well as 64 and 110 which dealt with these matters. Mr. Williams suggested that reference to these paragraphs be made in paragraph 22.

Mr. Falk preferred to substitute "the patient's need" for "the doctor's judgment", and Mr. Williams seconded this motion. The Chairman considered that the patient's need, or rather desire, could not be the only criterion. Some limitation would be necessary, as was shown by the experience in Chile, where millions had been wasted on useless tonics claimed by the patients. Mr. Falk, however, thought that the problem would not be solved by making the granting of care subject to the doctor's judgment.

Paragraph 23 was finally adopted as it stood.

Mr. Lares would have liked to replace the word "beneficiaries" in paragraph 24 by "members of the community", but the Chairman pointed out that "beneficiaries" was the usual technical term; moreover, this paragraph also applied to services of limited scope.

Paragraph 24 was adopted without amendment.

Paragraph 25 was also agreed to as it stood after Dame Anne Loughlin had been assured that it left considerable latitude to Governments for adaptation to national conditions.

Mr. di Piero asked to delete in paragraph 26 the reference to "joint contracts" for the reasons already given in the discussion of paragraph 3. His wish was acceded to and paragraph 26 was adopted with the substitution of the words "care should be provided by the institutions and authorities concerned through joint contracts" for the words "care should be secured collectively by the institutions and authorities concerned through joint contracts with, or employment of ".

Rational Organisation of Medical Care Service

The Office text was as follows:

28. The optimum of medical care should be made readily available through an organisation that ensures the greatest possible economy and efficiency by the pooling of knowledge, staff, equipment and other resources, and by close contact and collaboration among all participating
members of the medical and allied professions and agencies.

29. The wholehearted participation of the greatest possible number of members of the medical and allied professions is essential for the success of any national medical care service. The number and proportion of general practitioners, specialists, dentists, nurses and other professions within the service should be adapted to the distribution of the needs of the beneficiaries.

30. Complete diagnostic and treatment facilities, including laboratory and x-ray services, should be available to the general practitioner, and all specialist advice and care, as well as nursing, pharmacy, pharmaceutical and other auxiliary services, and residential accommodation, should be at the disposal of the general practitioner for the use of his patients.

31. Complete and up-to-date technical equipment for all branches of specialist treatment, including dental care, should be available, and specialists should have at their disposal all necessary hospital and research facilities, and auxiliary out-patient services such as nursing, through the agency of the general practitioner.

32. To achieve these aims, care should preferably be furnished co-operatively at centres of various kinds working in effective relation with hospitals and group practice at health centres.

33. Pending the establishment of, and experiments with, group practice at health centres, it would be appropriate to obtain care for beneficiaries from members of the medical and allied professions practising at their own offices.

34. Where the medical care service covers the majority of the population, health centres may appropriately be built, equipped and operated by the authority administering the service in the health area, in one of the forms indicated in paragraphs 35, 36 and 37.

35. Where no adequate facilities exist or where a system of hospitals with out-patient departments for general-practitioner and specialist treatment already obtains in the health area at the time when the medical care service is introduced, hospitals may appropriately be established as, or developed into, health centres providing all kinds of in- and out-patient care and complemented by local outposts for general-practitioner care and for auxiliary services.

36. Where general practice is well developed outside the hospital system while specialists are mainly consultants and working at hospitals, it may be appropriate to establish health centres for non-residential general-practitioner and specialist practice, and to centralise specialist in-patient and out-patient care at hospitals.

37. Where general and specialist practice are well developed outside the hospital system, it may be appropriate to establish health centres for all non-residential treatment, general-practitioner and specialist, and all auxiliary services, while cases needing residential care are directed from the centres to the hospitals.

38. Where the medical care service does not cover the majority of the population but has a substantial number of beneficiaries, and existing hospital and other medical facilities are inadequate, the insurance institution, or insurance institutions jointly, should establish a system of health centres which afford all care, including hospital accommodations at the main centres, and transport arrangements; such centres may be required to serve particularly in sparsely settled areas with a scattered insured population.

39. Where the medical care service covers too small a section for complete health centres to be an economical means of serving its beneficiaries, and existing facilities for specialist treatment in the area are inadequate, it may be appropriate for the insurance institution, or the institutions jointly, to maintain posts at which specialists attend beneficiaries as required.

40. Where the medical care service covers a relatively small section of the population concentrated in an area with extensive private practice, it may be appropriate for the members of the medical and allied professions practising in the service to co-operate at centres rented, equipped and administered by the members, at which both beneficiaries of the service and private patients receive care.

41. Where the medical care service covers only a small number of beneficiaries who are scattered over a populated area with adequate existing facilities, and co-operative group practice is not feasible, beneficiaries may appropriately receive care from members of the medical and allied professions practising at their own offices, and at public and approved private hospitals and other medical institutions.

42. Traveling clinics in motor vans or aircraft, equipped for first aid, dental treatment, general examination and possibly other health services such as maternal and infant health services, should be provided for serving areas with a scattered population and remote from towns or cities, and completed by transport arrangements for conveying patients to centres and hospitals.

Paragraph 28 was adopted without amendment.

Paragraph 29 was also agreed to as it stood.

As to paragraphs 30 and 31, the texts proposed were passed, subject only to a drafting amendment of the Spanish text of paragraph 30.

Some misunderstanding was caused by the use of the word "co-operatively" in paragraph 32, and it was decided to have the text redrafted so as to make it clear that group practice only was referred to and not co-operative institutions. Paragraphs 32 and 33 were adopted subject to such redrafting.

Paragraphs 34 to 37 were then passed without amendments.

Paragraph 38 was amended by the insertion of the words "if possible" before "transport arrangements" in the ninth line, on the proposal of Mr. di Piero, who drew attention to the difficulties of providing transport in remote parts of Brazil.

After an exchange of opinions in which Dame Anne Loughlin, Mr. Lares, Mr. di Piero, the Chairman, and others took part, it was decided, at the suggestion of Mr. Thébaud, to use throughout the text "medical or health centres". As had been pointed out by Dame Anne Loughlin, "medical centre" alone would not have been a satisfactory term, because frequently both medical care and general health services were given at the same centre.

Paragraph 40 was approved, subject to the substitution of "collaborate" for "co-operate". This paragraph, it was stated, provided for voluntary group practice by doctors working for the medical care service where health centres could not, for the reasons mentioned, be organised by the administration of the service.

As to paragraph 41, "co-operative group practice" was replaced by "voluntary group practice provided for in paragraph 40".

On the proposal of Dame Anne Loughlin, it was agreed that paragraph 42 be re-
drafted so as to provide for free transport of patients in rural areas to centres or hospitals, with a view to securing for the inhabitants of these areas the best possible services, which might only be available at larger centres equipped for residential and specialist treatment.

Collaboration with General Health Services

The Office text was as follows:

43. There should be available to the beneficiaries of the medical care service all general health services, being services providing means for the whole community and/or groups of individuals to promote and protect their health while it is not yet threatened or known to be threatened, whether such services be given by members of the medical and allied professions or otherwise; general health services include maternal and infant health services, health visiting, immunisation, industrial hygiene services, preventive examinations, health education, nutrition services, and like measures.

44. The medical care service should be provided in close co-ordination with general health services, by combining medical care and general health services in one public service, or by means of joint bodies of the social insurance institutions providing medical care and the authorities administering the general health services.

45. Local co-ordination of medical care and general health services should be aimed at either by establishing medical care centres in proximity to the headquarters for general health services, or by establishing common centres as headquarters for all or most health services.

46. The members of the medical and allied professions participating in the medical care service were often engaged in such health work as infant care, health visiting, health education, etc. These workers were found to be covered by the Spanish equivalent for "allied professions", and redrafting of the Spanish text was accordingly decided upon.

Mrs. Polak doubted the necessity of maintaining paragraph 43, as general health services were already available to the whole population. It was pointed out that paragraph 43 gave the definition of general health services which led up to the provisions of paragraphs 44 to 46, aiming at the co-ordination, both local and technical, of medical care and general health services.

On the proposal of Mr. Larens, the enumeration, by way of illustration, of some specified general health services at the end of paragraph 43 was deleted, as it might be interpreted in a limitative sense. Mr. Weir suggested the insertion of a special introductory chapter giving the definitions of all terms that required definition, such as is usually contained in national laws.

Mr. Thébaud doubted whether certain expensive health services could be placed at the disposal of all beneficiaries of the medical care service. The Chairman and Mr. Larens considered this a justified ambition. Moreover, the proposed Recommendation did not deal with general health services as such, but only with the co-ordination of these services and the medical care service.

Paragraph 43 was then adopted subject to the deletion of the enumeration of health services. At the suggestion of the Chairman, it was agreed that in the Spanish text the term "salubridad", which referred to sanitation rather than to general health services, should be replaced by the term "salud".

Paragraph 44 was adopted with an amendment proposed by Mr. di Piero, replacing the words "joint bodies" by "close collaboration".

Paragraphs 45 and 46 were passed without changes subject to inserting "medical centre or" before "health centre" in each case.

IV. THE QUALITY OF SERVICE

Optimum Standard

The Office text was as follows:

47. The medical care service should aim at providing the highest possible standard of care, due regard being paid to the importance of the doctor-patient relationship and the professional and personal responsibility of the doctor, while safeguarding both the interests of the beneficiaries and those of the professions participating.

Paragraph 47 was adopted without amendment.

Choice of Doctor and Continuity of Care

The Office text was as follows:

48. The beneficiary should have the right to make an initial choice, among the general practitioners available within a reasonable distance from his home, of the doctor by whom he wishes to be attended in a permanent capacity (family doctor); he should have the same right of choice for his children. These principles should also apply to the choice of a dentist as family dentist.

49. Where care is provided at or from health centres, the beneficiary should have the right to choose his centre within a reasonable distance from his home and to select for himself or his children a doctor and a dentist among the general practitioners and dentists working at this centre.

50. Where there is no centre, the beneficiary should have the right to select his family doctor and dentist among the participating general practitioners and dentists whose office is within a reasonable distance from his home.

51. The beneficiary should have the right subsequently to change his family doctor or dentist, subject to giving notice within a prescribed time, for good reasons, such as lack of personal contact and confidence.
53. The general practitioner or the dentist participating in the service should have the right to accept or refuse a client, but may not accept a number in excess of a prescribed maximum nor refuse such clients as have not made their own choice and are assigned to him by the service through impartial methods.

53. The care given by specialists and members of allied professions, such as nurses, midwives, masseurs and others, should be available on the recommendation, and through the agency, of the beneficiary's family doctor, who should take responsibility for ensuring that if several members of the specialty or other profession are available at the centre or within a reasonable distance of the patient's home, special provision should be made for the availability of the specialist when requested by the patient though not recommended by the family doctor.

54. Residential care should be made available on the recommendation of the beneficiary's family doctor, or on the advice of the specialist, if any, who has been consulted.

55. If residential care is provided at the centre to which the family doctor or specialist is attached, the patient should preferably be attended in the hospital by his own family doctor or the specialist to whom he was referred.

56. Arrangements for the general practitioners or dentists at a centre to be consulted by appointment should be made whenever practicable.

Paragraph 48 was adopted, subject to an amendment proposed by Mr. di Piero to replace the word "available" by the words "at the disposal of the medical care service".

Paragraphs 49 to 56 were then agreed to without amendments, as recommendations for the application of the principle stated in paragraph 48.

Working Conditions and Status of Doctors and Members of Allied Professions

The Office text was as follows:

57. The working conditions of doctors and members of allied professions participating in the service should be designed to relieve the doctor or member of financial anxiety by providing adequate income during work, leave and illness and in retirement, and pensions to his survivors, without restricting his professional discretion otherwise than by professional supervision, and should not be such as to distract his attention from the maintenance and improvement of the health of the beneficiaries.

58. General practitioners, specialists and dentists working for a medical care service covering the whole or a large majority of the population, may appropriately be employed whole time for a salary, with adequate provision for leave, sickness, old age and death, if the medical profession is adequately represented on the body employing them.

59. Where general practitioners or dentists, engaged in private practice, undertake part-time work for a medical care service with a sufficient number of beneficiaries, it may be appropriate to pay them a fixed basic amount per year, including provision for leave, sickness (old age and death, and increased if desired by a capitation fee for each person or family in the doctor's or dentist's charge.

60. Specialists engaged in private practice who work part-time for a medical service with a considerable number of beneficiaries may appropriately be paid an amount proportionate to the time devoted to such service (part-time salary).

61. Doctors and dentists engaged in private practice who work part-time for a medical care service with few beneficiaries only may appropriately be paid fees for services rendered.

62. Among the members of allied professions participating in the service, those rendering personal care may appropriately be employed whole time for salary, with adequate provision for leave, sickness, old age and death, while members furnishing supplies should be paid in accordance with adequate tariffs.

63. Working conditions for members of the medical and allied professions participating in the service should be uniform throughout the country or for all sections covered by the service, and agreed on with the representative bodies of the profession, subject only to such variations as may be made possible by differences in the exigencies of the service.

64. Provision should be made for the submission of complaints by the beneficiaries concerning the extent of the care received or the manner in which it was given, preferably to joint bodies representing beneficiaries and the medical and allied professions participating in the service, and subject to appeal to independent tribunals.

65. The professional supervision of the medical care service should be entrusted to bodies predominately composed of representatives of the professions participating in the service, with adequate provision for disciplinary measures, and subject to appeal to independent tribunals.

Paragraphs 57 to 63 were agreed to without amendments.

Mr. di Piero proposed to delete in paragraph 64 the words "preferably to joint bodies representing beneficiaries and the medical and allied professions participating in the service", as in some countries there might be special authorities dealing with such matters. Mrs. Polak pointed out that the principle of representation both of beneficiaries and doctors was involved, and that the word "preferably" gave a leeway to countries that wished to apply other methods. Mr. di Piero considered that direct appeal from decisions of the administration to independent tribunals, as provided for in Brazil, was the more progressive method, and that the one suggested in the proposed text had not worked in his country. In Chile, the Chairman explained, complaints were submitted first to social insurance bodies on which all interested parties were represented; if satisfaction was not given by these bodies, an appeal could be lodged with the Labour Courts.

As regards paragraph 65, dealing with professional supervision, Mr. Weir wished to make it clear that these provisions did not concern, nor prejudice, the administrative control which would have to be exercised by the insurance institutions or authorities responsible for the medical care service. Mr. di Piero deemed, however, that direct appeal to independent tribunals, as provided for in Chile, the Chairman explained, complaints were submitted first to social insurance bodies on which all interested parties were represented; if satisfaction was not given by these bodies, an appeal could be lodged with the Labour Courts.

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Xavier Lopes, Mr. Barnard, Mr. di Piero and others took part, it was decided to request the Office to redraft paragraphs 64 and 65 in the light of the discussion and to submit the new text to the Subcommittee at its next sitting, subject to the ultimate approval of the Drafting Committee. Mr. Thébaud remarked that it would always be possible for any arbitration board to obtain an expert opinion on the case under consideration.

Standard of Professional Skill and Knowledge

The Office text was as follows:

66. The highest possible standard of skill and knowledge should be achieved and maintained for the professions participating both by requiring high standards of education, training and licensing and by keeping up to date and developing the skill and knowledge of those engaged in the service.

67. Students of the medical and dental professions should, before being admitted as fully qualified doctors or dentists to the service, be required to work as assistants at health centres or offices, especially in rural areas, under the supervision and direction of more experienced practitioners.

68. A minimum period as hospital assistant should be prescribed among the qualifications for every doctor entering the service.

69. Professional certification of doctors qualified to furnish special services should be required.

70. Doctors and dentists participating should be required periodically to attend post-graduate courses organised or approved for this purpose by the representative bodies of their professions.

71. Adequate periods of apprenticeship at hospitals or health centres should be prescribed for members of allied professions, and post-graduate courses should be organised and attendance periodically required for those participating in the service.

72. Adequate facilities for teaching and research should be made available at the hospitals administered by or working with the medical care service.

73. Professional education and research should be promoted with the financial and legal support of the State.

Paragraph 66 was adopted without amendment.

As to paragraph 67, the meaning of the term "fully qualified doctors" gave rise to a discussion. It was made clear that the paragraph did not deal with the qualifications required by law before a doctor could be registered as a medical practitioner, but only with the conditions that might be imposed by the medical care service for admission of doctors to the service.

Paragraphs 67 to 72 were agreed to as suggestions for the application of the principle stated in paragraph 66, subject to the following amendments:

It was decided to replace the original text of paragraph 69 by some words to the effect that professional certification as specialists should be required of doctors wishing to furnish specialist services under the medical care service.

In paragraph 70 the words "by representative bodies of their profession" at the end of the paragraph were deleted. In many countries, it was pointed out, social insurance institutions organised such post-graduate courses.

Paragraph 73 was adopted without amendment.

V. FINANCING OF MEDICAL CARE SERVICE

Raising of Funds under Public Medical Care Service

The Office text was as follows:

74. The cost of the medical care service should be distributed among the members of the community in proportion to their ability to pay.

75. Where the whole population is covered by the medical care service and all health services are under a unified central and area administration, the medical care service may appropriately be financed out of receipts from general income tax.

76. Where the administration of the medical care service is separate from that of general health services, it may be appropriate to finance the medical care service by a special tax.

77. The special tax should be paid into a separate fund reserved for the purpose of financing the medical care service.

78. The special tax should be progressively graded and should be designed to yield a return sufficient for financing the medical care service.

79. Persons whose income does not exceed the subsistence level should not be required to pay the special tax.

80. The special tax may appropriately be collected by the national income tax authorities or, where there is no national income tax, by authorities responsible for collecting local taxes.

Mr. Mulherkar and Dame Anne Loughlin wished to delete the principle that costs should be distributed according to ability to pay, and substitute the principle that the cost of the medical care service should be met from public funds, without specifying the methods by which such funds should be raised. Mr. Bhole pointed out that, in this event, the following paragraphs of this chapter would be redundant. Mr. Barnard, however, pleaded for the retention of the chapter as drafted by the Office, the provisions of which corresponded to the system planned in Australia. The medical care service to be introduced in his country was to be financed out of a special tax, graduated according to income, and sufficient to meet the cost of the entire service.

Paragraph 74 was finally adopted with the substitution of the words "met out of public funds" for "distributed among the members of the community in proportion to their ability to pay".

Paragraphs 75 to 80 were agreed to subject to replacing the words "of receipts from general income tax" in paragraph 75 by the words "from general revenue", this amendment necessitating a similar change in paragraph 7(b).
Raising of Funds under Social Insurance Service

The Office text was as follows:

81. The maximum contribution that may be charged to an insured person should not exceed such proportion of his income as, applied to the income of all insured persons, would yield an income equal to the probable total cost of the medical care service, including the cost of care given to dependent wives or husbands and dependent children.

82. The contribution paid by an insured person should be such part of the maximum contribution as can be borne without hardship.

83. Persons whose income does not exceed the subsistence level should not be required to pay an insurance contribution.

84. It may be appropriate to require employers to pay part of the maximum contribution on behalf of persons employed by them.

85. Equitable contributions should be paid by the public authority in respect of persons whose income does not exceed the subsistence level: Provided that in the case of employed persons, such contributions may be paid wholly or partly by their employers.

86. The cost of the medical care service not covered by contributions should be borne by tax-payers, preferably in proportion to their ability to pay.

87. Contributions in respect of employed persons may appropriately be collected by their employers.

88. Where membership of an occupational association or the possession of a licence is compulsory for any class of self-employed persons, the association or the licensing authority may be made responsible for collecting contributions from the persons concerned.

89. The national or local authority may be made responsible for collecting contributions from self-employed persons registered for the purpose of taxation.

90. Where a scheme of social insurance for cash benefits is in operation, contributions both under such scheme and under the medical care service may appropriately be collected together.

In conformity with the decisions previously taken by the Subcommittee, the provisions concerning social insurance would have to be inserted at the beginning of this chapter.

Paragraph 81 was agreed to without amendment. Mr. Stangroom raised the question of the inclusion of the dependent wife by virtue of the breadwinner's contribution. According to the Canadian plan, contributions would have to be paid for every adult person. It was, however, pointed out that this principle had already been adopted by the Subcommittee in paragraphs 6 (a) and 14.

The Chairman then suggested that paragraphs 83 and 85 should be combined so as to make it clear that employers were not required to contribute twice in respect of the same employee.

Paragraph 86 was adopted subject to the deletion of the words "preferably in proportion to their ability to pay", and paragraphs 87 to 90 were agreed to without amendment.

Mr. di Piero then proposed the addition of a paragraph in which provision was made for utilising the assets of insurance institutions or national funds for financing capital outlays of the medical care service.

The second part of the amendment recommended that social insurance institutions should manufacture themselves the pharmaceutical products which they needed and that they be authorised to sell part of their product in the commercial market with a view to obtaining reasonable profits, but this part was withdrawn by the author after it had been objected by Dame Anne Loughlin that it would not be advisable for insurance institutions to engage in commercial activities. The first part of the amendment was agreed to by the Subcommittee.

VI. SUPERVISION AND ADMINISTRATION OF MEDICAL CARE SERVICE

Unity of Health Services and Democratic Control

The Office text was as follows:

91. All medical care and general health services should be centrally supervised and should be administered by health areas as defined in paragraph 23, and the beneficiaries of the medical care service, as well as the medical and allied professions concerned, should have a voice in the administration of the service.

Paragraph 91 was agreed to without amendment.

Unification of Central Administration

The Office text was as follows:

92. A central authority, whether State or Federal, representative of the community, should be responsible for formulating the health policy or policies and for supervising all medical care and general health services, subject to consultation of, and collaboration with, the medical and allied professions on all professional matters, and to consultation of the beneficiaries on matters of policy and administration affecting the medical care service.

93. Where the medical care service covers the whole or the majority of the population and a central government agency supervises or administers all medical care and general health services, beneficiaries may appropriately be deemed to be represented by the head of the agency.

94. The central government agency should keep in touch with the beneficiaries through advisory bodies comprising representatives of organisations of the different sections of the population, such as trade unions, employers’ associations, chambers of commerce, farmers’ associations, women’s associations and child protection societies.

95. Where the medical care service covers only a section of the population, and a central Government agency supervises or administers all medical care and general health services, representatives of the insured persons should participate in the supervision, preferably through advisory committees, on all matters of policy affecting the medical care service.

96. The central government agency should consult the representatives of the medical and allied professions, preferably through advisory committees, on all questions relating to the working conditions of the members of the professions participating, and on all other matters primarily of a
preparation of laws and regulations concerning the nature, extent and provision of the service furnished under the service.

97. Where the medical care service covers the whole or the majority of the population and a representative body supervises or administers all medical care and general health services, beneficiaries should be represented on such body either directly, through elected members, or indirectly, through members appointed by the central government.

98. In this event, the medical and allied professions should be represented on the representative body, preferably in numbers equal to those of the beneficiaries. If the central government as the case may be; the professional members should be elected by the profession concerned, or nominated by their representative bodies and appointed by the central government.

99. Where the medical care service covers the whole or the majority of the population and a corporate body of experts established by legislation or by charter supervises or administers all medical care and general health services, such body may appropriately consist of an equal number of members of the medical and allied professions and of qualified laymen.

100. The professional members of the expert body should be appointed by the central government from among candidates nominated by the representatives of the medical and allied professions.

101. The representative executive body or the expert body supervising or administering health services should be responsible to the Government for its general policy.

Mr. Garneau reminded the Subcommit-tee of the difficulties arising in federal countries as regards the competence of the federal Government and the provincial or State Governments. “Central government", the term used in paragraphs 93 to 96, might be interpreted as referring only to the federal authority. The Office drew attention to the statement in paragraph 92 that the central authority might be either a State authority—which would cover the case of the province—or a federal authority. It was decided to insert in all the paragraphs mentioned, after “central government agency” the words "whether State or Federal", so as to leave no doubt as to their meaning.

In the course of the discussion, in which Mr. Lare, the Chairman, Mr. Weir and others took part, it was made clear that the head of the central government department referred to in paragraph 93 could be deemed to represent beneficiaries where the service covered the whole population and the country was democratically governed.

Matters of policy affecting the medical care service on which, according to paragraph 95, representatives of the insured persons should be consulted, were stated to include such questions as the extension, by way of legislation, of benefits or of the scope of the service (which, in this particular case, was limited to a section of the population). As to the representation of doctors in the central administration, the Chairman gave a description of the Chilean system, under which doctors, workers and employers were represented on the administrative body, but doctors had a larger number of representatives than either employers or workers. The medical and other professional associations were always consulted in medical matters, and no special difficulties had been experienced, as doctors were generally in favour of insurance.

As to the representation of beneficiaries on the body envisaged in paragraph 97, it was emphasised that the appointment of representatives of the beneficiaries might be made either on the recommendation of representative organisations, or directly by the central government where such a procedure was not practicable.

Paragraphs 92 to 101 were then adopted, subject to the drafting amendments already referred to.

Local Administration

The Office text was as follows:

102. Local administration of medical care and general health services should be unified or coordinated within areas formed for the purpose as provided for in paragraph 25, and the medical care service in the area should be administered by or with the advice of bodies representative of the beneficiaries and partly composed of, or assisted by, representatives of the medical and allied professions, so as to safeguard the interests of the beneficiaries and the professions, and secure the technical efficiency of the service and the professional independence of the participating doctors.

103. Where the medical care service covers the whole or the majority of the population in the health area, all medical care and general health services may appropriately be administered by one area authority.

104. Where, in this event, the area government administers the health services on behalf of the beneficiaries, the medical and allied professions should participate in the administration of the medical care service, preferably through technical committees elected by the professions or appointed by the area or central Government from among nominees of the professions concerned.

105. Where a medical care service covering the whole or the majority of the population in the health area is administered by a representative body, the area government, on behalf of the beneficiaries, and the medical and allied professions in the area, should be represented on such body, preferably in equal numbers.

106. Where the medical care service is administered by area offices or officers of the central authority, the medical and allied professions in the area should participate in the administration, preferably through executive technical committees, elected or nominated in the manner provided for in paragraph 104.

107. Whatever the form of the area administration, the authority administering the medical care service should keep in constant touch with the beneficiaries in the area through advisory bodies, elected by representative organisations of the different sections of the population, in the manner provided for in paragraph 94.

108. Where the social insurance medical care service covers only a section of the population, administration of that service may appropriately be entrusted to representative organisations responsible to the Government, and comprising
representatives of the beneficiaries and of the medical and allied professions participating in the service; if the service is confined to employed persons whose employers share in the cost of the service, representation of the employers may be appropriate.

The term "professional independence of the participating doctors" in paragraph 102 gave rise to an interesting discussion in the course of which Mr. Weir voiced his fear that these words might be interpreted as meaning far more than independence in medical matters, and suggested the use of the words "professional freedom" rather than "professional independence". It was decided to submit the matter to the Drafting Committee for decision. No difficulty was experienced with the French and Spanish texts.

In paragraph 108, the right of employers to be represented on the body administering a medical care service of limited scope was to be stated unconditionally, in accordance with the decision taken by the Subcommittee on paragraph 7 (formerly paragraph 7 of the text submitted by the Office).

Paragraphs 102 to 108 were adopted subject to this amendment in paragraph 108.

Administration of Health Units

The Office text was as follows:

109. Health units owned and operated by the medical care service should be administered wholly or predominantly by doctors elected by, or appointed after consultation of, the members of the medical and allied professions participating in the medical care service, in co-operation with all the doctors working at the unit.

The term "health units", as was elucidated in the course of the discussion of paragraph 109, referred to such institutions as medical or health centres, hospitals, sanatoria and the like. It was decided to insert a definition to this effect so as to make it clear that the paragraph did not deal with local units of administration or other similar units.

Right of Appeal

The Office text was as follows:

110. Beneficiaries who have submitted complaints to the joint bodies referred to in paragraph 64, concerning the extent of the care received or the manner in which it was given, should have a right of appeal from the decision of such body to a tribunal consisting of independent persons appointed by the central government.

111. Members of the medical and allied professions against whom disciplinary measures have been taken by the supervisory body referred to in paragraph 65 should have a right of appeal from the decisions of such body to an independent tribunal.

112. Where the supervisory body referred to in paragraph 65 dismisses a complaint submitted to it by the arbitration board, in accordance with paragraph 65(a), the arbitration board should have a right of appeal from the decision to an independent body.

Mr. Garneau (Quebec Health Insurance Commission), drew the attention of the Subcommittee to certain passages of the draft text which were not in strict accordance with judicial procedure. It was accordingly decided to state in paragraph 65(a) that the arbitration board should have the right to refer a case to the technical supervisory body if a doctor was deemed to have neglected his professional duties. Paragraph 112 was to state that any party interested should be entitled to appeal from the decision of the supervisory body if the latter dismissed a case of alleged neglect referred to it by the arbitration board in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 65(a). It was left to the Drafting Committee to express these ideas adequately.

Subject to these reservations paragraphs 64, 65, 65(a), and 110 to 112 were approved by the Subcommittee.

Mrs. Polak asked leave to come back on a question already dealt with at previous meetings, namely, the deletion of the principle that the costs of the medical care service should be distributed among the members of the community in proportion to their ability to pay. Only in England
practically all other countries had systems of contributions graduated according to ability to pay.

Mr. Barnard recalled that at the request of Dame Anne Loughlin he had agreed to the deletion of this principle, though in Australia it was being applied. Moreover, among the methods of application, one alternative, namely that contained in paragraphs 76 to 80, provided for a service financed by a progressive tax on income.

Mr. Stangroom pointed out that graduation of social insurance contributions according to ability to pay would for all practical purposes amount to taxation.

It was finally agreed that sufficient provision was made in the Recommendation for different methods of financing a medical care service, either by way of insurance contributions or by utilisation of public funds. Countries which did not yet possess a general income tax system might thus introduce a public medical care service financed from general revenue, from whatever sources such revenue might come, while countries with a general income tax system could have recourse to a progressive tax on income.

Mr. di Piero finally proposed to insert in the chapter on the standard of professional skill and knowledge a recommendation to the effect that doctors participating in the service should be required to have an adequate training in social medicine. His proposal was adopted.

The Subcommittee then adopted an addition to the preamble, proposed by Mr. di Piero and seconded by Mr. Rhole, which takes account of countries like India where no medical service has as yet been established. Such countries should be urged to take all steps, as soon as possible, to secure the international minimum standards and to develop these standards, and the International Labour Office should undertake periodical enquiries and investigations concerning the measures taken to give effect to the principles laid down in the Recommendation.

Mr. Kean declared, in the name of the employer members, that the decision whether a single or double discussion procedure should be applied should be left to the Conference.

On the proposal of Mr. Barnard the Subcommittee decided, by 8 votes to 2, to have all paragraphs of the text proposed by the Office, as discussed and amended by the Subcommittee, included in their Recommendation.

After votes of thanks to the Chairman and a tribute by the Chairman to the fine spirit of friendliness and co-operation which had prevailed in the debate, the Subcommittee adjourned on Friday, 5 May 1944.

The report of the Subcommittee on Medical Care and the proposed text of the Recommendation concerning medical care were discussed by the Committee on 9 May 1944.

An employers' member submitted the following motion on behalf of a majority of the employers' members:

"(a) That the report of the Committee on Social Security, so far as it relates to medical care, together with the text of the draft Recommendation therein contained relating to that subject, be referred to the Governments for their views and observations prior to the next general session of the Conference;

"(b) and that the question of social security in relation to medical care be placed on the agenda of the next general session of the Conference with a view to final decisions being taken at that session."

Members representing the following Governments opposed the motion submitted by the employers' members and spoke in favour of adopting the Recommendation proposed by the Subcommittee: Australia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Netherlands and Venezuela.

Several workers' members also opposed the motion and emphasised the desirability of taking definitive action at this Conference by adopting the Recommendation. The French employers' member also opposed the motion.

The British Government member announced that his Government would abstain from voting on the motion.

The South African Government member spoke in favour of the motion submitted by the employers.

The motion was put by the Chairman on the specific understanding that its rejection was equivalent to adopting the Recommendation concerning medical care, and was rejected by 53 votes to 25.

Each paragraph of the text of the Recommendation proposed by the Subcommittee was then placed before the Committee for adoption, and all were approved without amendment.

The Preamble to the Recommendation was adopted with the last paragraph of the original Office Preamble reinserted in place of the paragraph reported by the Subcommittee.

A resolution concerning the definition of social security terms was moved by the Canadian Government member, seconded by the Government members of Venezuela and Brazil and approved by the Committee.

In presenting this report, the Reporter has pleasure in thanking the members of the Committee on Social Security for the tribute they have paid Brazil in appointing him Reporter on the question of medical care.

**DRAFT RECOMMENDATION CONCERNING MEDICAL CARE**

Whereas the Atlantic Charter contemplates "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

Whereas the Conference of the International Labour Organisation, by a resolution adopted on 11 November 1941, endorsed this principle of the Atlantic Charter and pledged the full co-operation of the International Labour Organisation in its implementation; and

Whereas the availability of adequate medical care is an essential element in social security; and

Whereas the International Labour Organisation has promoted the development of medical care services—

by the inclusion of requirements relating to medical care in the Workmen's Compensation (Accidents) Convention, 1925, the Sickness Insurance (Industry, etc.) and (Agriculture) Conventions, 1927,

by the communication to the Members of the Organisation by the Governing Body of the conclusions of meetings of experts relating to public health and health insurance in periods of economic depression, the economical administration of medical and pharmaceutical benefits under sickness insurance schemes, and guiding principles for curative and preventive action by invalidity, old-age and widows' and orphans' insurance,

by the adoption by the First and Second Labour Conferences of American States of the resolutions constituting the Inter-American Social Insurance Code, the participation of a delegation of the Governing Body in the First Inter-American Conference on Social Security which adopted the Declaration of Santiago de Chile, and the approval by the Governing Body of the Statute of the Inter-American Conference on Social Security, established as a permanent agency of co-operation between social security administrations and institutions acting in concert with the International Labour Office, and

by the participation of the International Labour Office in an advisory capacity in the framing of social insurance schemes in a number of countries and by other measures;

Whereas some Members have not taken such steps as are within their competence to improve the health of the people by the extension of medical facilities, the development of public health programmes, the spread of health education, and the improvement of nutrition and housing, although their need in that respect is greatest; and it is highly desirable that such Members take all steps as soon as possible to secure the international minimum standards and to develop these standards; and

Whereas it is now desirable to take further steps for the improvement and unification of medical care services, the extension of such services to all workers and their families, including rural populations and the self-employed, and the elimination of inequitable anomalies, without prejudice to the right of any beneficiary of the medical care service who so desires to arrange privately at his own expense for medical care; and

Whereas the formulation of certain general principles which should be followed by Members of the Organisation in developing their medical care services along these lines will contribute to this end:

The Conference recommends the Members of the Organisation to apply the following principles, as rapidly as national conditions allow, in developing their medical care services with a view to the implementation of the fifth principle of the Atlantic Charter, and to report to the International Labour Office, as requested by the Governing Body, concerning the measures taken to give effect to these principles.

I. GENERAL

Essential Features of a Medical Care Service

1. A medical care service should meet the need of the individual for care by members of the medical and allied professions and for such other facilities as are provided at medical institutions:

(a) with a view to restoring the individual's health, preventing the further development of disease and alleviating suffering, when he is afflicted by ill health (curative care); and

(b) with a view to protecting and improving his health (preventive care).

2. The nature and extent of the care provided by the service should be defined by law.

3. The authorities or bodies responsible for the administration of the service should provide medical care for its beneficiaries by securing the services of members of the medical and allied professions and by arranging for hospital and other institutional services.

4. The cost of the service should be met collectively by regular periodical payments which may take the form of social insurance contributions or of taxes, or of both.
**Forms of Medical Care Service**

5. Medical care should be provided either through a social insurance medical care service with supplementary provision by way of social assistance to meet the requirements of needy persons not yet covered by social insurance, or through a public medical care service.

6. Where medical care is provided through a social insurance medical care service:

   (a) Every insured contributor and his qualified dependants, including a dependent wife or husband and dependent children, as well as every other person insured by virtue of contributions paid on his behalf, should be entitled to all care provided by the service;

   (b) Care for persons not yet insured should be provided by way of social assistance if they are unable to obtain it at their own expense; and

   (c) The service should be financed by contributions from insured persons, from their employers, and by subsidies from public funds.

7. Where medical care is provided through a public medical care service:

   (a) Every member of the community should be entitled to all care provided by the service;

   (b) The service should be financed out of funds raised either by a progressive tax specifically imposed for the purpose of financing the medical care service or of financing all health services, or from general revenue.

**II. PERSONS COVERED**

**Complete Coverage**

8. The medical care service should cover all members of the community, whether or not they are gainfully occupied.

9. Where the service is limited to a section of the population or to a specified area, or where the contributory mechanism already exists for other branches of social insurance and it is possible ultimately to bring under the insurance scheme the whole or the majority of the population, social insurance may be appropriate.

10. Where the whole of the population is to be covered by the service and it is desired to integrate medical care with general health services, a public service may be appropriate.

**Coverage through a Social Insurance Medical Care Service**

11. Where medical care is provided through a social insurance medical care service, all members of the community should have the right to care as insured persons or, pending their inclusion in the scope of insurance, should have the right to receive care at the expense of the public authority when unable to provide it for themselves.

12. All adult members of the community (that is to say, all persons other than children as defined in paragraph 15) should be required to pay insurance contributions if their income is not below the subsistence level. The dependent wife or husband of a contributor should be insured in virtue of the contribution of her or his breadwinner, without any addition on that account.

13. Other adults who prove that their income is below the subsistence level, including indigents, should be entitled to care as insured persons, the contribution being paid on their behalf by the public authority. Rules defining the subsistence level in each country should be laid down by the competent authority.

14. If and so long as adults unable to pay a contribution are not insured as provided for in paragraph 13, they should receive care at the expense of the competent authority.

15. All children (that is to say, all persons who are under the age of 16 years, or such higher age as may be prescribed, or who are dependent on others for regular support while continuing their general or vocational education) should be insured in virtue of the contributions paid by or on behalf of adult insured persons in general, and no additional contribution should be payable on their behalf by their parents or guardians.

16. If and so long as children are not insured as provided for in paragraph 15, because the service does not yet extend to the whole population, they should be insured in virtue of the contribution paid by, or on behalf of, their father or mother without any additional contribution being payable on their behalf, or where they are orphans or abandoned or otherwise in need of medical care should receive care at the expense of the competent authority.

17. Where any person is insured under a scheme of social insurance for cash benefits or is receiving benefit under such a scheme, he and his qualified dependants, including a dependent wife and dependent children, should also be insured under the medical care service.

**Coverage through a Public Medical Care Service**

18. Where medical care is provided through a public medical care service, the
provision of care should not depend on any qualifying conditions, such as payment of taxes or compliance with a means test, and all beneficiaries should have an equal right to the care provided.

III. THE PROVISION OF MEDICAL CARE AND ITS CO-ORDINATION WITH GENERAL HEALTH SERVICES

Range of Service

19. Complete preventive and curative care should be constantly available, rationally organised and, so far as possible, co-ordinated with general health services.

Constant Availability of Complete Care

20. Complete preventive and curative care should be available at any time and place to all members of the community covered by the service, on the same conditions, without any hindrance or barrier of an administrative, financial or political nature, or otherwise unrelated to health matters.

21. The care afforded should comprise both general-practitioner and specialist out- and in-patient care, including domiciliary visiting; dental care; nursing care at home or in hospital or other medical institutions; the care given by qualified midwives and other maternity services at home or in hospital; maintenance in hospitals, convalescent homes, sanatoria or other medical institutions; and so far as possible with the requisite dental, pharmaceutical and other medical or surgical supplies, including artificial limbs, and the care furnished by such other professions as may at any time be legally recognised as belonging to the allied professions.

22. All care and supplies should be available at any time and without time limit, when and as long as they are needed, subject only to the doctor’s judgment and to such reasonable limitations as may be imposed by the technical organisation of the service.

23. Beneficiaries should be able to obtain care at the centres or offices provided, wherever they happen to be when the need arises, whether at their place of residence or elsewhere within the total area in which the service is available, irrespective of their membership in any particular insurance institution, arrears in contributions or of other non-health factors.

24. The administration of the medical care service should be unified for appropriate health areas sufficiently large for a self-contained and well-balanced service, and should be centrally supervised.

25. Where the medical care service covers only a section of the population or is at present administered by different types of insurance institutions and authorities, the institutions and authorities concerned should provide care for their beneficiaries by securing collectively the services of members of the medical and allied professions, and by the joint establishment or maintenance of health centres and other medical institutions, pending the regional and national unification of the services.

26. Arrangements should be made by the administration of the services for securing adequate hospital and other residential accommodation and care, either by contracts with existing public and approved private institutions, or by the establishment and maintenance of appropriate institutions.

Rational Organisation of Medical Care Service

27. The optimum of medical care should be made readily available through an organisation that ensures the greatest possible economy and efficiency by the pooling of knowledge, staff, equipment and other resources and by close contact and collaboration among all participating members of the medical and allied professions and agencies.

28. The wholehearted participation of the greatest possible number of members of the medical and allied professions is essential for the success of any national medical care service. The number and proportion of general practitioners, specialists, dentists, nurses and other professions within the service should be adapted to the distribution and the needs of the beneficiaries.

29. Complete diagnostic and treatment facilities, including laboratory and x-ray services, should be available to the general practitioner, and all specialist advice and care, as well as nursing, maternity, pharmaceutical and other auxiliary services, and residential accommodation should be at the disposal of the general practitioner for the use of his patients.

30. Complete and up-to-date technical equipment for all branches of specialist treatment, including dental care, should be available, and specialists should have at their disposal all necessary hospital and research facilities, and auxiliary out-patient services such as nursing, through the agency of the general practitioner.

31. To achieve these aims, care should preferably be furnished by group practice at centres of various kinds working in effective relation with hospitals.

32. Pending the establishment of, and experiments with, group practice at medical or health centres, it would be appropriate to obtain care for beneficiaries from members of the medical and allied professions practising at their own offices.
33. Where the medical care service covers the majority of the population, medical or health centres may appropriately be built, equipped and operated by the authority administering the service in the health area, in one of the forms indicated in paragraphs 34, 35 and 36.

34. Where no adequate facilities exist or where a system of hospitals with outpatient departments for general-practitioner and specialist treatment already obtained in the health area at the time when the medical care service is introduced, hospitals may appropriately be established as, or developed into, centres providing all kinds of in- and out-patient care and complemented by local outposts for general-practitioner care and for auxiliary services.

35. Where general practice is well developed outside the hospital system while specialists are mainly consultants and working at hospitals, it may be appropriate to establish medical or health centres for all non-residential treatment, general-practitioner and specialist, and all auxiliary services, while cases needing residential care are directed from the centres to the hospitals.

36. Where general and specialist practice are well developed outside the hospital system, it may be appropriate to establish medical or health centres for all non-residential treatment, general-practitioner and specialist, and all auxiliary services, while cases needing residential care are directed from the centres to the hospitals.

37. Where the medical care service does not cover the majority of the population but has a substantial number of beneficiaries, and existing hospital and other medical facilities are inadequate, the insurance institution, or insurance institutions jointly, should establish a system of medical or health centres which afford all care including hospital accommodation at the main centres, and, so far as possible, transport arrangements; such centres may be required more particularly in sparsely settled areas with a scattered insured population.

38. Where the medical care service covers too small a section for complete health centres to be an economical means of serving its beneficiaries, and existing facilities for specialist treatment in the area are inadequate, it may be appropriate for the insurance institution, or the institutions jointly, to maintain posts at which specialists attend beneficiaries as required.

39. Where the medical care service covers a relatively small section of the population concentrated in an area with extensive private practice, it may be appropriate for the members of the medical and allied professions participating in the service to collaborate at centres rented, equipped and administered by the members, at which both beneficiaries of the service and private patients receive care.

40. Where the medical care service covers only a small number of beneficiaries who are scattered over a populated area with adequate existing facilities, and voluntary group practice as provided for in paragraph 39 is not feasible, beneficiaries may appropriately receive care from members of the medical and allied professions practising at their own offices, and at public and approved private hospitals and other medical institutions.

41. Travelling clinics in motor vans or aircraft, equipped for first-aid, dental treatment, general examination and possibly other health services such as maternal and infant health services, should be provided for serving areas with a scattered population and remote from towns or cities, and arrangements should be made for the free conveyance of patients to centres and hospitals.

Collaboration with General Health Services

42. There should be available to the beneficiaries of the medical care service all general health services, being services providing means for the whole community and/or groups of individuals to promote and protect their health while it is not yet threatened or known to be threatened, whether such services be given by members of the medical and allied professions or otherwise.

43. The medical care service should be provided in close co-ordination with general health services, either by means of close collaboration of the social insurance institutions providing medical care and the authorities administering the general health services, or by combining medical care and general health services in one public service.

44. Local co-ordination of medical care and general health services should be aimed at either by establishing medical care centres in proximity to the headquarters for general health services, or by establishing common centres as headquarters for all or most health services.

45. The members of the medical and allied professions participating in the medical care service and working at health centres may appropriately undertake such general health care as can with advantage be given by the same staff, including immunisation, examination of school children and other groups, advice to expectant mothers and mothers with infants, and other care of a like nature.

IV. THE QUALITY OF SERVICE

Optimum Standard

46. The medical care service should aim at providing the highest possible standard
of care, due regard being paid to the importance of the doctor-patient relationship and the professional and personal responsibility of the doctor, while safeguarding both the interests of the beneficiaries and those of the professions participating.

Choice of Doctor and Continuity of Care

47. The beneficiary should have the right to make an initial choice, among the general practitioners at the disposal of the service within a reasonable distance from his home, of the doctor by whom he wishes to be attended in a permanent capacity (family doctor); he should have the same right of choice for his children. These principles should also apply to the choice of a dentist as family dentist.

48. Where care is provided at or from health centres, the beneficiary should have the right to choose his centre within a reasonable distance from his home and to select for himself or his children a doctor and a dentist among the general practitioners and dentists working at this centre.

49. Where there is no centre, the beneficiary should have the right to select his family doctor and dentist among the participating general practitioners and dentists whose office is within a reasonable distance from his home.

50. The beneficiary should have the right subsequently to change his family doctor or dentist, subject to giving notice within a prescribed time, for good reasons, such as lack of personal contact and confidence.

51. The general practitioner or the dentist participating in the service should have the right to refuse a client, but may not accept a number in excess of a prescribed maximum nor refuse such clients as have not made their own choice and are assigned to him by the service through impartial methods.

52. The care given by specialists and members of allied professions, such as nurses, midwives, masseurs and others, should be available on the recommendation, and through the agency, of the beneficiary's family doctor who should take reasonable account of the patient's wishes if several members of the specialty or other profession are available at the centre or within a reasonable distance of the patient's home. Special provision should be made for the availability of the specialist when requested by the patient though not recommended by the family doctor.

53. Residential care should be made available on the recommendation of the beneficiary's family doctor, or on the advice of the specialist, if any, who has been consulted.

54. If residential care is provided at the centre to which the family doctor or specialist is attached, the patient should preferably be attended in the hospital by his own family doctor or the specialist to whom he was referred.

55. Arrangements for the general practitioners or dentists at a centre to be consulted by appointment should be made whenever practicable.

Working Conditions and Status of Doctors and Members of Allied Professions

56. The working conditions of doctors and members of allied professions participating in the service should be designed to relieve the doctor or member from financial anxiety by providing adequate income during work, leave and illness and in retirement, and pensions to his survivors, without restricting his professional discretion otherwise than by professional supervision, and should not be such as to distract his attention from the maintenance and improvement of the health of the beneficiaries.

57. General practitioners, specialists and dentists, working for a medical care service covering the whole or a large majority of the population, may appropriately be employed whole time for a salary, with adequate provision for leave, sickness, old age and death, if the medical profession is adequately represented on the body employing them.

58. Where general practitioners or dentists, engaged in private practice, undertake part-time work for a medical care service with a sufficient number of beneficiaries, it may be appropriate to pay them a fixed basic amount per year, including provision for leave, sickness, old age and death, and increased if desired by a capitation fee for each person or family in the doctor's or dentist's charge.

59. Specialists engaged in private practice who work part time for a medical care service with a considerable number of beneficiaries may appropriately be paid an amount proportionate to the time devoted to such service (part-time salary).

60. Doctors and dentists engaged in private practice who work part time for a medical care service with a considerable number of beneficiaries only may appropriately be paid fees for services rendered.

61. Among the members of allied professions participating in the service, those rendering personal care may appropriately be employed whole time for salary, with adequate provision for leave, sickness, old age and death, while members furnishing supplies should be paid in accordance with adequate tariffs.

62. Working conditions for members of the medical and allied professions participating in the service should be uniform throughout the country or for all sections covered by the service, and agreed on with
the representative bodies of the profession, subject only to such variations as may be necessitated by differences in the exigencies of the service.

63. Provision should be made for the submission of complaints by beneficiaries, concerning the care received and by members of the medical or allied professions concerning their relations with the administration of the service, to appropriate arbitration bodies under conditions affording adequate guarantees to all parties concerned.

64. The professional supervision of the members of the medical and allied professions working for the service should be entrusted to bodies predominantly composed of representatives of the professions participating with adequate provision for disciplinary measures.

65. Where, in the proceedings referred to in paragraph 63, a member of the medical or allied professions working for the service is deemed to have neglected his professional duties, the arbitration body should refer the matter to the supervisory body referred to in paragraph 64.

Standard of Professional Skill and Knowledge

66. The highest possible standard of skill and knowledge should be achieved and maintained for the professions participating both by requiring high standards of education, training and licensing and by keeping up to date and developing the skill and knowledge of those engaged in the service.

67. Doctors participating in the service should be required to have an adequate training in social medicine.

68. Students of the medical and dental professions should, before being admitted as fully qualified doctors or dentists to the service, be required to work as assistants at health centres or offices, especially in rural areas, under the supervision and direction of more experienced practitioners.

69. A minimum period as hospital assistant should be prescribed among the qualifications for every doctor entering the service.

70. Doctors wishing to furnish specialist service should be required to have certificates of competence for their specialty.

71. Doctors and dentists participating should be required periodically to attend post-graduate courses organised or approved for this purpose.

72. Adequate periods of apprenticeship at hospitals or health centres should be prescribed for members of allied professions, and post-graduate courses should be organised and attended periodically required for those participating in the service.

73. Adequate facilities for teaching and research should be made available at the hospitals administered by or working with the medical care service.

74. Professional education and research should be promoted with the financial and legal support of the State.

V. FINANCING OF MEDICAL CARE SERVICE

Raising of Funds under Social Insurance Service

75. The maximum contribution that may be charged to an insured person should not exceed such proportion of his income as, applied to the income of all insured persons, would yield an income equal to the probable total cost of the medical care service, including the cost of care given to qualified dependants, including dependent wives or husbands and dependent children.

76. The contribution paid by an insured person should be such part of the maximum contribution as can be borne without hardship.

77. Employers should be required to pay part of the maximum contribution on behalf of persons employed by them.

78. Persons whose income does not exceed the subsistence level should not be required to pay an insurance contribution. Equitable contributions should be paid by the public authority on their behalf: Provided that in the case of employed persons, such contributions may be paid wholly or partly by their employers.

79. The cost of the medical care service not covered by contributions should be borne by taxpayers.

80. Contributions in respect of employed persons may appropriately be collected by their employers.

81. Where membership of an occupational association or the possession of a licence is compulsory for any class of self-employed persons, the association or the licensing authority may be made responsible for collecting contributions from the persons concerned.

82. The national or local authority may be made responsible for collecting contributions from self-employed persons registered for the purpose of taxation.

Raising of Funds under Public Medical Care Service

83. Where a scheme of social insurance for cash benefits is in operation, contributions both under such scheme and under the medical care service may appropriately be collected together.

84. The cost of the medical care service should be met out of public funds.
85. Where the whole population is covered by the medical care service and all health services are under a unified central and area administration, the medical care service may appropriately be financed out of general revenue.

86. Where the administration of the medical care service is separate from that of general health services, it may be appropriate to finance the medical care service by a special tax.

87. The special tax should be paid into a separate fund reserved for the purpose of financing the medical care service.

88. The special tax should be progressively graded and should be designed to yield a return sufficient for financing the medical care service.

89. Persons whose income does not exceed the subsistence level should not be required to pay the tax.

90. The special tax may appropriately be collected by the national income tax authorities or, where there is no national income tax, by authorities responsible for collecting local taxes.

**Raising of Capital Funds**

91. In addition to providing the normal resources for financing the medical care service, measures should be taken to utilise the assets of social insurance institutions, or funds raised by other means, for financing the extraordinary expenditure necessitated by the extension and improvement of the service, more particularly by the building or equipment of hospitals and medical centres.

**VI. SUPERVISION AND ADMINISTRATION OF MEDICAL CARE SERVICE**

**Unity of Health Services and Democratic Control**

92. All medical care and general health services should be centrally supervised and should be administered by health areas as defined in paragraph 25, and the beneficiaries of the medical care service, as well as the medical and allied professions concerned, should have a voice in the administration of the service.

**Unification of Central Administration**

93. A central authority, representative of the community, should be responsible for formulating the health policy or policies and for supervising all medical care and general health services, subject to consultation of, and collaboration with, the medical and allied professions on all professional matters, and to consultation of the beneficiaries on matters of policy and administration affecting the medical care service.

94. Where the medical care service covers the whole or the majority of the population and a central government agency supervises or administers all medical care and general health services, beneficiaries may appropriately be deemed to be represented by the head of the agency.

95. The central government agency should keep in touch with the beneficiaries through advisory bodies comprising representatives of organisations of the different sections of the population, such as trade unions, employers' associations, chambers of commerce, farmers' associations, women's associations and child protection societies.

96. Where the medical care service covers only a section of the population, and a central government agency supervises all medical care and general health services, representatives of the insured persons should participate in the supervision, preferably through advisory committees, as regards all matters of policy affecting the medical care service.

97. The central government agency should consult the representatives of the medical and allied professions, preferably through advisory committees, on all questions relating to the working conditions of the members of the professions participating, and on all other matters primarily of a professional nature, more particularly on the preparation of laws and regulations concerning the nature, extent and provision of the care furnished under the service.

98. Where the medical care service covers the whole or the majority of the population and a representative body supervises or administers all medical care and general health services, beneficiaries should be represented on such body, either directly or indirectly.

99. In this event, the medical and allied professions should be represented on the representative body, preferably in numbers equal to those of the beneficiaries or the government as the case may be; the professional members should be elected by the profession concerned, or nominated by their representatives and appointed by the central government.

100. Where the medical care service covers the whole or the majority of the population and a corporate body of experts established by legislation or by charter supervises or administers all medical care and general health services, such body may appropriately consist of an equal number of members of the medical and allied professions and of qualified laymen.

101. The professional members of the expert body should be appointed by the central government from among candidates nominated by the representatives of the medical and allied professions.
102. The representative executive body or the expert body supervising or administering medical care and general health services should be responsible to the government for its general policy.

103. In the case of a federal State, the central authority referred to in the preceding paragraphs may be either a federal or a State authority.

Local Administration

104. Local administration of medical care and general health services should be unified or co-ordinated within areas formed for the purpose as provided for in paragraph 24, and the medical care service in the area should be administered by or with the advice of bodies representative of the beneficiaries and partly composed of, or assisted by, representatives of the medical and allied professions, so as to safeguard the interests of the beneficiaries and the professions, and secure the technical efficiency of the service and the professional freedom of the participating doctors.

105. Where the medical care service covers the whole or the majority of the population in the health area, all medical care and general health services may appropriately be administered by one area authority.

106. Where, in this event, the area government administers the health services on behalf of the beneficiaries, the medical and allied professions should participate in the administration of the medical care service, preferably through technical committees elected by the professions or appointed by the area or central government from among nominees of the professions concerned.

107. Where a medical care service covering the whole or the majority of the population in the health area is administered by a representative body, the area government, on behalf of the beneficiaries, and the medical and allied professions in the area, should be represented on such body, preferably in equal numbers.

108. Where the medical service is administered by area offices or officers of the central authority, the medical and allied professions in the area should participate in the administration, preferably through executive technical committees, elected or nominated in the manner provided for in paragraph 106.

109. Whatever the form of the area administration, the authority administering the medical care service should keep in constant touch with the beneficiaries in the area through advisory bodies, elected by representative organisations of the different sections of the population, in the manner provided for in paragraph 95.

110. Where the social insurance medical care service covers only a section of the population, administration of that service may appropriately be entrusted to a representative executive body responsible to the government, and comprising representatives of the beneficiaries of the medical and allied professions participating in the service and of the employers.

Administration of Health Units

111. Health units owned and operated by the medical care service, such as medical or health centres or hospitals, should be administered under democratic control with adequate provisions for the participation of the medical profession, or wholly or predominantly by doctors elected by, or appointed after consultation of, the members of the medical and allied professions participating in the medical care service, in co-operation with all the doctors working at the unit.

Right of Appeal

112. Beneficiaries or members of the medical or allied professions who have submitted complaints to the arbitration body referred to in paragraph 63 should have a right of appeal from the decisions of such body to an independent tribunal.

113. Members of the medical and allied professions against whom disciplinary measures have been taken by the supervisory body referred to in paragraph 64 should have a right of appeal from the decisions of such body to an independent tribunal.

114. Where the supervisory body referred to in paragraph 64 takes no disciplinary action on a matter referred to it by the arbitration body, in accordance with paragraph 65, the interested parties should have a right of appeal to an independent tribunal.

RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE DEFINITION OF TERMS USED IN INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS CONCERNING SOCIAL SECURITY

Whereas it would greatly contribute to the clarification of the terms used in Conventions and Recommendations concerning social security to establish an international nomenclature of social security terms in order to avoid misinterpretation due to differences in the terminology employed in various countries,

The Conference requests the International Labour Office to prepare in consultation with experts on social security, on
sociology, and on economic and legal questions, a list containing definitions of terms occurring in international Conventions or Recommendations on social security with a view to arriving at international agreement.

Philadelphia, 9 May 1944.

(Signed)

GUILLERMO PADILLA CASTRO, 
Chairman.

HELVECIO XAVIER LOPES, 
Reporter.

(4) Fourth Report of the Committee on Social Security.

REPORT ON PROVISIONS CONCERNING SOCIAL INSURANCE AND RELATED QUESTIONS IN THE PEACE SETTLEMENT

The Social Security Committee decided to set up a Subcommittee in order to consider the proposals of the Office concerning the social insurance rights of displaced persons which are contained in Report IV (2). The Subcommittee was constituted as follows:

Government members:
Belgium: Mr. Gottschalk.
Czechoslovakia: Mr. Stolz.
Greece: Mr. Zarras.
Norway: Mr. Schjodt.
Poland: Mr. Fischlowitz.

Substitute:
Luxemburg: Mr. Heuertz.

Employers' members:
Mr. Kulukundis (Greece).
Mr. Morawetz (Czechoslovakia).
Mr. Vromans (Netherlands).

Substitutes:
Mr. Bondy (Yugoslavia).
Mr. Gentil (France).
Mr. Gratsos (Greece).
Mr. Mulherkar (India).

Workers' members:
Mr. Best (Canada).
Mr. Buisson (France).
Mr. Fürth (Czechoslovakia).

Substitutes:
Mr. Bhole (India).
Mr. Schotman (Netherlands).

The technical adviser of the French Workers' delegation, Mr. Buisson, was unanimously elected Chairman. The Subcommittee held four meetings and adopted a resolution with five documents attached.

After a preliminary general discussion, the Subcommittee decided to study, not only the draft Convention concerning the maintenance of the pension rights of displaced persons, but also the analogous problems, of an international character, connected with this question. As regards the social insurance questions in paragraphs 8 and 9 of the proposed resolution concerning social provisions in the peace settlement contained in Report II, the Subcommittee was informed by the Representative of the Secretary-General that there would be no objection to its dealing with these last-mentioned problems pending a formal transfer of these points, if necessary, to the Social Security Committee from the Committee on Items I and II on the Agenda.

I. PRINCIPLES CONCERNING THE PROTECTION OF THE SOCIAL INSURANCE RIGHTS OF DISPLACED PERSONS

After considering the proposed draft Convention concerning the maintenance of the pension rights of displaced persons, the Subcommittee came to the conclusion that the method of solving the problems here involved that the Office had put forward was not altogether acceptable. The text submitted by the Office was as follows:

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,
Having been convened at Philadelphia by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Twenty-sixth Session on 20 April 1944, and

Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to the maintenance of rights in course of acquisition and rights acquired under compulsory pension insurance schemes by persons who have been liable to compulsory pension insurance under the laws or regulations of a country other than their country of residence, which is included in the fourth item on the agenda of the session, and

Having determined that these proposals shall take the form of a draft International Convention,

The Office text was as follows:

8. Any decisions concerning the transfer of territory which may be taken by the United Nations should include provision for the maintenance of rights in course of acquisition and rights acquired under social insurance schemes and for the transfer of any funds attributable to the carrying on of social insurance in the transferred territory. Any question concerning the application of the arrangements made for these purposes which is not settled by the terms of such arrangements or by agreement should be decided by a commission consisting of representatives of the States concerned and persons appointed by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

9. Any arrangements which may be made by the United Nations or by any of them for the exchange of populations between different countries should include appropriate provision for the protection of the working populations concerned.

See Proceedings, p. 218.
adopts this, day of May of the year one thousand nine hundred and forty-four, the following Convention which may be cited as the Maintenance of Pension Rights (Displaced Persons) Convention, 1944.

PART I. RECRUITED WORKERS

Article 1

The rights in course of acquisition or rights acquired under any scheme of compulsory pension insurance by persons who, at any time since 31 August 1939, have, by reason of recruitment in their country of residence by or on behalf of an agency of another State for employment during a limited period in the territory of that State or in another territory occupied by it, been liable to compulsory pension insurance under the laws or regulations of a country other than their country of residence or would have been so liable if nationals of the recruiting country, and who have not taken up permanent residence in the territory of employment or in that of a third State, shall be maintained in accordance with the provisions of this Part of this Convention.

Article 2

1. A recruited worker shall be deemed to have been at the disposal of the recruiting country as from the date of his departure from his country of residence until the date of his return thereto or until the date of his death, whichever is the earlier.

2. Every recruited worker shall be deemed to have been affiliated to the insurance institution of the recruiting country to which, having regard to his principal occupation while at the disposal of that country, he would have been affiliated if a national thereof.

3. There shall be deemed to have been paid in respect of every recruited worker for the whole period for which he is deemed to have been at the disposal of the recruiting country the contributions which would have been payable, at the date following 31 August 1939 when the recruiting country first organised recruitment in the country of residence of the recruited worker, in respect of a national of the recruiting country who was performing similar work and was receiving wages current for such work. Such contributions shall comprise such part of the total of the joint contribution of employed persons and employers, payable in virtue of the social security laws or regulations of the recruiting country, as is applied to the financing of the scheme administered by the recruiting country to which he is deemed to have been affiliated.

Article 3

1. The total of the contributions deemed to have been paid in respect of a recruited worker shall constitute a debt due by the insurance institution to which he is deemed to have been affiliated (hereinafter called the “debtor institution”) to an insurance institution to be designated by the country of residence (hereinafter called the “creditor institution”) and to be notified by it to the recruiting country.

2. Provided that where, at the date when this Convention comes into force as between a country of residence and a recruiting country, any instalments of a pension or any capital sum in commutation of a pension, have been paid by any debtor institution to a recruited worker, the total of such instalments or the capital sum (excluding in either case the value of any subsidy or supplement to, or fraction of, a pension which is payable out of public funds) shall be deducted from its liabilities.

3. The debt shall fall due on the date at which the recruited worker is deemed to have ceased to be at the disposal of the recruiting country or on the date of notification of the name of the creditor institution, whichever is the later; compound interest shall be payable on any portion of the debt remaining unpaid at the rate of 4 per cent. annually from the date on which the debt fell due.

4. For the purpose of converting, with a view to payment, the amount of the debt or any instalment thereof from the currency of the recruiting country into that of the country of residence, the value of the currency of the country of residence, as fixed by the recruiting country immediately before the date following 31 August 1939 when it first organised the recruitment of workers of the country of residence for the purpose of the conversion of any sums remitted home by such workers, shall be multiplied by a coefficient obtained by dividing the ratio of the cost-of-living index number of the recruiting country to that of the country of residence at the said date by the ratio of the cost-of-living index number of the recruiting country to that of the country of residence at the date when the payment is effected.

Article 4

On the payment of the debt all the liabilities of the debtor institution in respect of the rights in course of acquisition and rights acquired by a recruited worker while he was at the disposal of the recruiting country shall be transferred to the creditor institution.

Article 5

1. As from the date at which a recruited worker is deemed to have ceased to be at the disposal of the recruiting country, he shall be affiliated to an appropriate insurance institution of the country of residence designated by that country, and the sum received by the creditor institution from the debtor institution in respect of the recruited worker concerned shall be transferred to the appropriate institution.

2. The appropriate institution shall thereafter apply the sum so transferred to it for the purpose of crediting the recruited worker concerned with such rights, including the right to enter voluntary insurance, as would have been credited to him under the laws and regulations governing the said institution, if contributions in respect of him had been paid to it while he was at the disposal of the recruiting country.

3. Where the recruited worker ceased to be at the disposal of the recruiting country by reason of death, the foregoing paragraphs of this Article shall apply as if he were affiliated to the appropriate institution at the time of his death.

4. Any sum deducted from the liabilities of a debtor institution in respect of a recruited worker who was deemed to be at the disposal of the recruiting country by reason of death, the foregoing paragraphs of this Article shall apply as if he were affiliated to the appropriate institution at the time of his death.

5. The Commission shall be of general application in comparable cases and avoid differentiation between one State and another, but this provision shall not preclude the Commission from making special regulations for cases which present distinctive features.

6. Without prejudice to the generality of the powers conferred by the preceding paragraph, the
Commission shall make regulations designed to:

(a) resolve any doubt whether workers are to be regarded as having been recruited;
(b) determine the identity of the insurance institution to which a recruited worker is to be deemed to have been affiliated;
(c) determine the rate of the contributions to be deemed to have been paid in respect of a recruited worker;
(d) determine the wage on which the contribution is to be deemed to have been based;
(e) determine the cost-of-living index numbers of the recruiting country and the country of residence at the date of the organisation of recruitment and the date of payment.

4. In making the regulations provided for in subparagraphs (a), (b), (c), and (d) respectively of the preceding paragraph, the Commission shall have regard to:

(a) the propriety of classifying as recruited workers persons liable under the laws or regulations of an occupying Power to forced labour in the territories in which they reside, and certain groups of deported persons;
(b) circumstances in which it may not be expedient to differentiate recruited workers according to their occupation;
(c) any case in which the rate of contribution was changed while the recruited worker was at the disposal of the country of employment;
(d) typical wages of broad occupational groups, such as skilled or unskilled industrial workers, agricultural workers and miners, and the necessity of ignoring all discrimination based on race, nationality or religion.

5. The Commission shall determine the procedure to be followed by the country of residence for the establishment and presentation of claims to the recruiting country and may fix a final date for the presentation of such claims in respect of any group of recruited workers.

6. The Commission shall determine the period to be allowed to the debtor institution for the payment of its debt and the method of transfer of funds.

7. If the rate of exchange fixed by the recruiting country for the purpose of the conversion of sums remitted home by the recruited workers should appear to be inequitable, the Commission may substitute another rate of exchange.

8. The Commission shall regulate its own procedure: Provided that the quorum necessary for the taking of decisions shall not be less than five, including the Chairman, who shall have a casting vote.

9. Any expenses incurred by the Commission shall be borne by the creditor institutions in such manner as may be determined by the Commission with the approval of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Article 7

Any party to this Convention may refer to the Commission for decision any dispute between one of its insurance institutions and an insurance institution of another party arising out of the application of this Part of this Convention or of any regulation made by the Commission.

Article 8

1. There shall be an umpire appointed by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to whom any party to this Convention may apply for leave to appeal against any regulation or decision made by the Commission on the ground that the Commission has exceeded its powers or has failed to take material circumstances into consideration, or on the ground that the regulation or decision is clearly inequitable to the party concerned.

2. Appeals for which the umpire grants leave shall be heard by an arbitration board consisting of the umpire and two ad hoc members.

3. If the appeal relates to a regulation, one of the ad hoc members shall be appointed by the Commission and one by the party or parties concerned.

4. If the appeal relates to a decision given by the Commission in a dispute between two or more of the parties to the Convention, one of the ad hoc members shall be appointed by the party or parties entering the appeal and the other by the party or parties defending the decision appealed against.

5. The procedure of the arbitration board shall be governed by rules approved by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office which shall afford equality of opportunity for the intervention in any case of any party to the Convention which considers that it has a legal interest involved in the case.

6. The arbitration board may confirm, amend, or revoke the regulation or decision appealed against, in which case its award shall be binding, or may refer the matter back to the Commission for further consideration.

7. The arbitration board may request the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to seek an advisory opinion on any question involving the interpretation of this Convention from the Permanent Court of International Justice, or any tribunal to which the jurisdiction conferred on the Permanent Court of International Justice by the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation may hereafter be entrusted.

8. Any failure to execute an award of the arbitration board may be reported by the party in whose favour the award was made to the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, which may take such action in regard to the matter as it may consider appropriate.

Article 9

The Commission and the umpire shall each submit an annual report to the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

Article 10

1. The parties to this Convention recognise that the provisions of this Part of this Convention [shall] in respect of persons covered thereby the conditions subject to which derogations from the provisions of the Maintenance of Migrants' Pension Rights Convention, 1935, are permitted by Article 19 thereof.

2. Any parties to this Convention may agree to substitute the provisions of the Maintenance of Migrants' Pension Rights Convention, 1935, for those of this Part of this Convention in their mutual relations.

PART II. OTHER WORKERS

Article 11

1. The maintenance of pension rights in course of acquisition or pension rights acquired by persons not covered by Part I of this Convention who have been liable to compulsory pension insurance under the laws or regulations of a country other than their country of residence shall be governed by the provisions of the Maintenance of Migrants' Pension Rights Convention, 1935, hereinafter called the principal Convention.
21. The adoption of a draft Convention are provisions which are still outstanding.

3. As between all of the parties to this Convention the principal Convention shall be deemed to have been in force as from the date of the adoption of this Convention.

PART III. FINAL PROVISIONS

Article a

1. This Convention shall be binding only upon those Members of the International Labour Organisation whose ratifications have been registered with the Secretary-General.

2. This Convention may be ratified by States which are not Members of the International Labour Organisation or be made binding on such States by virtue of the terms of any armistice or peace treaty following the present war. Such States shall make annual reports on the measures which they have taken to give effect to the provisions of the Convention in the manner required of Members of the International Labour Organisation by Article 22 of the Constitution of the Organisation.

3. This Convention shall come into force on the date on which it is ratified or otherwise becomes binding in respect of two parties.

4. Thereafter, this Convention shall come into force for each party on the date on which it is ratified by that party or becomes binding upon it by some other procedure.

Article b

1. Any party to this Convention may denounce Part I thereof after the expiration of ten years from the date on which the Convention first comes into force, by an act communicated to the Secretary-General for registration. Such denunciation shall not take effect until one year after the date on which it is registered.

2. Any party to this Convention which does not, within the year following the expiration of the period of ten years mentioned in the preceding paragraph, exercise the right of denunciation provided for therein, will be bound by the provisions of Part I of this Convention for another period of ten years and, thereafter, may denounce Part I at the expiration of each period of ten years under the terms provided for in this Article.

3. The denunciation of Part I of this Convention by a recruiting country shall not affect liabilities incurred by that country before the denunciation takes effect.

4. The International Labour Conference may, by a decision taken by a two thirds majority at a session at which the matter is included in its agenda, terminate the application of the provisions of Part I of the Convention. If it is satisfied that the continued application of the said provisions has ceased to be necessary and that equitable arrangements have been made for the discharge of any obligations resulting from the said provisions which are still outstanding.

5. The denunciation of the obligations resulting from Part II of this Convention by any party shall be governed by the provisions of Articles 22 and 26 of the Maintenance of Migrants’ Pension Rights Convention, 1935.

The principal criticisms directed against the adoption of a draft Convention are indicated in the following paragraphs.

1. The problem of displaced workers is the result of unilateral measures taken by the Axis and associated countries, which have recruited nationals of members of the United Nations for employment for the purposes of the Axis war economy. Seeing that similar and parallel action has not been taken by the United Nations, it seems that any solution based on the principle of reciprocity would not correspond to the true nature of the situation and could not take the form of international regulations involving that principle.

2. The proposed draft Convention is linked up with the Migrants’ Pension Rights Convention, 1935, and can protect therefore only the rights of displaced persons under invalidity, old-age and survivors’ insurance. It appears desirable, however, to deal with the rights of displaced persons under other branches of social insurance.

3. The execution of the obligations resulting from the Convention depends on their being made binding on the Axis and associated countries, and this, according to the Office proposal, would be effected through the peace settlement. It has appeared preferable that these and related obligations should be recognised more clearly and precisely as obligations to be imposed by the peace settlement.

For the above reason, the Subcommittee decided in favour of a resolution which, while retaining the general principles of the draft Convention as the basis on which any definitive solution should be based, would suggest that they take the form of clauses to be inserted in the peace settlement. The question as to the exact nature of the instrument in which these clauses would be inserted—peace treaty, special agreements, armistice, etc.—is left open.

As regards the substance of the regulations, the Subcommittee has approved the procedure for the repayment of contributions as their basis, but has made a number of modifications in the details of the proposed draft Convention. These modifications deal with the following points.

1. The scope of the regulations should include not only pension insurance (paragraphs 3 to 11 of Annex I to the draft resolution concerning social insurance and related questions in the peace settlement)¹ but accident (paragraphs 12 to 15) and unemployment insurance (paragraphs 16 to 17) as well.

2. The debts of the Axis and associated countries in respect of the insurance of recruited workers who are nationals of members of the United Nations consisted, according to the proposed draft Convention, only of the contributions of insured persons and employers. It is suggested

¹ See below, pp. 444-445.
that these debts should also include sums payable out of public funds to social insurance institutions under the legislation of the country in which the recruited worker was employed. In addition, power should be taken, following the suggestion of the Czechoslovak Government member, to include in the debt the liability for the aggravation of the risks of invalidity and death during the period of employment in the recruiting country, so that the insurance institutions of the countries of origin would be indemnified for their heavier expenditure for pensions during the years following the cessation of hostilities (paragraph 9).

3. The debts in question would cease to be considered as liabilities of one insurance institution to another, and would be considered as liabilities of the Axis or associated country concerned. Nevertheless, the fact that the Governments of these countries would be responsible for the debts would not affect their quite special nature, for by reason of their origin they should constitute primarily the joint liability of the German social insurance institutions as a whole. In view of the unsatisfactory results of the application of Article 912 of the Treaty of Versailles, the Subcommittee has felt obliged to insist on the special nature of these debts, which should not be treated like other financial obligations incurred by the Axis and associated countries as the result of the war, since they might in that case be subject to decisions applying to all such obligations towards the United Nations, with the risk that the debts here in question might not be fully and effectively discharged (paragraph 6).

4. The rules for the calculation of the debt have been simplified. Wider and less rigid conditions are indicated for using these debts in the interests of the persons concerned, having regard to the fact that, as a Yugoslav employers' member pointed out, the recruited workers include many individuals, especially agricultural workers, who under the legislation of their country of origin have not been subject to social insurance and probably will not be subject to it after their return.

The proposals of the Subcommittee for the protection of the social insurance rights of displaced workers are contained in Annex I to the resolution. As already stated, these proposals are based on the technique adopted in the proposed draft Convention with the above-mentioned principal modifications. A few points in Annex I deserve special mention.

(a) As regards the rate of interest referred to in paragraphs 7 and 14 of Annex I, the Subcommittee decided not to set a definite figure, but indicated that the rate should be high enough to encourage the Axis and associated countries to discharge their obligations promptly while at the same time taking account of the rates generally adopted in similar situations in national and international practice.

(b) As regards the range of persons covered by Annex I, the Subcommittee considered that it should include persons who, while fulfilling other conditions laid down therein, have been transferred to Axis and associated countries and have been employed in their territories or other territories occupied by them, whether or not they were formally recruited for this purpose by agencies of the Axis or associated countries and regardless of the legal nature of the work they performed in those territories.

(c) It has not escaped the attention of the Subcommittee that the international settlement of the social consequences of the war would not be complete unless, along with the protection of the social insurance rights of workers recruited by the Axis and associated countries, it took account also of many groups of war refugees and a variety of categories of nationals of members of the United Nations who, in consequence of the war, have been displaced from their country of origin to some other country. On repatriation, they may find themselves deprived of benefits under the social insurance schemes to which they have been subject in the countries where they have been living and working during the war. The Subcommittee, however, considers that it would not be expedient at the present juncture to search for any special solution for this problem, since the desired object could be attained very simply if the countries concerned would ratify the Maintenance of Migrants' Pension Rights Convention, 1935.

II. PRINCIPLE CONCERNING INDEMNITIES FOR SOCIAL CLAIMS

As the result of a general exchange of views, in which took an active part, not only members from countries directly concerned, but also members from other countries such as Canada, the Dominican Republic and the United States, the Subcommittee was led to consider a variety of situations not covered by the proposals for the protection of the social insurance rights of recruited workers in which nationals of members of the United Nations have, as a result of the war, suffered losses related to their social insurance and other analogous rights. Furthermore, the Committee pronounced itself in favour of regulations which would secure full indemnity to all the social protection institutions of the United Nations whose financial situation has been affected as the result of the war and occupation. The Subcommittee, at the suggestion of its Greek, Czechoslovak, Luxemburg, Bel-
Appendix VII: Social Security

gian, Chinese and Polish members, has therefore drawn up principles concerning indemnities due by the Axis and associated countries for all such losses, emphasizing the necessity for granting all these claims priority over claims of any other category which may be presented to those countries by the United Nations. The principles concerning indemnities for social claims are set forth in Annex II.

III. Principles concerning the Settlement of the Social Problems resulting from the Transfer of Territories and the Exchange of Populations

The Subcommittee has considered the proposals of the Office contained in paragraphs 8 and 9 of the proposed resolution concerning social provisions in the peace settlement (Report II) and has re-drafted in a slightly different form the principles therein laid down for the settlement of the social and financial problems resulting from the transfer of territory and the exchange of populations. The Subcommittee's proposals in this connection are set out in Annex III.

IV. Revival of Bilateral Treaties Providing for Equality of Treatment under Social Legislation

The Subcommittee, following various precedents contained in former peace treaties, proposes that any member of the United Nations should be empowered in the peace settlement to insist on the revival of bilateral treaties to which Axis and associated countries and the member concerned have been party, but which have lapsed by reason of the war. Moreover, provisions should be included in the peace settlement to secure for nations of members of the United Nations equality of treatment under the social legislation of the Axis and associated countries. These proposals appear in Annex IV.

V. Constitution of a Technical Committee

The Subcommittee, working on the basis of the text prepared by the Office, has been able to formulate rather more detailed and exact principles on the question of the protection of the social insurance rights of displaced persons, although even these principles cannot be considered as either definitive or exhaustive. On the other questions with which it has dealt, however, it has been unable, through lack of time, to draft in final form the social clauses concerning them which should be inserted in the peace settlement.

The Subcommittee for this reason attaches the greatest importance to the adoption of a procedure which would secure that a set of clauses based on the general principles here put forward should be worked out on all the questions referred to in this report, in final form in full knowledge of all the circumstances—economic, social, political, etc.—which will exist at the time when the cessation of hostilities approaches.

The Subcommittee therefore proposes that a special technical committee should be set up to carry out this task. The constitution of this special committee is indicated in Annex V to the resolution. In the view of the Subcommittee, the international organs mentioned in paragraph C of this Annex should include the U.N.R.R.A. in the first instance.

* * *

The problems with which the Subcommittee has been dealing concern primarily the numerous occupied countries of Europe with a very large total population, although the conclusions have been drafted in such a way as to be applicable as far as possible to the special conditions of Asia also. It is impossible, therefore, to overestimate the importance which the regulations proposed in the present resolution will have as an effective contribution to the social and economic reconstruction of the European continent and to its recovery from the physiological and material damage wrought by the war. Such reconstruction is necessary not only in the interest of Europe but in that of the world as a whole.

At its sitting of 9 May 1944 the Committee unanimously adopted the report of the Subcommittee.

DRAFT RESOLUTION CONCERNING SOCIAL INSURANCE AND RELATED QUESTIONS IN THE PEACE SETTLEMENT

1. Whereas the peace settlement must necessarily comprise various clauses intended to solve a number of international problems of a social nature, of capital importance, which will arise as between the Axis and associated countries on the one hand and the United Nations on the other;

2. Whereas, among these problems the following deserve special attention:

(a) The protection of the social insurance rights of displaced persons;

(b) Indemnities for losses and damage suffered in consequence of the war
and occupation by the social security institutions of members of the United Nations and by their nationals;

(c) The settlement of the social problems resulting from the transfer of territories and the exchange of populations;

(d) The revival of bilateral social treaties and the juridical status under social legislation of nationals of members of the United Nations in the Axis and associated countries;

The Conference approves as a basis for the solution of the problems mentioned above, the principles which are submitted in Annexes I to IV of the present resolution and,

Invites the Governing Body to appoint within six months a Special Committee constituted in the manner indicated in Annex V, which should be entrusted with the preparation, on the basis of the said principles, of:

(1) precise provisions concerning these questions for submission to the United Nations with a view to their insertion in the peace settlement; and

(2) such executive measures as may appear practical.

ANNEX I

PRINCIPLES CONCERNING THE PROTECTION OF THE SOCIAL INSURANCE RIGHTS OF DISPLACED PERSONS

1. The peace settlement should include the following arrangements to protect the social insurance rights of workers recruited for employment by Axis and associated countries.

2. The arrangements shall apply to any person who, while residing in the territory of a member of the United Nations (hereinafter called "country of residence") has, at any time since 31 August 1939 (since 28 September 1938 in the case of Czechoslovakia) and before the cessation of hostilities, been recruited by or on behalf of an agency of an Axis or associated country (hereinafter called "recruiting country") for employment in its own or in another territory occupied by it, and who in virtue of such employment has been liable to compulsory social insurance as a manual worker, salaried employee or miner, as the case may be, under the laws or regulations of the recruiting country or would have been so liable if a national of such country. Similar arrangements should also apply to workers subjected to forced labour in their country of residence.

Pension Insurance

3. A recruited worker shall be deemed to have been affiliated to the pension insurance institution of the recruiting country appropriate to the nature of his employment as from the date of his departure from his country of residence:

(1) until the date of his return there-to, or

(2) until the date of his death or his becoming an invalid, according as (1) or (2) is the earlier.

4. During the whole period for which he is deemed to have been affiliated to an insurance institution of the recruiting country, contributions shall be deemed to have been paid in respect of the recruited worker. Such contributions shall be based on the normal wage of a worker of the recruiting country performing similar work and shall comprise such part of the total of the joint contribution of employed persons and employers, payable in virtue of the social insurance laws or regulations of the recruiting country, as is applied to the financing of the pension insurance scheme administered by the insurance institution to which the recruited worker concerned is deemed to have been affiliated.

5. Where the last employment of a recruited worker in his country of residence was in work of a higher grade than that in which he was employed in the recruiting country, the contributions deemed to have been paid in respect of him shall be based on the earnings corresponding to the work of higher grade and shall be deemed to have been paid to the pension insurance institution of the recruiting country appropriate to the nature of this employment.

6. The total of the contributions deemed to have been paid in respect of a recruited worker, together with a proportionate share of any State subsidy to the revenue or expenditure of the pension insurance scheme, shall constitute a debt due to the country of residence. The recruiting country accepts full responsibility for the discharge of this debt: Provided that such acceptance of responsibility shall not be interpreted as altering the nature of the debt which remains primarily a joint liability of all the social insurance institutions of the recruiting country. The discharge of the above-mentioned responsibility by the recruiting country shall be effected independently of all other financial obligations which may be incurred as the result of the war by the recruiting country to the country of residence.

Provided that the total of any instalments of a pension or any lump sum in commutation of a pension which have been
paid by an insurance institution of the recruiting country to a recruited worker of his survivors up to the date when the arrangements came into force shall be deducted from the total of the contribution debts due by the recruiting country, and, in such proportion as the country of residence may determine, from the proceeds of each debt individually.

7. The debt shall fall due on the date to which its amount is notified to the recruiting country and shall be increased by compound interest at the rate of \( x \) per cent annually from the date at which the recruited worker is deemed to have ceased to be affiliated to an insurance institution of the recruiting country, until the debt is discharged.

8. Any rules adopted for the conversion, with a view to payment, of the amount of any debts expressed in the currency of the recruiting country into the currency of the country of residence, shall provide equitably for protecting the creditor from the effects of the depreciation of the currency of the recruiting country.

9. On the payment of the debt, the liabilities of the recruiting country in respect of the rights in course of acquisition and rights acquired by a recruited worker while he was deemed to be affiliated to an insurance institution of the recruiting country shall be considered as discharged:

Provided that, where, in the course of five years from the date when these arrangements came into force, the frequency of invalidity and death among recruited workers while in the recruiting country and while insured in their country of residence after their return, is found to be significantly greater than that assumed in the actuarial estimates of the scheme under which they are insured, the resultant increase in the pension expenditure shall constitute a debt due by the recruiting country, to be discharged in accordance with the provisions of paragraphs 6 to 8.

10. The country of residence shall use the proceeds of the debt paid in respect of each recruited worker in order to credit him with rights under its pension insurance laws and regulations, and for this purpose shall affiliate him to an insurance institute appropriate for him in view of the nature of his occupation. If there is no such institution the country of residence shall apply correspondingly.

11. Where the recruited worker died or became disabled before the date when these arrangements came into force, a pension shall be awarded if the qualifying conditions can be deemed to have been fulfilled, having regard to the period during which he is deemed to have been affiliated to an insurance institution of the recruiting country.

Accident Insurance

12. Where a recruited worker became permanently incapacitated or died in consequence of an occupational accident or disease occurring in the recruiting country in respect of which compensation was payable under the laws or regulations of the recruiting country concerning accident insurance or would have been so payable if he had been a national of the recruiting country, such compensation shall be commuted for a lump sum representing its capital value, calculated in accordance with actuarial tables applied under the accident insurance laws or regulations of the country of residence. Where necessary the rate of the pension shall be recalculated on the basis of the normal wage of a worker of the recruiting country performing similar work, and the provisions of paragraph 5 shall apply correspondingly.

13. Such lump sum shall constitute a debt due by the recruiting country to the country of residence, and paragraph 6 shall apply correspondingly.

14. The debt shall fall due at the date at which its amount is notified to the recruiting country and shall be increased by compound interest at the rate of \( x \) per cent annually from the date when the first instalment, due but not yet paid, became payable until the debt is discharged; paragraph 8 shall apply correspondingly.

15. The country of residence shall use the proceeds of the debt paid in respect of the recruited worker in order to provide him or his survivors with a pension under its accident insurance laws or regulations.

Unemployment Insurance

16. The provisions of these arrangements shall apply correspondingly to the unemployment insurance contributions paid in respect of workers recruited by the recruiting country.

17. Provided that the country of residence shall apply the proceeds of the debts in respect of such contributions on behalf of recruited workers who are unemployed after their return.

General Provisions

18. For the purpose of assisting the countries of residence concerned in applying these arrangements, there shall be established in connection with the International Labour Office a Commission consisting of one delegate from each such country, together with three persons appointed respectively by the Government, workers' and employers' representatives upon the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

19. The Commission shall be empowered
to make regulations for the purpose of giving effect to these arrangements and resolving any difficulties which may arise in connection with the application thereof; it shall establish its own procedure.

20. Without prejudice to the generality of the powers conferred by paragraph 19, the Commission is entitled to make regulations designed to:

(a) substitute more summary methods than those specified in paragraphs 4 to 6 for the calculation of debts;

(b) substitute for the present arrangements the general provisions of the Maintenance of Migrants' Pension Rights Convention, 1935, as between certain countries or certain categories of recruited workers;

(c) resolve any doubt whether workers are to be regarded as having been recruited;

(d) determine the rate of the contribution to be deemed to have been paid in respect of a recruited worker;

(e) determine one wage on which the contribution is to be deemed to have been based, taking into consideration typical wages of broad occupational groups and the necessity of ignoring all discrimination based on race, nationality and religion;

(f) determine the propriety of classifying as recruited workers nationals of members of the United Nations recruited while residing in the territory of an Axis or associated country and certain other groups such as deported persons, and, for the purposes of workmen's compensation, prisoners of war.

21. The Commission shall accord just consideration to representations and complaints from recruiting countries arising out of the application of these arrangements.

22. Any expenses properly incurred by the Commission shall be borne by recruiting countries.

ANNEX II

PRINCIPLES CONCERNING INDEMNITIES FOR SOCIAL CLAIMS

1. In the peace settlement which will impose financial obligations on the Axis and associated countries, provision should be made for full indemnities in respect of legitimate claims of a social character which result from the events of the present war and from the occupation of the territories of certain members of the United Nations.

2. The above provision relates:

(1) On the one hand, to the satisfaction of claims for indemnity made by social security institutions (social insurance or autonomous welfare funds) of members of the United Nations in respect of all loss and damage which they have suffered as the result of the events mentioned in paragraph 1; the indemnity should include the reconstitution of the reserves of social insurance institutions which are necessary to cover their liabilities as affected by the said events, including the increase of those liabilities resulting from the aggravation of the risks in consequence of the said events;

(2) On the other hand, to the satisfaction of the claims of individual nationals of members of the United Nations in respect of treatment contrary to international law or other inequitable treatment imposed on them by Axis or associated countries in the matter of conditions of employment (including remuneration), loss of social insurance rights not covered by the provisions of Annex I to the present resolution, and of any other claims connected with working conditions and social protection and the like which are the direct or indirect consequence of the events mentioned in paragraph 1 and involve the liability either of Governments and public institutions of the Axis and associated countries or of physical or legal persons belonging to such countries;

(3) In the peace settlement which will impose financial obligations on the Axis and associated countries, provision should be made for priority in favour of the payment of indemnities in respect of the claims mentioned under paragraphs 1 and 2 over all other claims.

ANNEX III

PRINCIPLES CONCERNING THE SETTLEMENT OF THE SOCIAL PROBLEMS RESULTING FROM THE TRANSFER OF TERRITORIES AND THE EXCHANGE OF POPULATIONS

1. Any provisions in the peace settlement on the subject of the transfer of territories should provide for—

(a) The transfer of a clearly defined part of the social insurance liabilities pertaining to the ceded territories from the countries previously competent to the countries subsequently competent, corresponding to the ceded territories;

(b) The immediate transfer by the pre-
Among members of the United Nations
request of members of the United Nations
PRINCIPLES RELATING TO THE REVIVAL OF
bilateral treaties and agreements on the subjects of social insurance, labour, unemployment, public assistance and other related subjects in force on 31 August 1939 (or at any earlier date at which the territory of a member was occupied) between Axis or associated countries, on the one hand and these members of the United Nations on the other; it should provide that such treaties and agreements may not thereafter be denounced unilaterally by Axis or associated countries within five years from the date of the peace settlement.

The peace settlement should guarantee the nationals of the United Nations the same treatment as Axis and associated countries grant to their own nationals in the application of all branches of social legislation.

ANNEX IV

PRINCIPLES RELATING TO THE REVIVAL OF BILATERAL SOCIAL TREATIES AND TO THE JURIDICAL STATUS OF NATIONALS OF MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS UNDER SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN AXIS AND ASSOCIATED COUNTRIES

1. The peace settlement should, at the request of members of the United Nations concerned, provide for the revival of treaties and bilateral agreements on the subjects of social insurance, labour, unemployment, public assistance and other related subjects in force on 31 August 1939 (or at any earlier date at which the territory of a member was occupied) between Axis and associated countries on the one hand and these members of the United Nations on the other; it should provide that such treaties and agreements may not thereafter be denounced unilaterally by Axis or associated countries within five years from the date of the peace settlement.

2. The peace settlement should guarantee the nationals of the United Nations the same treatment as Axis and associated countries grant to their own nationals in the application of all branches of social legislation.

ANNEX V

COMPOSITION OF THE PROPOSED COMMISSION

A. Three representatives of the Governing Body appointed from members of the three groups, being nationals of countries other than those directly represented on the Committee, in accordance with paragraph B below;

B. Ten experts on social insurance and the international regulation of social questions, appointed in particular by countries directly concerned in this matter;

C. Duly qualified representatives of the international bodies which are competent for related questions.

Philadelphia, 9 May 1944.

(Signed) G. PADILLO CASTRO, Chairman.

S. FISCHLOWITZ, Reporter.

(5) Fifth Report of the Committee on Social Security.1

INTERNATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COLLABORATION TO PROMOTE SOCIAL SECURITY

The draft resolution on international administrative co-operation to promote social security and the commentary thereon submitted by the Office for consideration by the Conference were carefully studied by the Committee on Social Security.

The Office text reads as follows:

Whereas the Income Security Recommendation, 1944, and the Medical Care Recommendation, 1944, adopted by the present Conference, recommend Members of the Organisation to apply certain principles, as rapidly as national conditions allow, in developing their social security schemes; and

Whereas mutual assistance in social security administration is one of the forms of collaboration between nations calculated to promote the progressive development in all countries of comprehensive social security schemes providing for income security and medical care on the basis of these Recommendations; and

Whereas the International Labour Office has co-operated with Members of the Organisation in an advisory capacity in the planning and development of social security schemes by means of expert missions, and it is now desirable to take further measures to make the experience of social security administration gained by Members individually available through the International Labour Office to other Members about to introduce social security schemes or to amend their existing schemes; and

Whereas the Inter-American Conference on Social Security adopted at its first session, held at Santiago de Chile in 1942, resolutions favouring co-operation among social security administrations and institutions with a view to the uni-

1 See Proceedings, p. 219.
The Conference requests the International Labour Office:

(a) to make arrangements with Members of the Organisation whereby the services of one or more of the experts of one Member in particular branches of social security administration who may be available for service abroad and suitable in any particular case, having regard to their technical experience and linguistic qualifications and to the nature of the service to be rendered, may be placed at the disposal of another Member on terms agreeable to the Members concerned;

(b) to seek the co-operation of Members with a view to:

(i) securing the comparability of statistics of the working of social security services;

(ii) promoting collaboration among social security administrations in the organisation of courses of higher studies.

The administrative tasks of social security constitute a subject whose importance cannot be exaggerated. To a very great extent the success of social security schemes depends upon the efficient handling of benefits and financial resources, on the extent of the scope of application, on economy in operating expenses, on the necessary administrative and technical controls, and many other conditions.

Appreciating the great value of international collaboration and taking account of the gains which have already been made, especially with its assistance, the Office has considered it appropriate that the Conference should specify and amplify its powers and duties in the form of a resolution. The Committee agrees that the present time and the near future are propitious for the extension of social security, and for providing technical assistance, both by the Office and by States which have schemes in operation, to countries which are in the course of initiating or modifying their institutions.

The Committee, applauding the initiative taken by the Office, approves the draft in principle although, for reasons of form, it has introduced some modifications which do not affect the basic principles involved.

Paragraph (a) of the Office draft has been revised in more general form in order to give the Office more elasticity in making arrangements between States Members regarding the interchange of technical personnel. Some details which the Committee does not consider important have been deleted.

On the other hand, the Committee suggests an amplification of paragraph (b) which would specify, as far as possible, those points on which international administrative collaboration should especially be made effective. Consequently it is proposed that in subparagraph (i) cognisance should be taken of the desirability of standardising social insurance statistics, and succeeding proposals relate to (ii) the interchange of information relating to long-term investment policies; (iii) the simplification of administrative procedures; (iv) the relations between social assistance and social insurance institutions; and (v) the prevention of risks covered. All these points have the greatest administrative interest and should be the subject of international collaboration looking towards the highest efficiency of social security systems. The regular interchange of information between the States Members, in the above-mentioned aspects, which the International Labour Office should promote, thus constitutes a valuable aid in the development of social security institutions.

Regarding subparagraph (ii) of the draft, the text adopted by the Committee conserves the very interesting idea of improving administrative personnel through courses of higher studies.

The Committee requests the Conference to accept the proposals submitted by the Office by adopting the following resolution:

DRAFT RESOLUTION CONCERNING INTERNATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE CO-OPERATION TO PROMOTE SOCIAL SECURITY

Whereas mutual assistance in social security administration is one of the forms of collaboration between nations calculated to promote the progressive development in all countries of comprehensive social security schemes providing for income security and medical care; and

Whereas the International Labour Office has co-operated with Members of the Organisation in an advisory capacity in the planning and development of social security schemes by means of expert missions, and it is now desirable to take further measures to make the experience of social security administration gained by Members individually available through the International Labour Office to other Members about to introduce social security schemes or to amend their existing schemes; and

Whereas the Inter-American Conference on Social Security adopted at its first session, held at Santiago de Chile in 1942, resolutions favouring co-operation among social security administrations and institutions with a view to the unification of statistics of medical care and the encouragement of research and technical studies;

The Conference requests the International Labour Office:

(a) to take the necessary measures to facilitate the interchange of qualified technicians and experts by means of agreements between Members of the Organisation;
Appendix VII: Social Security

(b) to continue efforts to promote, on an international or regional basis, systematic and direct collaboration among social security administrations or institutions with a view to the regular interchange of information which will facilitate their work and the study of common problems in the application of social security; among these problems the following are enumerated without implying any order of preference—

(i) the comparability of statistics on the working of social security services, and their possible standardisation;
(ii) long-term investment of the reserves of social security institutions;
(iii) simplification of social security administration;
(iv) relations between social security institutions based on assistance and those based on insurance;
(v) the prevention of the risks covered;
(vi) the training and technical improvement of the personnel of social security administration through the organisation of courses of higher study in the actuarial and accounting fields and others related to the application of social security systems;

(c) to study the possibility and appropriateness of international or multilateral agreements which would establish bodies responsible for performing common functions, in the field either of finances or of administration.

Philadelphia, 9 May 1944.

(Signed)
GUILLERMO PADILLA CASTRO,
Chairman.

F. A. LÓPEZ ARTÉTA,
Reporter.

Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to income security, which is included in the fourth item on the agenda of the Session, and

Having determined that these proposals shall take the form of a Recommendation,

adopts, this day of May of the year one thousand nine hundred and forty-four, the following Recommendation which may be cited as the Income Security Recommendation, 1944:

Whereas the Atlantic Charter contemplates "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

Whereas the Conference of the International Labour Organisation, by a resolution adopted on 5 November 1941, endorsed this principle of the Atlantic Charter and pledged the full co-operation of the International Labour Organisation in its implementation; and

Whereas income security is an essential element in social security; and

Whereas the International Labour Organisation has promoted the development of income security—

by the adoption by the International Labour Conference of Conventions and Recommendations relating to workmen's compensation for accidents and occupational diseases, sickness insurance, provision for maternity, old-age, invalidity, and widows' and orphans' pensions, and provision for unemployment,

by the adoption by the First and Second Labour Conferences of American States of the resolutions constituting the Inter-American Social Insurance Code, by the participation of a delegation of the Governing Body in the First Inter-American Conference on Social Security which adopted the Declaration of Santiago de Chile, and by the approval by the Governing Body of the Statute of the Inter-American Conference on Social Security established as a permanent agency of co-operation between social security administrations and institutions acting in concert with the International Labour Office, and

by the participation of the International Labour Office in an advisory capacity in the framing of social insurance schemes in a number of countries and by other measures; and

Whereas some Members have not taken such steps as are within their competence to promote the well-being and development of their people although their need for improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security is greatest; and
 Whereas it is now highly desirable that such Members take all necessary steps as soon as possible to reach the accepted international minimum standards and develop those standards; and

Whereas it is now desirable to take further steps towards the attainment of income security by the unification or coordination of social insurance schemes, the extension of such schemes to all workers and their families, including rural populations and the self-employed, and the elimination of inequitable anomalies; and

Whereas the formulation of certain general principles which should be followed by Members of the Organisation in developing their income security schemes along these lines on the foundation of the existing Conventions and Recommendations, pending the unification and amplification of the provisions of the said Conventions and Recommendations, will contribute to this end;

The Conference:

(a) recommends the Members of the Organisation to apply progressively the following general guiding principles, as rapidly as national conditions allow, in developing their income security schemes with a view to the implementation of the fifth principle of the Atlantic Charter, and to report to the International Labour Office from time to time as requested by the Governing Body, concerning the measures taken to give effect to the said general guiding principles;

(b) calls the attention of the Members of the Organisation to the suggestions for the application of these general guiding principles submitted to the Conference and contained in the Annex to this Recommendation.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES

GENERAL

1. Income security schemes should relieve want and prevent destitution by restoring, up to a reasonable level, income which is lost by reason of inability to work (including old age) or to obtain remunerative work or by reason of the death of a breadwinner.

2. Income security should be organised as far as possible on the basis of compulsory social insurance, whereby insured persons fulfilling prescribed qualifying conditions are entitled, in consideration of the contributions they have paid to an insurance institution, to benefits payable at rates, and in contingencies, defined by law.

3. Provision for needs not covered by compulsory social insurance should be made by social assistance; certain categories of persons, particularly dependent children and needy invalids, aged persons and widows, should be entitled to allowances at reasonable rates according to a prescribed scale.

4. Social assistance appropriate to the needs of the case should be provided for other persons in want.

SOCIAL INSURANCE

5. The range of contingencies to be covered by compulsory social insurance should embrace all contingencies in which an insured person is prevented from earning his living, whether by inability to work or inability to obtain remunerative work, or in which he dies leaving a dependent family, and should include certain associated emergencies, generally experienced, which involve extraordinary strain on limited incomes, in so far as they are not otherwise covered.

6. Compensation should be provided in cases of incapacity for work and of death resulting from employment.

7. In order that the benefits provided by social insurance may be closely adapted to the variety of needs, the contingencies covered should be classified as follows:

(a) sickness;
(b) maternity;
(c) invalidity;
(d) old age;
(e) death of breadwinner;
(f) unemployment;
(g) emergency expenses; and
(h) employment injuries.

Provided that benefits should not be payable at the same time for more than one of the following contingencies: invalidity, old age and unemployment.

8. Supplements for each of the first two children should be added to all benefits payable for loss of earnings, provision for further children being left to be made by means of children’s allowances payable out of public funds or under contributory schemes.

9. The contingency for which sickness benefit should be paid is loss of earnings due to abstention from work necessitated on medical grounds by an acute condition, due to disease or injury, requiring medical treatment or supervision.

10. The contingency for which maternity benefit should be paid is loss of earnings due to abstention from work during prescribed periods before and after childbirth.

11. The contingency for which invalidity benefit should be paid is inability to
engage in any substantially gainful work by reason of a chronic condition, due to disease or injury, or by reason of the loss of a member or function.

12. The contingency for which old-age benefit should be paid is the attainment of a prescribed age, which should be that at which persons commonly become incapable of efficient work, the incidence of sickness and invalidity becomes heavy, and unemployment, if present, is likely to be permanent.

13. The contingency for which survivors' benefits should be paid is the loss of support presumably suffered by the dependants as the result of the death of the head of the family.

14. The contingency for which unemployment benefit should be paid is loss of earnings due to the unemployment of an insured person who is ordinarily employed, capable of regular employment in some occupation, and seeking suitable employment, or due to part-time unemployment.

15. Benefits should be provided in respect of extraordinary expenses, not otherwise covered, incurred in cases of sickness, maternity, invalidity and death.

16. The contingency for which compensation for an employment injury should be paid is traumatic injury or disease resulting from employment and not brought about deliberately or by the serious and wilful misconduct of the victim, which results in temporary or permanent incapacity or death.

17. Social insurance should afford protection, in the contingencies to which they are exposed, to all employed and self-employed persons, together with their dependants, in respect of whom it is practicable:

(a) to collect contributions without incurring disproportionate administrative expenditure; and

(b) to pay benefits with the necessary co-operation of medical and employment services and with due precautions against abuse.

18. The employer should be made responsible for collecting contributions in respect of all persons employed by him, and should be entitled to deduct the sums due by them from their remuneration at the time when it is paid.

19. In order to facilitate the efficient administration of benefits, arrangements should be made for the keeping of records of contributions, for ready means of verifying the presence of the contingencies which give rise to benefits, and for a parallel organisation of medical and employment services with preventive and remedial functions.

20. Persons employed for remuneration should be insured against the whole range of contingencies covered by social insur-

21. Self-employed persons should be insured against the contingencies of invalidity, old age and death, under the same conditions as employed persons as soon as the collection of their contributions can be organised. Consideration should be given to the possibility of insuring them also against sickness and maternity necessitating hospitalisation, sickness which has lasted for several months, and extraordinary expenses incurred in cases of sickness, maternity, invalidity and death.

22. Benefits should replace lost earnings, with due regard to family responsibilities, up to as high a level as is practicable without impairing the will to resume work where resumption is a possibility, and without imposing charges on the productive groups so heavy that output and employment are checked.

23. Benefits should be related to the previous earnings of the insured person on the basis of which he has contributed: Provided that any excess of earnings over those prevalent among skilled workers may be ignored for the purpose of determining the rate of benefits, or portions thereof, financed from sources other than the contributions of the insured person.

24. Benefits at flat rates may be appropriate for countries where adequate and economical facilities exist for the population to procure additional protection by voluntary insurance. Such benefits should be commensurate with the earnings of unskilled workers.

25. The right to benefits other than compensation for employment injuries should be subject to contribution conditions designed to prove that the normal status of the claimant is that of an employed or self-employed person and to maintain reasonable regularity in the payment of contributions: Provided that a person should not be disqualified for benefits by reason of the failure of his employer duly to collect the contributions payable in respect of him.

26. The cost of benefits, including the cost of administration, should be distributed among insured persons, employers and taxpayers in such a way as to be equitable to insured persons and to avoid hardship to insured persons of small means or any disturbance to production.

27. The administration of social insurance should be unified or co-ordinated within a general system of social security services, and contributors should, through their organisations, be represented on the bodies which determine or advise upon administrative policy and propose legislation or frame regulations.
SOCIAL ASSISTANCE

28. Society should normally co-operate with parents through general measures of assistance designed to secure the well-being of dependent children.

29. Invalids, aged persons and widows who are not receiving social insurance benefits because they or their husbands, as the case may be, were not compulsorily insured, and whose incomes do not exceed a prescribed level, should be entitled to special maintenance allowances at prescribed rates.

30. Appropriate allowances in cash or partly in cash and partly in kind should be provided for all persons who are in want and do not require internment for corrective care.

ANNEX
GUIDING PRINCIPLES ACCOMPANIED BY SUGGESTIONS FOR APPLICATION

(The paragraphs in bold type are the general guiding principles and the sub-paragraphs are the suggestions for application.)

GENERAL

1. Income security schemes should relieve want and prevent destitution by restoring, up to a reasonable level, income which is lost by reason of inability to work (including old age) or to obtain remunerative work or by reason of the death of a breadwinner.

2. Income security should be organised as far as possible on the basis of compulsory social insurance, whereby insured persons fulfilling prescribed qualifying conditions are entitled, in consideration of the contributions they have paid to an insurance institution, to benefits payable at rates, and in contingencies, defined by law.

3. Provision for needs not covered by compulsory social insurance should be made by social assistance; certain categories of persons, particularly dependent children and needy invalids, aged persons and widows, should be entitled to allowances at reasonable rates according to a prescribed scale.

4. Social assistance appropriate to the needs of the case should be provided for other persons in want.

I. SOCIAL INSURANCE

A. CONTINGENCIES COVERED

Range of Contingencies to be Covered

5. The range of contingencies to be covered by compulsory social insurance should embrace all contingencies in which an insured person is prevented from earning his living, whether by inability to work or inability to obtain remunerative work, or in which he dies leaving a dependent family, and should include certain associated emergencies, generally experienced, which involve extraordinary strain on limited incomes, in so far as they are not otherwise covered.

6. Compensation should be provided in cases of incapacity for work and of death resulting from employment.

7. In order that the benefits provided by social insurance may be closely adapted to the variety of needs, the contingencies covered should be classified as follows:

(a) sickness;
(b) maternity;
(c) invalidity;
(d) old age;
(e) death of breadwinner;
(f) unemployment;
(g) emergency expenses; and
(h) employment injuries.

Provided that benefits should not be payable at the same time for more than one of the following contingencies: invalidity, old age and unemployment.

8. Supplements for each of the first two children should be added to all benefits payable for loss of earnings, provision for further children being left to be made by means of children's allowances payable out of public funds or under contributory schemes.

Sickness

9. The contingency for which sickness benefit should be paid is loss of earnings due to abstinence from work necessitated on medical grounds by an acute condition, due to disease or injury, requiring medical treatment or supervision.

(1) The necessity for abstinence from work should be judged, as a rule, with reference to the previous occupation of the insured person, which he may be expected to resume.

(2) Benefit need not be paid for the first few days of a period of sickness, but if sickness recurs within a few months, a fresh waiting period should not be imposed.

(3) Benefit should preferably be continued until the beneficiary is fit to return to work, dies, or becomes an invalid. If, however, it is considered necessary to limit the duration of benefit, the maximum period should not be less than 26 weeks for a single case, and provision should be made for extending the duration of benefit in the case of specified diseases, such
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10. The contingency for which maternity benefit should be paid is loss of earnings due to abstention from work during prescribed periods before and after childbirth.

(1) A woman should have the right to leave her work if she produces a medical certificate stating that her confinement will probably take place within six weeks, and no woman should be permitted to work during the six weeks following her confinement.

(2) During these periods maternity benefit should be payable.

(3) Absence from work for longer periods or on other occasions may be desirable on medical grounds, having regard to the physical condition of the beneficiary and the exigencies of her work; during any such periods sickness benefits should be payable.

(4) The payment of maternity benefit may be made conditional on the utilization by the beneficiary of health services provided for her and her child.

11. The contingency for which invalidity benefit should be paid is inability to engage in any substantially gainful work by reason of a chronic condition, due to disease or injury, or by reason of the loss of a member or function.

(1) A handicapped person should be expected to engage in any occupation which may reasonably be indicated for him, having regard for his remaining strength and ability, his previous experience, and any facilities for training available to him.

(2) A person for whom such an occupation can be indicated but is not yet available, and a person following a training course, should receive provisional invalidity benefit, training benefit or unemployment benefit, if he is otherwise qualified for it.

(3) A person for whom no such occupation can be indicated should receive invalidity benefit.

(4) Beneficiaries whose permanent inability to engage regularly in any gainful occupation has been confirmed should be allowed to supplement their invalidity benefit by casual earnings of small amount.

(5) Where the rate of invalidity benefit is related to the rate of the previous earnings of the insured person, the right to benefit should be admitted if the handicapped person is not able to earn by ordinary effort as much as one third of the normal earnings in his previous occupation of able-bodied persons having the same training.

(6) Invalidity benefit should be paid, from the date when sickness benefit ceases, for the whole duration of invalidity, provided that when the beneficiary reaches the age at which old-age benefit may be claimed the latter may be substituted for invalidity benefit.

12. The contingency for which old-age benefit should be paid is the attainment of a prescribed age, which should be that at which persons commonly become incapable of efficient work, the incidence of sickness and invalidity becomes heavy, and unemployment, if present, is likely to be permanent.

(1) The minimum age at which old-age benefit may be claimed should be fixed at not more than 65 in the case of men and 60 in the case of women: Provided that a lower age may be fixed for persons who have worked for many years in arduous or unhealthy occupations.

(2) Payment of old-age benefit may, if the basic benefit can be considered sufficient for subsistence, be made conditional on retirement from regular work in any gainful occupation; where such retirement is required, the receipt of casual earnings of relatively small amount should not disqualify for old-age benefit.

13. The contingency for which survivors' benefits should be paid is the loss of support presumably suffered by the dependants as the result of the death of the head of the family.

(1) Survivors' benefits should be paid: (a) to the widow of an insured man; (b) for the children, stepchildren, adopted children and, subject to their previous registration as dependants, illegitimate children of an insured man or of an insured woman who supported the children; and (c) under conditions to be defined by national laws, to an unmarried woman with whom the deceased cohabited.

(2) Widow's benefit should be paid to a widow who has in her care a child for whom child's benefit is payable or who, at her husband's death or later, is an invalid or has attained the minimum age at which old-age benefit may be claimed; a widow who does not fulfil one of these conditions should be paid widow's benefit for a minimum period of several months, and thereafter if she is unemployed until suitable
employment can be offered to her, after training if necessary.

(3) Child's benefit should be paid for a child who is under the school-leaving age, or who is under the age of 18 and is continuing his general or vocational education.

**Unemployment**

14. The contingency for which unemployment benefit should be paid is loss of earnings due to the unemployment of an insured person who is ordinarily employed, capable of regular employment in some occupation, and seeking suitable employment, or due to part-time unemployment.

(1) Benefit need not be paid for the first few days of a period of unemployment reckoned from the date on which the claim is registered, but if unemployment recurs within a few months, a fresh waiting period should not be imposed.

(2) Benefit should continue to be paid until suitable employment is offered to the insured person.

(3) During an initial period reasonable in the circumstances of the case, only the following should be deemed to be suitable employment:

(a) employment in the usual occupation of the insured person in a place not involving a change of residence and at the current rate of wages, as fixed by collective agreements where applicable; or

(b) another employment acceptable to the insured person.

(4) After the expiration of the initial period:

(a) employment involving a change of occupation may be deemed to be suitable if the employment offered is one which may reasonably be offered to the insured person, having regard to his strength, ability, previous experience and any facilities for training available to him;

(b) employment involving a change of residence may be deemed to be suitable if suitable accommodation is available in the new place of residence;

(c) employment under conditions less favourable than the insured person habitually obtained in his usual occupation and district may be deemed to be suitable if the conditions offered conform to the standard generally observed in the occupation and district in which the employment is offered.

**Emergency Expenses**

15. Benefits should be provided in respect of extraordinary expenses, not otherwise covered, incurred in cases of sickness, maternity, invalidity and death.

(1) Necessary domestic help should be provided, or benefit paid for hiring it, during the hospitalisation of the mother of dependent children, if she is an insured woman or the wife of an insured man and is not receiving any benefit in lieu of earnings.

(2) A lump sum should be paid at childbirth to insured women and the wives of insured men towards the cost of a layette and similar expenses.

(3) A special supplement should be paid to recipients of invalidity or old-age benefit who need constant attendance.

(4) A lump sum should be paid on the death of an insured person, or of the wife, husband or dependent child of an insured person, towards the cost of burial.

**Employment Injuries**

16. The contingency for which compensation for an employment injury should be paid is traumatic injury or disease resulting from employment and not brought about deliberately or by the serious and wilful misconduct of the victim which results in temporary or permanent incapacity or death.

(1) Injuries resulting from employment should be deemed to include accidents occurring on the way to or from the place of employment.

(2) Where compensation for an employment injury is payable, the foregoing provisions should be subject to appropriate modifications as indicated in the following paragraphs.

(3) Any disease which occurs frequently only to persons employed in certain occupations or is a poisoning caused by a substance used in certain occupations, should, if the person suffering from such a disease was engaged in such an occupation, be presumed to be of occupational origin and give rise to compensation.

(4) A list of diseases presumed to be of occupational origin should be established and should be revised from time to time by a simple procedure.

(5) In fixing any minimum period of employment in the occupation required to establish the presumption of occupational origin and any maximum period during which the presumption of occupational origin will remain valid after leaving the employment, regard should be had to the length of time required for the contraction and manifestation of the disease.

(6) Temporary incapacity compensation should be payable under conditions similar to those applicable to the payment of sickness benefit.
(7) Consideration should be given to the possibility of paying compensation from the first day of temporary incapacity if the incapacity lasts longer than the waiting period.

(8) Permanent incapacity compensation should be payable in respect of the loss or reduction of earning capacity by reason of the loss of a member or function or by reason of a chronic condition due to injury or disease.

(9) A person who becomes permanently incapacitated should be expected to resume employment in any occupation which may reasonably be indicated for him, having regard to his remaining strength and ability, his previous experience, and any facilities for training available to him.

(10) If no such employment can be offered, the person should receive compensation for total incapacity on a definitive or provisional basis.

(11) If such employment can be offered, but the sum which the person is able to earn by ordinary effort in the employment is significantly less than that which he would probably have earned had he not suffered the injury or disease, he should receive compensation for partial incapacity proportionate to the difference in earning capacity.

(12) Consideration should be given to the possibility of paying suitable compensation in every case of loss of a member or function or disfigurement, even where no reduction of capacity can be proved.

(13) Persons exposed to the risk of an occupational disease of gradual development should be examined periodically, and those for whom a change of occupation is indicated, should be eligible for compensation.

(14) Compensation for permanent incapacity, total or partial, should be paid from the time when temporary incapacity compensation ceases for the whole duration of permanent incapacity.

(15) Persons receiving compensation for permanent partial incapacity should be able to qualify for other benefits under the same conditions as able-bodied persons, where the rates of such benefits are related to the previous earnings of the insured person.

(16) Where the rates of such benefits are not related to the previous earnings of the insured person, a maximum may be fixed for the combined rate of compensation and other benefit.

(17) Survivors' compensation should, subject to the provisions of the following subparagraphs, be paid to the same dependants as could otherwise qualify for survivors' benefits.

(18) A widow should receive compensation for the whole duration of her widowhood.

(19) A child should receive compensation until the age of 18, or 21 if he is continuing his general or vocational education.

(20) Provision should be made for compensating other members of the family of the deceased who were dependent upon him, without prejudice to the claims of the widow and children.

(21) The survivors of a person permanently incapacitated in the degree of two thirds or more who dies otherwise than from the effects of an employment injury should be entitled to basic survivors' benefits, whether or not the deceased injury fulfilled the contribution conditions for such benefit at the time of his death.

B. PERSONS COVERED

Range of Persons to Be Covered

17. Social insurance should afford protection, in the contingencies to which they are exposed, to all employed and self-employed persons, together with their dependants, in respect of whom it is practicable:

(a) to collect contributions without incurring disproportionate administrative expenditure; and

(b) to pay benefits with the necessary co-operation of medical and employment services and with due precautions against abuse.

(1) Dependent wives (that is to say, wives who are not employed or self-employed) and dependent children (that is to say, persons who are under the school-leaving age, or who are under the age of 18 and are continuing their general or vocational education) should be protected in virtue of the insurance of their breadwinners.

Collection of Contributions

18. The employer should be made responsible for collecting contributions in respect of all persons employed by him, and should be entitled to deduct the sums due by them from their remuneration at the time when it is paid.

(1) Where membership of an occupational association or the possession of a licence is compulsory for any class of self-employed persons, the association or the licencing authority may be made responsible for collecting contributions from the persons concerned.

(2) The national or local authority may be made responsible for collecting contributions from self-employed persons registered for the purpose of taxation.

(3) Pending the development of agencies to enforce payment of contributions,
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provision should be made for enabling self-employed persons to contribute voluntarily, either as individuals or as members of associations.

**Administration of Benefits**

19. In order to facilitate the efficient administration of benefits, arrangements should be made for the keeping of records of contributions, for ready means of verifying the presence of the contingencies which give rise to benefits, and for a parallel organisation of medical and employment services with preventive and remedial functions.

**Employed Persons**

20. Persons employed for remuneration should be insured against the whole range of contingencies covered by social insurance as soon as the collection of contributions in respect of them can be organised and the necessary arrangements can be made for the administration of benefit.

(1) Persons whose employment is so irregular, or likely to be so short in its total duration, that they are unlikely to qualify for benefit confined to employed persons, may be excluded from insurance of such benefits. Special provision should be made on behalf of persons who ordinarily work for a very short period for the same employer.

(2) Apprentices who receive no remuneration should be insured against employment injuries, and, as from the date at which they would have completed their apprenticeship for their trade, compensation based on the wages current for workers in that trade should become payable.

**Self-Employed Persons**

21. Self-employed persons should be insured against the contingencies of invalidity, old age and death under the same conditions as employed persons as soon as the collection of their contributions can be organised. Consideration should be given to the possibility of insuring them also against sickness and maternity necessitating hospitalisation, sickness which has lasted for several months, and extraordinary expenses incurred in cases of sickness, maternity, invalidity and death.

(1) Members of the employer's family living in his house, other than his dependent wife or dependent children, should be insured against the said contingencies on the basis of either their actual wages or, if these cannot be ascertained, the market value of their services; the employer should be responsible for the payment of contributions in respect of such persons.

(2) Self-employed persons whose earnings are ordinarily so low that they can be presumed to be a merely subsidiary or casual source of income, or that payment of the minimum contribution would be a hardship for them, should be excluded provisionally from insurance and referred for counsel to the employment service or to any special service that may exist for promoting the welfare of the occupational group to which they may belong.

(3) Persons who, after completing the contribution period prescribed as a qualification for invalidity and survivors' benefits, cease to be compulsorily insured, either as employed or as self-employed persons, should be given the option, to be exercised within a limited period, of continuing their insurance under the same conditions as self-employed persons, subject to such modifications as may be prescribed.

C. **Benefit Rates and Contribution Conditions**

**Benefit Rates**

22. Benefits should replace lost earnings, with due regard to family responsibilities, up to as high a level as is practicable without impairing the will to resume work where resumption is a possibility, and without levying charges on the productive groups so heavy that output and employment are checked.

23. Benefits should be related to the previous earnings of the insured person on the basis of which he has contributed: Provided that any excess of earnings over those prevalent among skilled workers may be ignored for the purpose of determining the rate of benefits, or portions thereof, financed from sources other than the contributions of the insured person.

24. Benefits at flat rates may be appropriate for countries where adequate and economical facilities exist for the population to procure additional protection by voluntary insurance. Such benefits should be commensurate with the earnings of unskilled workers.

(1) Sickness and unemployment benefits should, in the case of unskilled workers, be not less than 40 per cent. of the previous net earnings of the insured person if he has no dependants, or 60 per cent. thereof if he has a dependent wife or housekeeper for his children; for each of not more than two dependent children, an additional 10 per cent. of such earnings, less the amount of any children’s allowances for these children, should be payable.

(2) In the case of workers with high earnings, the foregoing proportions of
benefit to previous earnings may be somewhat reduced.

(3) Maternity benefit should in all cases be sufficient for the full and healthy maintenance of the mother and her child; it should be not less than 100 per cent. of the current net wage for female unskilled workers or 75 per cent. of the previous net earnings of the beneficiary, whichever is the greater, but may be reduced by the amount of any child’s allowance payable in respect of the child.

(4) Basic invalidity and old-age benefits should be not less than 30 per cent. of the current wage commonly recognised for male unskilled workers in the district in which the beneficiary resides, if the beneficiary has no dependants, or 45 per cent. thereof if he has a dependent wife who would be qualified for widow’s benefit or a housekeeper for his children; for each of not more than two dependent children, an additional 10 per cent. of such wage, less the amount of any children’s allowances for these children, should be payable.

(5) Basic widow’s benefit should be not less than 30 per cent. of the current minimum wage commonly recognised for male unskilled workers in the district in which the beneficiary resides; for each of not more than three dependent children, child’s benefit at the rate of 10 per cent. of that wage, less the amount of any children’s allowances for these children, should be payable.

(6) In the case of an orphan, basic child’s benefit should be not less than 20 per cent. of the current minimum wage commonly recognised for male unskilled workers, less the amount of any child’s allowance payable in respect of the orphan.

(7) A portion of every contribution additional to those paid as a qualification for basic invalidity, old-age and survivors’ benefits may be credited to the insured person for the purpose of increasing the benefits provided for in paragraphs (4), (5) and (6).

(8) In every case in which retirement is deferred beyond the minimum age at which old-age benefit could have been claimed, basic old-age benefit should be equitably increased.

(9) Compensation for employment injuries should not be less than two thirds of the wages lost, or estimated to have been lost, as the result of the injury.

(10) Such compensation should take the form of periodical payments, except in cases in which the competent authority is satisfied that the payment of a lump sum will be more advantageous to the beneficiary.

(11) Periodical payments in respect of permanent incapacity and death should be adjusted currently to significant changes in the wage level in the insured person’s previous occupation.

**Contribution Conditions**

25. The right to benefits other than compensation for employment injuries should be subject to contribution conditions designed to prove that the normal status of the claimant is that of an employed or self-employed person and to maintain reasonable regularity in the payment of contributions: Provided that a person shall not be disqualified for benefits by reason of the failure of his employer duly to collect the contributions payable in respect of him.

(1) The contribution conditions for sickness, maternity and unemployment benefits may include the requirement that contributions shall have been paid in respect of not less than a quarter of a prescribed period, such as two years, completed before the contingency occurs.

(2) The contribution conditions for maternity benefit may require that the first contribution shall have been paid not less than ten months before the expected date of confinement, but even though the contribution conditions are not fulfilled, maternity benefit at the minimum rate should be paid during the period of compulsory abstention from work after confinement, if the claimant’s normal status appears, after consideration of the case, to be that of an employed person.

(3) The contribution conditions for basic invalidity, old-age and survivors’ benefits may require that contributions shall have been paid in respect of not less than two fifths of a prescribed period, such as five years, completed before the contingency occurs; payment of contributions in respect of not less than three quarters of a prescribed period, such as ten years, or of any longer period which has elapsed since entry into insurance, should be recognised as an alternative qualification for benefit.

(4) The contribution conditions for old-age benefit may provide that the first contribution shall have been paid not less than five years before the claim for benefit is made.

(5) The right to benefit may be suspended where an insured person wilfully fails to pay any contribution due by him in respect of any period of self-employment or to pay any penalty imposed for late payment of contributions.

(6) The insurance status of an insured person at the date when he becomes entitled to invalidity or old-age benefit should be maintained during the currency of such benefit for the purposes of ensuring him, in the event of recovery from invalidity, as full protection under the scheme as he was entitled to on the occurrence of the invalidity, and of entitling his survivors to survivors’ benefits.
D. DISTRIBUTION OF COST

26. The cost of benefits, including the cost of administration, should be distributed among insured persons, employers and taxpayers, in such a way as to be equitable to insured persons and to avoid hardship to insured persons of small means or any disturbance to production.

(1) The contribution of an insured person should not exceed such proportion of his earnings taken into account for reckoning benefits as, applied to the estimated average earnings of all persons insured against the same contingencies, would yield a contribution income the probable present value of which would equal the probable present value of the benefits to which they may become entitled (excluding compensation for employment injuries).

(2) In accordance with this principle the contributions of employed persons and self-employed persons for the same benefits may, as a rule, represent the same proportion of their respective earnings.

(3) A minimum absolute rate, based on the minimum rate of earnings which may be deemed to be indicative of substantial gainful work, may be prescribed for the insured person's contribution with respect to benefits the whole or part of which does not vary with the rate of previous earnings.

(4) Employers should be required to contribute, particularly by subsidising the insurance of low wage earners, not less than half the total cost of benefits confined to employed persons, excluding compensation for employment injuries.

(5) The entire cost of compensation for employment injuries should be contributed by employers.

(6) Consideration should be given to the possibility of applying some method of merit rating in the calculation of contributions in respect of compensation for employment injuries.

(7) The rates of contribution of insured persons and employers should be kept as stable as possible, and for this purpose a stabilisation fund should be constituted.

(8) The cost of benefits which cannot properly be met by contributions should be covered by the community.

(9) Among the elements of cost which may be charged to the community may be mentioned:

(a) the contribution deficit resulting from bringing persons into insurance when already elderly;
(b) the contingent liability involved in guaranteeing the payment of basic invalidity, old-age and survivors' benefits and the payment of adequate maternity benefit;
(c) the liability resulting from the continued payment of unemployment benefit when unemployment persists at an excessive level; and
(d) subsidies to the insurance of self-employed persons of small means.

E. ADMINISTRATION

27. The administration of social insurance should be unified or co-ordinated within a general system of social security services, and contributors should, through their organisations, be represented on the bodies which determine or advise upon administrative policy and propose legislation or frame regulations.

(1) Social insurance should be administered under the direction of a single authority, subject, in federal countries, to the distribution of legislative competence; this authority should be associated with the authorities administering social assistance, medical care services and employment services in a co-ordinating body for matters of common interest, such as the certification of inability to work or to obtain work.

(2) The unified administration of social insurance should be compatible with the operation of separate insurance schemes, compulsory or voluntary in character, providing supplementary, but not alternative, benefits for certain occupational groups, such as miners and seamen, public officials, the staffs of individual undertakings and members of mutual benefit societies.

(3) The law and regulations relating to social insurance should be drafted in such a way that beneficiaries and contributors can easily understand their rights and duties.

(4) In devising procedures to be followed by beneficiaries and contributors, simplicity should be a primary consideration.

(5) Central and regional advisory councils, representing such bodies as trade unions, employers' associations, chambers of commerce, farmers' associations, women's associations and child protection societies, should be established for the purpose of making recommendations for the amendment of the law and administrative methods, and generally of maintaining contact between the administration of social insurance and groups of contributors and beneficiaries.

(6) Employers and workers should be closely associated with the administration of compensation for employment injuries, particularly in connection with the prevention of accidents and occupational diseases and with merit rating.

(7) Claimants should have a right of appeal in case of dispute with the administrative authority concerning such ques-
Appendix VII: Social Security

IV. Social Security

8. Insurances as the right to benefit and the rate thereof.

(8) Appeals should preferably be referred to special tribunals, which should include referees who are experts in social insurance law, assisted by assessors, representative of the group to which the claimant belongs, and, where employed persons are concerned, by representatives of employers also.

(9) In any dispute concerning liability to insurance or the rate of contribution, for an employer or self-employed person, and where an employer's contribution is in question, an employer should have a right of appeal.

(10) Provision for uniformity of interpretation should be assured by a superior appeal tribunal.

II. Social Assistance

A. Maintenance of Children

28. Society should normally co-operate with parents through general measures of assistance designed to secure the well-being of dependent children.

(1) Public subsidies in kind or in cash or in both should be established in order to assure the healthy nurture of children, help to maintain large families, and complete the provision made for children through social insurance.

(2) Where the purpose in view is to assure the healthy nurture of children, subsidies should take the form of such advantages as free or below-cost infants' food and school meals and below-cost dwellings for families with several children.

(3) Where the purpose in view is to help to maintain large families or to complete the provision made for children by subsidies in kind and through social insurance, subsidies should take the form of children's allowances.

(4) Such allowances should be payable, irrespective of the parents' income, according to a prescribed scale, which should represent a substantial contribution to the cost of maintaining a child, should allow for the higher cost of maintaining older children, and should, as a minimum, be granted to all children for whom no provision is made through social insurance.

(5) Society as a whole should accept responsibility for the maintenance of dependent children in so far as parental responsibility for maintaining them cannot be enforced.

B. Maintenance of Needy Invalids, Aged Persons and Widows

29. Invalids, aged persons and widows who are not receiving social insurance benefits because they or their husbands, as the case may be, were not compulsorily insured, and whose incomes do not exceed a prescribed level, should be entitled to special maintenance allowances at prescribed rates.

(1) The persons who should be entitled to maintenance allowances should include:

(a) persons belonging to occupational groups, or residing in districts to which social insurance does not yet apply, or has not yet applied for as long as the qualifying period for basic invalidity, old-age or survivors' benefits, as the case may be, and the widows and dependent children of such persons; and

(b) persons who are already invalids at the time when they would normally enter insurance.

(2) Maintenance allowances should be sufficient for full, long-term maintenance; they should vary with the current cost of living, and may vary as between urban and rural areas.

(3) Maintenance allowances should be paid at the full rate to persons whose other income does not exceed a prescribed level, and at reduced rates in other cases.

(4) The provisions of the present Recommendation defining the contingencies in which invalidity, old-age and survivors' benefits should be paid should be applied, in so far as they are relevant, to maintenance allowances.

C. General Assistance

30. Appropriate allowances in cash or partly in cash and partly in kind should be provided for all persons who are in want and do not require internment for corrective care.

(1) The range of cases in which the amount of the allowance is entirely discretionary should be gradually narrowed as the result of the improved classification of cases of want, and the establishment of budgets corresponding to the cost of maintenance in short-term and long-term indigency.

(2) The grant of allowance may be subject to compliance by the recipient with directions given by the authorities administering medical or employment services in order that the assistance may yield its greatest constructive effect.

(7) Text of the Recommendation (No. . .) concerning income security and medical care for persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services and from war employment, submitted by the Drafting Committee.

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,
Having been convened at Philadelphia by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Twenty-sixth Session on 20 April 1944, and

Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to income security and medical care for persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services and from war employment, which is included in the third item on the agenda of the Session, and

Having determined that these proposals shall take the form of a Recommendation,

adopts, this day of May, of the year one thousand nine hundred and forty-four, the following Recommendation which may be cited as the Social Security (Armed Forces) Recommendation, 1944:

Whereas persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services have been obliged to interrupt their careers and will be faced with initial expenditure in re-establishing themselves in civil life; and

Whereas persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services or from war employment may in certain cases remain unemployed for a time before obtaining suitable employment; and

Whereas it is undesirable that persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services should find themselves at a disadvantage in respect of pension insurance as compared with persons who have remained in civil employment, and the Invalidity, Old-Age and Survivors' Insurance Recommendation, 1933, while providing for the maintenance of the rights under pension insurance schemes of persons engaged in military service who were insured before beginning such service, does not provide for the attribution of any rights under such schemes to persons not insured before entering military service; and

Whereas it is desirable that persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services should be protected by insurance in respect of sickness occurring between their discharge and their re-establishment in civil life by entry into insurable employment or otherwise; and

Whereas it is necessary to make equitable provision in regard to these matters, without prejudice to the satisfaction of other essential needs, such as those of military and civilian war victims, which must also be a charge on the national income:

The Conference recommends the Members of the Organisation to apply the following principles and to communicate information to the International Labour Office, as requested by the Governing Body, concerning the measures taken to give effect to these principles:

I. MUSTERING-OUT GRANT

1. Persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services should, except in cases in which they have, in virtue of national laws or regulations, continued to receive a substantial part of their remuneration, receive on their discharge a special grant, which may be related to their length of service and should be paid in the form of a lump sum, in the form of periodical payments, or partly in the form of a lump sum and partly in the form of periodical payments.

II. UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE AND ASSISTANCE

2. Persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services should, so far as is administratively practicable, be treated under unemployment insurance schemes as insured contributors in respect of whom contributions have been paid for a period equal to their period of service. The resulting financial liability should be borne by the State.

3. Where persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services or from war employment, as defined by national laws or regulations, exhaust their right to benefit before suitable employment is offered to them, or are not covered by an unemployment insurance scheme, an allowance financed wholly from State funds should be paid until suitable employment is available; the allowance should, if possible, be paid irrespective of need.

III. PENSION AND SICKNESS INSURANCE

4. (1) Where a compulsory insurance scheme providing pensions in case of invalidity, old age or death and covering a substantial part of the working population is in force, periods of service in the armed forces and assimilated services should be reckoned as contribution periods for the purpose of determining whether any requirement in regard to a minimum qualifying period has been fulfilled.

(2) Where the rate of pension varies with the number of contributions credited to the insured person, the period of service should be taken into account for the purpose of increasing the rate of pension.

(3) Where contributions are graduated according to remuneration, contributions should be credited in respect of periods of service on the basis of a uniform hypothetical remuneration of reasonable
amount: Provided that contributions credited to persons insured immediately before beginning their service may be based on the remuneration which they were receiving at the time if such remuneration was higher than the hypothetical remuneration.

(4) Persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services should retain, during the period between their discharge and the time at which they can be considered to be re-established in civil life, their rights in respect of the contributions credited to their account; these rights should be maintained for a period of not less than twelve months.

5. (1) Where a compulsory insurance scheme providing sickness, maternity and medical benefits and covering a substantial part of the working population is in force, persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services should be entitled to such benefits in respect of sickness or childbirth occurring during the period between their discharge and the time at which they can be considered to be re-established in civil life; these rights should be maintained for a period of not less than twelve months.

(2) Where the compulsory insurance scheme provides maternity and medical benefits for the dependants of insured persons, discharged persons protected by the scheme should be entitled to such benefits for their dependants.

(3) Where the rate of sickness benefits is proportional to the remuneration of the insured person, the rate of benefit payable to discharged persons should be based on a uniform hypothetical remuneration of reasonable amount.

6. (1) The State should bear the liability created by crediting persons serving in the armed forces or assimilated services with pension insurance contributions andinsuring them against sickness pending their re-establishment in civil life: Provided that, where the pay of any class of such persons may, having regard to the value of their subsistence and of dependants' allowances, be considered at least equivalent on the whole to the wages prevailing in industry, a portion of the pension insurance contribution may be deducted from their service pay.

(2) The provisions of subparagraph (1) shall not apply in cases where, in virtue of national laws or regulations, such persons continue to receive, during their service, a substantial part of their remuneration, and the normal contributions required by law continue to be payable in respect of them.

(8) Text of the Recommendation (No. . . .) concerning medical care, submitted by the Drafting Committee.

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Having been convened at Philadelphia by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Twenty-sixth Session on 20 April 1944, and

Having determined that these proposals shall take the form of a Recommendation, adopts, this day of May of the year one thousand nine hundred and forty-four, the following Recommendation which may be cited as the Medical Care Recommendation, 1944:

Whereas the Atlantic Charter contemplates "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

Whereas the Conference of the International Labour Organisation, by a resolution adopted on 5 November 1941, endorsed this principle of the Atlantic Charter and pledged the full co-operation of the International Labour Organisation in its implementation; and

Whereas the availability of adequate medical care is an essential element in social security; and

Whereas the International Labour Organisation has promoted the development of medical care services—

by the inclusion of requirements relating to medical care in the Workmen's Compensation (Accidents) Convention, 1925, and the Sickness Insurance (Industry, etc.) and (Agriculture) Conventions, 1927,

by the communication to the Members of the Organisation by the Governing Body of the conclusions of meetings of experts relating to public health and health insurance in periods of economic depression, the economical administration of medical and pharmaceutical benefits under sickness insurance schemes, and guiding principles for curative and preventive action by invalidity, old-age and widows' and orphans' insurance,

by the adoption by the First and Second Labour Conferences of American States of the Resolutions constituting the Inter-American Social Insurance Code, by the participation of a delegation of the Governing Body in the First Inter-American Conference on Social Security which adopted the Declaration of Santiago de Chile, and by the approval by the Governing Body of the Statute of the Inter-American Conference on Social Security, established as a per-
manent agency of co-operation between social security administrations and institutions acting in concert with the International Labour Office, and

by the participation of the International Labour Office in an advisory capacity in the framing of social insurance schemes in a number of countries and by other measures; and

Whereas some Members have not taken such steps as are within their competence to improve the health of the people by the extension of medical facilities, the development of public health programmes, the spread of health education, and the improvement of nutrition and housing, although their need in that respect is greatest, and it is highly desirable that such Members take all steps as soon as possible to reach the international minimum standards and to develop these standards; and

Whereas it is now desirable to take further steps for the improvement and unification of medical care services, the extension of such services to all workers and their families, including rural populations and the self-employed, and the elimination of inequitable anomalies, without prejudice to the right of any beneficiary of the medical care service who so desires to arrange privately at his own expense for medical care; and

Whereas the formulation of certain general principles which should be followed by Members of the Organisation in developing their medical care services along these lines will contribute to this end:

The Conference recommends the Members of the Organisation to apply the following principles, as rapidly as national conditions allow, in developing their medical care services with a view to the implementation of the fifth principle of the Atlantic Charter, and to report to the International Labour Office, as requested by the Governing Body, concerning the measures taken to give effect to these principles.

I. GENERAL

Essential Features of a Medical Care Service

1. A medical care service should meet the need of the individual for care by members of the medical and allied professions and for such other facilities as are provided at medical institutions:

   (a) with a view to restoring the individual's health, preventing the further development of disease and alleviating suffering, when he is afflicted by ill health (curative care); and

   (b) with a view to protecting and improving his health (preventive care).

2. The nature and extent of the care provided by the service should be defined by law.

3. The authorities or bodies responsible for the administration of the service should provide medical care for its beneficiaries by securing the services of members of the medical and allied professions and by arranging for hospital and other institutional services.

4. The cost of the service should be met collectively by regular periodical payments which may take the form of social insurance contributions or of taxes, or of both.

Forms of Medical Care Service

5. Medical care should be provided either through a social insurance medical care service with supplementary provision by way of social assistance to meet the requirements of needy persons not yet covered by social insurance, or through a public medical care service.

6. Where medical care is provided through a social insurance medical care service:

   (a) every insured contributor, the dependent wife or husband and dependent children of every such contributor, such other dependants as may be prescribed by national laws or regulations, and every other person insured by virtue of contributions paid on his behalf, should be entitled to all care provided by the service.

   (b) care for persons not yet insured should be provided by way of social assistance if they are unable to obtain it at their own expense; and

   (c) the service should be financed by contributions from insured persons, from their employers, and by subsidies from public funds.

7. Where medical care is provided through a public medical care service:

   (a) every member of the community should be entitled to all care provided by the service;

   (b) the service should be financed out of funds raised either by a progressive tax specifically imposed for the purpose of financing the medical care service or of financing all health services, or from general revenue.

II. PERSONS COVERED

Complete Coverage

8. The medical care service should cover
all members of the community, whether or not they are gainfully occupied.

9. Where the service is limited to a section of the population or to a specified area, or where the contributory mechanism already exists for other branches of social insurance and it is possible ultimately to bring under the insurance scheme the whole or the majority of the population, social insurance may be appropriate.

10. Where the whole of the population is to be covered by the service and it is desired to integrate medical care with general health services, a public service may be appropriate.

Coverage through a Social Insurance Medical Care Service

11. Where medical care is provided through a social insurance medical care service, all members of the community should have the right to care as insured persons or, pending their inclusion in the scope of insurance, should have the right to receive care at the expense of the competent authority when unable to provide it for themselves.

12. All adult members of the community (that is to say, all persons other than children as defined in paragraph 15) should be required to pay insurance contributions if their income is not below the subsistence level. The dependent wife or husband of a contributor should be insured in virtue of the contribution of her or his breadwinner, without any addition on that account.

13. Other adults who prove that their income is below the subsistence level, including indigents, should be entitled to care as insured persons, the contribution being paid on their behalf by the competent authority. Rules defining the subsistence level in each country should be laid down by the competent authority.

14. If and so long as adults unable to pay a contribution are not insured as provided for in paragraph 13, they should receive care at the expense of the competent authority.

15. All children (that is to say, all persons who are under the age of 16 years, or such higher age as may be prescribed, or who are dependent on others for regular support while continuing their general or vocational education) should be insured in virtue of the contributions paid by or on behalf of adult insured persons in general, and no additional contribution should be payable on their behalf by their parents or guardians.

16. If and so long as children are not insured as provided for in paragraph 15, because the service does not yet extend to the whole population, they should be insured in virtue of the contribution paid by or on behalf of their father or mother without any additional contribution being payable on their behalf. Children for whom medical care is not so provided should, in case of need, receive it at the expense of the competent authority.

17. Where any person is insured under a scheme of social insurance for cash benefits or is receiving benefit under such a scheme, he and his qualified dependants as defined in paragraph 6, should also be insured under the medical care service.

Coverage through a Public Medical Care Service

18. Where medical care is provided through a public medical care service, the provision of care should not depend on any qualifying conditions, such as payment of taxes or compliance with a means test and all beneficiaries should have an equal right to the care provided.

III. The Provision of Medical Care and Its Co-ordination with General Health Services

Range of Service

19. Complete preventive and curative care should be constantly available, rationally organised and, so far as possible, co-ordinated with general health services.

Constant Availability of Complete Care

20. Complete preventive and curative care should be available at any time and place to all members of the community covered by the service, on the same conditions, without any hindrance or barrier of an administrative, financial or political nature, or otherwise unrelated to their health.

21. The care afforded should comprise both general-practitioner and specialist out- and in-patient care, including domiciliary visiting; dental care; nursing care at home or in hospital or other medical institutions; the care given by qualified midwives and other maternity services at home or in hospital; maintenance in hospitals, convalescent homes, sanatoria or other medical institutions; the care given by qualified midwives and other maternity services at home or in hospital; maintenance in hospitals, convalescent homes, sanatoria or other medical institutions; so far as possible, the requisite dental, pharmaceutical and other medical or surgical supplies, including artificial limbs; and the care furnished by such other professions as may at any time be legally recognised as belonging to the allied professions.

22. All care and supplies should be available at any time and without time limit, when and as long as they are needed, subject only to the doctor's judgment and to such reasonable limitations as may be imposed by the technical organisation of the service.

23. Beneficiaries should be able to
obtain care at the centres or offices provided, wherever they happen to be when the need arises, whether at their place of residence or elsewhere within the total area in which the service is available, irrespective of their membership in any particular insurance institution, arrears in contributions or of other factors unrelated to health.

24. The administration of the medical care service should be unified for appropriate health areas sufficiently large for a self-contained and well-balanced service, and should be centrally supervised.

25. Where the medical care service covers only a section of the population or is at present administered by different types of insurance institutions and authorities, the institutions and authorities concerned should provide care for their beneficiaries by securing collectively the services of members of the medical and allied professions, and by the joint establishment or maintenance of health centres and other medical institutions, pending the regional and national unification of the services.

26. Arrangements should be made by the administration of the service for securing adequate hospital and other residential accommodation and care, either by contracts with existing public and approved private institutions, or by the establishment and maintenance of appropriate institutions.

Rational Organisation of Medical Care Service

27. The optimum of medical care should be made readily available through an organisation that ensures the greatest possible economy and efficiency by the pooling of knowledge, staff, equipment and other resources and by close contact and collaboration among all participating members of the medical and allied professions and agencies.

28. The wholehearted participation of the greatest possible number of members of the medical and allied professions is essential for the success of any national medical care service. The numbers of general practitioners, specialists, dentists, nurses and members of other professions within the service should be adapted to the distribution and the needs of the beneficiaries.

29. Complete diagnostic and treatment facilities, including laboratory and x-ray services, should be available to the general practitioner, and all specialist advice and care, as well as nursing, maternity, pharmaceutical and other auxiliary services, and residential accommodation, should be at the disposal of the general practitioner for the use of his patients.

30. Complete and up-to-date technical equipment for all branches of specialist treatment, including dental care, should be available, and specialists should have at their disposal all necessary hospital and research facilities, and auxiliary outpatient services such as nursing, through the agency of the general practitioner.

31. To achieve these aims, care should preferably be furnished by group practice at centres of various kinds working in effective relation with hospitals.

32. Pending the establishment of, and experiments with, group practice at medical or health centres, it would be appropriate to obtain care for beneficiaries from members of the medical and allied professions practising at their own offices.

33. Where the medical care service covers the majority of the population, medical or health centres may appropriately be built, equipped and operated by the authority administering the service in the health area, in one of the forms indicated in paragraphs 34, 35 and 36.

34. Where no adequate facilities exist or where a system of hospitals with outpatient departments for general-practitioner and specialist treatment already obtains in the health area at the time when the medical care service is introduced, hospitals may appropriately be established as, or developed into, centres providing all kinds of in- and out-patient care and complemented by local outposts for general-practitioner care and for auxiliary services.

35. Where general practice is well developed outside the hospital system while specialists are mainly consultants and working at hospitals, it may be appropriate to establish medical or health centres for non-residential general-practitioner care and auxiliary services, and to centralise specialist in-patient and outpatient care at hospitals.

36. Where general and specialist practice are well developed outside the hospital system, it may be appropriate to establish medical or health centres for all non-residential treatment, general-practitioner and specialist, and all auxiliary services, while cases needing residential care are directed from the centres to the hospitals.

37. Where the medical care service does not cover the majority of the population but has a substantial number of beneficiaries, and existing hospital and other medical facilities are inadequate, the insurance institution, or insurance institutions jointly, should establish a system of medical or health centres which affords all care, including hospital accommodation at the main centres, and, so far as possible, transport arrangements; such centres may be required more particularly in sparsely settled areas with a scattered insured population.

38. Where the medical care service...
covers too small a section for complete health centres to be an economical means of serving its beneficiaries, and existing facilities for specialist treatment in the area are inadequate, it may be appropriate for the insurance institution, or the institutions jointly, to maintain posts at which specialists attend beneficiaries as required.

39. Where the medical care service covers a relatively small section of the population concentrated in an area with extensive private practice, it may be appropriate for the members of the medical and allied professions participating in the service to collaborate at centres rented, equipped and administered by the members, at which both beneficiaries of the service and private patients receive care.

40. Where the medical care service covers only a small number of beneficiaries who are scattered over a populated area with adequate existing facilities, and voluntary group practice as provided for in paragraph 39 is not feasible, beneficiaries may appropriately receive care from members of the medical and allied professions practising at their own offices, and at public and approved private hospitals and other medical institutions.

41. Travelling clinics in motor vans or aircraft, equipped for first-aid, dental treatment, general examination and possibly other health services such as maternal and infant health services, should be provided for serving areas with a scattered population and remote from towns or cities, and arrangements should be made for the free conveyance of patients to centres and hospitals.

Collaboration with General Health Services

42. There should be available to the beneficiaries of the medical care service all general health services, being services providing facilities for the whole community and/or groups of individuals to promote and protect their health while it is not yet threatened or known to be threatened, whether such services be given by members of the medical and allied professions or otherwise.

43. The medical care service should be provided in close co-ordination with general health services, either by means of close collaboration of the social insurance institutions providing medical care and the authorities administering the general health services, or by combining medical care and general health services in one public service.

44. Local co-ordination of medical care and general health services should be aimed at either by establishing medical care centres in proximity to the headquarters for general health services, or by establishing common centres as headquarters for all or most health services.

45. The members of the medical and allied professions participating in the medical care service and working at health centres may appropriately undertake such general health care as can with advantage be given by the same staff, including immunisation, examination of school children and other groups, advice to expectant mothers and mothers with infants, and other care of a like nature.

IV. THE QUALITY OF SERVICE

Optimum Standard

46. The medical care service should aim at providing the highest possible standard of care, due regard being paid to the importance of the doctor-patient relationship and the professional and personal responsibility of the doctor, while safeguarding both the interests of the beneficiaries and those of the professions participating.

Choice of Doctor and Continuity of Care

47. The beneficiary should have the right to make an initial choice, among the general practitioners at the disposal of the service within a reasonable distance from his home, of the doctor by whom he wishes to be attended in a permanent capacity (family doctor); he should have the same right of choice for his children. These principles should also apply to the choice of a dentist as family dentist.

48. Where care is provided at or from health centres, the beneficiary should have the right to choose his centre within a reasonable distance from his home and to select for himself or his children a doctor and a dentist among the general practitioners and dentists working at this centre.

49. Where there is no centre, the beneficiary should have the right to select his family doctor and dentist among the participating general practitioners and dentists whose office is within a reasonable distance from his home.

50. The beneficiary should have the right subsequently to change his family doctor or dentist, subject to giving notice within a prescribed time, for good reasons, such as lack of personal contact and confidence.

51. The general practitioner or the dentist participating in the service should have the right to accept or refuse a client, but may not accept a number in excess of a prescribed maximum nor refuse such clients as have not made their own choice and are assigned to him by the service through impartial methods.

52. The care given by specialists and members of allied professions, such as nurses, midwives, masseurs and others,
should be available on the recommendation, and through the agency, of the beneficiary's family doctor who should take reasonable account of the patient's wishes if several members of the specialty or other profession are available at the centre or within a reasonable distance of the patient's home. Special provision should be made for the availability of the specialist when requested by the patient though not recommended by the family doctor.

53. Residential care should be made available on the recommendation of the beneficiary's family doctor, or on the advice of the specialist, if any, who has been consulted.

54. If residential care is provided at the centre to which the family doctor or specialist is attached, the patient should preferably be attended in the hospital by his own family doctor or the specialist to whom he was referred.

55. Arrangements for the general practitioners or dentists at a centre to be consulted by appointment should be made whenever practicable.

Working Conditions and Status of Doctors and Members of Allied Professions

56. The working conditions of doctors and members of allied professions participating in the service should be designed to relieve the doctor or member from financial anxiety by providing adequate income during work, leave and illness and in retirement, and pensions to his survivors, without restricting his professional discretion otherwise than by professional supervision, and should not be such as to distract his attention from the maintenance and improvement of the health of the beneficiaries.

57. General practitioners, specialists and dentists, working for a medical care service covering the whole or a large majority of the population, may appropriately be employed whole time for a salary, with adequate provision for leave, sickness, old age and death, if the medical profession is adequately represented on the body employing them.

58. Where general practitioners or dentists, engaged in private practice, undertake part-time work for a medical care service with a sufficient number of beneficiaries, it may be appropriate to pay them a fixed basic amount per year, including provision for leave, sickness, old age and death, and increased if desired by a capitation fee for each person or family in the doctor's or dentist's charge.

59. Specialists engaged in private practice who work part time for a medical care service with a considerable number of beneficiaries may appropriately be paid an amount proportionate to the time devoted to such service (part-time salary). Doctors and dentists engaged in private practice who work part time for a medical care service with few beneficiaries only may appropriately be paid fees for services rendered.

60. Among the members of allied professions participating in the service, those rendering personal care may appropriately be employed whole time for salary, with adequate provision for leave, sickness, old age and death, while members furnishing supplies should be paid in accordance with adequate tariffs.

61. Working conditions for members of the medical and allied professions participating in the service should be uniform throughout the country or for all sections covered by the service, and agreed on with the representative bodies of the profession, subject only to such variations as may be necessitated by differences in the exigencies of the service.

62. Provision should be made for the submission of complaints by beneficiaries, concerning the care received and by members of the medical or allied professions concerning their relations with the administration of the service, to appropriate arbitration bodies under conditions affording adequate guarantees to all parties concerned.

63. The professional supervision of the members of the medical and allied professions working for the service should be entrusted to bodies predominantly composed of representatives of the professions participating with adequate provision for disciplinary measures.

64. Where, in the proceedings referred to in paragraph 63, a member of the medical or allied professions working for the service is deemed to have neglected his professional duties, the arbitration body should refer the matter to the supervisory body referred to in paragraph 64.

Standard of Professional Skill and Knowledge

65. The highest possible standard of skill and knowledge should be achieved and maintained for the professions participating both by requiring high standards of education, training and licensing and by keeping up to date and developing the skill and knowledge of those engaged in the service.

66. Doctors participating in the service should be required to have an adequate training in social medicine.

67. Students of the medical and dental professions should, before being admitted as fully qualified doctors or dentists to the service, be required to work as assistants at health centres or offices, especially in rural areas, under the supervision and direction of more experienced practitioners.

68. A minimum period as hospital as-
sistant should be prescribed among the qualifications for every doctor entering the service.

70. Doctors wishing to furnish specialist service should be required to have certificates of competence for their specialty.

71. Doctors and dentists participating should be required periodically to attend post-graduate courses organised or approved for this purpose.

72. Adequate periods of apprenticeship at hospitals or health centres should be prescribed for members of allied professions, and post-graduate courses should be organised and attendance periodically required for those participating in the service.

73. Adequate facilities for teaching and research should be made available at the hospitals administered by or working with the medical care service.

74. Professional education and research should be promoted with the financial and legal support of the State.

V. FINANCING OF MEDICAL CARE SERVICE

Raising of Funds under Social Insurance Service

75. The maximum contribution that may be charged to an insured person should not exceed such proportion of his income as, applied to the income of all insured persons, would yield an income equal to the probable total cost of the medical care service, including the cost of care given to qualified dependants as defined in paragraph 6.

76. The contribution paid by an insured person should be such part of the maximum contribution as can be borne without hardship.

77. Employers should be required to pay part of the maximum contribution on behalf of persons employed by them.

78. Persons whose income does not exceed the subsistence level should not be required to pay an insurance contribution. Equitable contributions should be paid by the public authority on their behalf. Provided that in the case of employed persons, such contributions may be paid wholly or partly by their employers.

79. The cost of the medical care service not covered by contributions should be borne by taxpayers.

80. Contributions in respect of employed persons may appropriately be collected by their employers.

81. Where membership of an occupational association or the possession of a licence is employed for any class of self-employed persons, the association or the licensing authority may be made responsible for collecting contributions from the persons concerned.

82. The national or local authority may be made responsible for collecting contributions from self-employed persons registered for the purpose of taxation.

83. Where a scheme of social insurance for cash benefits is in operation, contributions both under such scheme and under the medical care service may appropriately be collected together.

Raising of Funds under Public Medical Care Service

84. The cost of the medical care service should be met out of public funds.

85. Where the whole population is covered by the medical care service and all health services are under unified central and area administration, the medical care service may appropriately be financed out of general revenue.

86. Where the administration of the medical care service is separate from that of general health services, it may be appropriate to finance the medical care service by a special tax.

87. The special tax should be paid into a separate fund reserved for the purpose of financing the medical care service.

88. The special tax should be progressively graded and should be designed to yield a return sufficient for financing the medical care service.

89. Persons whose income does not exceed the subsistence level should not be required to pay the tax.

90. The special tax may appropriately be collected by the national income tax authorities or, where there is no national income tax, by authorities responsible for collecting local taxes.

Raising of Capital Funds

91. In addition to providing the normal resources for financing the medical care service, measures should be taken to utilise the assets of social insurance institutions, or funds raised by other means, for financing the extraordinary expenditure necessitated by the extension and improvement of the service, more particularly by the building or equipment of hospitals and medical centres.

VI. SUPERVISION AND ADMINISTRATION OF MEDICAL CARE SERVICE

Unity of Health Service and Democratic Control

92. All medical care and general health services should be centrally supervised.
and should be administered by health areas as defined in paragraph 24, and the beneficiaries of the medical care service, as well as the medical and allied professions concerned, should have a voice in the administration of the service.

Unification of Central Administration

93. A central authority, representative of the community, should be responsible for formulating the health policy or policies and for supervising all medical care and general health services, subject to consultation of, and collaboration with, the medical and allied professions on all professional matters, and to consultation of the beneficiaries on matters of policy and administration affecting the medical care service.

94. Where the medical care service covers the whole or the majority of the population and a central government agency supervises or administers all medical care and general health services, beneficiaries may appropriately be deemed to be represented by the head of the agency.

95. The central government agency should keep in touch with the beneficiaries through advisory bodies comprising representatives of organisations of the different sections of the population, such as trade unions, employers' associations, chambers of commerce, farmers' associations, women's associations and child protection societies.

96. Where the medical care service covers only a section of the population, and a central government agency supervises all medical care and general health services, representatives of the insured persons should participate in the supervision, preferably through advisory committees, as regards all matters of policy affecting the medical care service.

97. The central government agency should consult the representatives of the medical and allied professions, preferably through advisory committees, on all questions relating to the working conditions of the members of the professions participating, and on all other matters primarily of a professional nature, more particularly on the preparation of laws and regulations concerning the nature, extent and provision of the care furnished under the service.

98. Where the medical care service covers the whole or the majority of the population and a representative body supervises or administers all medical care and general health services, beneficiaries should be represented on such body, either directly or indirectly.

99. In this event, the medical and allied professions should be represented on the representative body, preferably in numbers equal to those of the beneficiaries or the government as the case may be; the professional members should be elected by the profession concerned, or nominated by their representatives and appointed by the central government.

100. Where the medical care service covers the whole or the majority of the population and a corporate body of experts established by legislation or by charter supervises or administers all medical care and general health services, such body may appropriately consist of an equal number of members of the medical and allied professions and of qualified laymen.

101. The professional members of the expert body should be appointed by the central government from among candidates nominated by the representatives of the medical and allied professions.

102. The representative executive body or the expert body supervising or administering medical care and general health services should be responsible to the government for its general policy.

103. In the case of a federal State, the central authority referred to in the preceding paragraphs may be either a federal or a State authority.

Local Administration

104. Local administration of medical care and general health services should be unified or co-ordinated within areas formed for the purpose as provided for in paragraph 24, and the medical care service in the area should be administered by or with the advice of bodies representative of the beneficiaries and partly composed of, or assisted by, representatives of the medical and allied professions, so as to safeguard the interests of the beneficiaries and the professions, and secure the technical efficiency of the service and the professional freedom of the participating doctors.

105. Where the medical care service covers the whole or the majority of the population in the health area, all medical care and general health service may appropriately be administered by one area authority.

106. Where, in this event, the area government administers the health services on behalf of the beneficiaries, the medical and allied professions should participate in the administration of the medical care service, preferably through technical committees elected by the professions or appointed by the area or central government from among nominees of the professions concerned.

107. Where a medical care service covering the whole or the majority of the population in the health area is administered by a representative body, the area govern-
ment, on behalf of the beneficiaries, and the medical and allied professions in the area, should be represented on such body, preferably in equal numbers.

108. Where the medical service is administered by area offices or officers of the central authority, the medical and allied professions in the area should participate in the administration, preferably through executive technical committees, elected or appointed in the manner provided for in paragraph 106.

109. Whatever the form of the area administration, the authority administering the medical care service should keep in constant touch with the beneficiaries in the area through advisory bodies, elected by representative organisations of the different sections of the population, in the manner provided for in paragraph 95.

110. Where the social insurance medical care service covers only a section of the population, administration of that service may appropriately be entrusted to a representative executive body responsible to the government, and comprising representatives of the beneficiaries, of the medical and allied professions participating in the service and of the employers.

Administration of Health Units

111. Health units owned and operated by the medical care service, such as medical or health centres or hospitals, should be administered under democratic control with adequate provisions for the participation of the medical profession, or wholly or predominantly by doctors elected by or appointed after consultation of, the members of the medical and allied professions participating in the medical care service, in co-operation with all the doctors working at the unit.

Right of Appeal

112. Beneficiaries or members of the medical or allied professions who have submitted complaints to the arbitration body referred to in paragraph 63 should have a right of appeal from the decisions of such body to an independent tribunal.

113. Members of the medical and allied professions against whom disciplinary measures have been taken by the supervisory body referred to in paragraph 64 should have a right of appeal from the decisions of such body to an independent tribunal.

114. Where the supervisory body referred to in paragraph 64 takes no disciplinary action on a matter referred to it by the arbitration body, in accordance with paragraph 65, the interested parties should have a right of appeal to an independent tribunal.
APPENDIX VIII

Fifth Item on the Agenda:
Minimum Standards of Social Policy in Dependent Territories

(1) Report of the Committee on Social Policy in Dependent Territories (Part I).¹

The Committee, to which the Conference referred Report V prepared by the Office, Minimum Standards of Social Policy in Dependent Territories, was composed of 16 Government members, 8 employers' members and 8 workers' members.

The officers appointed by the Committee were:

Chairman: Mr. Honig (Netherlands Government member).

Reporter: Mr. Wauters (Belgian Government member).

Vice-Chairmen: Mr. Murray (British employers' member); Mr. Thomson (British workers' member).

The secretariat of the Committee included:

Representative of the Secretary-General: Mr. Benson.

Secretaries: Mr. Colombain and Mr. Matthews.

The Drafting Committee of the Committee consisted of Mrs. Lutz (Brazilian Government member), Mr. Murray and Mr. Thomson, in addition to the Chairman and Reporter.

In addition, by decision of the Conference a technical expert, as assessor without power to vote, was added to the Committee in virtue of Article 18 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation.

¹ See Proceedings, p. 223.

Before closing this summary of its composition the Committee thinks the Conference will wish it to note with pleasure the inclusion among its members, in spite of the difficulties of war transport, of many members directly from the dependent territories.

The Conference had referred to the Committee Report V with instructions that it should place before the Conference general guiding principles on the subject with which it deals.

The Committee held 20 meetings, from 26 April to 9 May 1944.

A general discussion was first held, in which statements were made and opinions were expressed on the nature of policies of social development in dependent territories, on the importance of an international agreement on the subject matter before the Committee and on the means of giving effect to the Conference's instructions. There was no disagreement on the importance and the responsibility of the task entrusted to the Committee. On the other hand, while some members stressed the urgency of reaching concrete results at the present session of the International Labour Conference, other members held that the questions were so complex and that the preparatory work of the Conference had been so rapid that the Conference should take final decisions only after there had been an opportunity for consultation of the interests concerned.

The Australian and Chinese Government members emphasised the urgency of reaching concrete results. The American, Belgian, French and Netherlands Government members suggested that the Office's proposals should be examined in detail, since there was a general realisation that early and positive action was necessary and since the proper decisions to be recommended by the Committee could best
be considered after such examination. The workers' members supported these views.

The British Government member, fully appreciating the importance of the questions before the Committee and the value of the Office's preliminary proposals, pointed out that the Report had not been prepared in accordance with the usual method of consultation with the Governments. The British Government, as is shown by its policy, was favourably disposed towards all efforts to improve social standards in dependent territories. It considered, however, that this should be done in accordance with normal procedure and in the most practical manner. In view of the decision of the Conference, the real task of the Committee was to summarise the views of the members on the Office's proposals. If that plan was adopted, voting on any question of principle should be unnecessary, and, if such questions were put to the vote, the British Government would abstain.

The employers' members supported these arguments and held that the questions before the Committee were so important that the first stage should be to attempt to reach agreement on general principles.

The Representative of the Secretary-General pointed out that the Governing Body had placed the present question on the agenda of the Conference in accordance with Article 19 of the Constitution, which allows the Conference to decide whether it should adopt a draft Convention or Recommendation. The Conference, therefore, would be sovereign as to its decisions on the items on the agenda. He suggested that, as the Committee had only one text before it, in the form of the Office's proposals, this text should be taken as a basis of discussion without prejudice to the duty of the Committee later to express its opinion on the nature of its guiding principles.

The British Government member said that by its policy of welfare and development in colonial territories it had shown that it was not in favour of delay in practical measures for the betterment of conditions in dependent territories. There were, however, various considerations of practical expediency and constitutional propriety raised in the Office's text.

The Chairman ruled that the instructions of the Conference would not preclude the Committee from deciding in due course whether it should ask the Conference to adopt a formal Recommendation. It was agreed, therefore, that the Committee should proceed with the examination of the text prepared by the Office. This text dealt with general principles, and its examination would not be held to prejudice the opinions of members on the question whether or not the Committee should recommend that the decisions of the Conference should take the form of a Recommendation or some other form.

The Committee proceeded on these lines. After a time, however, it became apparent that it would be unable to give the necessary attention to all the Articles in the Office's text. This led the Chairman at the twelfth sitting of the Committee to suggest a revised procedure. He considered that the most useful way of obtaining concrete results was for the Committee to complete its examination of the Office's text up to the end of the Section on the employment of women. The Committee could then take certain Articles which appeared to state the most general guiding principles, and next consider whether the Conference should be asked: (a) to adopt a formal Recommendation, or (b) to place the whole question on the agenda of the next session, or (c) to contemplate a combination of these two methods. The Committee accepted this procedure, subject to the right of members to make additional suggestions regarding the proposed Articles to be considered.

Certain Articles, therefore, which were referred to the Committee have received either no consideration or no full consideration by the Committee. It should, however, be noted that, as was repeatedly made clear in the Committee, these Articles were in no sense regarded as of subsidiary importance or of minor urgency. They included some provisions which were recognised to be of fundamental importance. They included many questions of detail on which the issue of guiding principles by the International Labour Conference would be of high value. On the other hand they also included some questions of detail which it might not be appropriate to include in the guiding principles asked of the Committee. Lastly, there were some Articles which the Committee might have adopted readily but which, being closely connected with more difficult points, seemed to require deferment in the interests of establishing a later text of a coherent character.

As a result of this procedure the Committee was able to undertake an important discussion on the nature of its guiding principles to the Conference at its sixteenth and seventeenth sittings. This discussion centred on a motion by the British workers' member to the effect that the Committee, having examined most of the Articles contained in Report V, suggests that these Articles as amended be adopted by the Conference in the form of a Recommendation.

The British workers' member said that the members had come to the Conference with a great sense of responsibility and in the belief that the questions on the agenda were of supreme importance in helping to shape the post-war world. The term "guiding principles" used in the report of the Selection Committee should be interpreted in the light of these circumstances. Expectations had been aroused and there was
a sense of urgency in the realisation of concrete results which was particularly great in regard to the item before this Committee. Promises had been made and expectations aroused. The sacrifices of dependent peoples during the war would seem incomprehensible to them if no benefits were offered to them as a result of victory. A second discussion method would postpone to an uncertain date the final decision of the International Labour Conference.

The Belgian Government member expressed his gratitude to Great Britain and his realisation of the problems that would arise with the liberation of Belgium. These problems would include the implementation of the abundant promises made in recent years. Mr. Eden had declared that the International Labour Organisation could be the main agency in implementing the decisions of the International Labour Conference. Whatever might be the decision of the Committee, it had performed a useful service in putting its intentions into practical shape and in expressing them in a reasonable and cooperative spirit.

The British employers' member speaking also on behalf of other employers' members, supported the remarks of the British Government representative. He pointed out that the dependent territories had had no possibility of seeing the proposals which it was proposed should be adopted. This negation of the spirit of freedom was taking place at a time when many dependent territories were approaching self-government. There were many independent countries where conditions were much worse than in dependent territories. The progress achieved since the war in dependent territories showed the interest taken by the colonial Governments. The employers were not necessarily opposed to the aims of the British workers' motion but they considered that the question was one for the Conference to decide. Whatever might be the Conference's decision, the Governments would examine that decision and would receive the full support of the employers.

The Brazilian Government member emphasised the spirit of impartiality which had dominated all the discussions in the Committee. Brazil, which had no dependent territories, was present in the Committee so as to help in drawing up minimum standards of social policy but did not wish to influence the Committee as to the form which these proposals should take. It was chiefly for the Governments of countries administering dependent territories and the peoples living there to take a decision on matters which were their chief responsibility and concern.

After the Chairman had repeated his ruling that the Committee was fully entitled to suggest to the Conference that the principles approved by the Committee should be incorporated in a formal Recommendation, he put forward the views of the Netherlands Government. The standards agreed upon were minimum standards. Some were those incorporated in Conventions which had already been adopted by colonial Powers. Others had been introduced in the laws of the dependent territories. As a whole they constituted elements which were either already applied or were capable of early application. They had been drawn up sincerely in the interests of the peoples of dependent territories. They were the continuation of the effort toward social progress which the International Labour Organisation and its Members had pursued for many years. They were also a new starting point for the
future. On their bases it might later be possible to adopt Conventions. For the present it was the Committee's duty to suggest that the Conference adopt immediately a Recommendation.

The motion that the Committee should suggest that the Articles on which it had agreed should be adopted by the Conference in the form of a Recommendation was approved by the Committee by twenty-five votes with thirteen abstentions.

At the nineteenth sitting of the Committee the final text of the proposed Recommendation was put to the vote. The British Government member said that he could vote in favour of the Recommendation, subject to the reservation, expressed by his abstention on the motion to propose a Recommendation, that he considered that the choice of the form in which the guiding principles should be adopted should be left entirely to the plenary Conference. The British employers' member associated himself with this statement on behalf of the employer members who had abstained on the motion.

With these reservations the proposed Recommendation was adopted by 33 votes to 0.

The proposed resolution was adopted unanimously. If approved by the Conference: (1) the question of minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories (supplementary provisions) would be placed on the agenda of the next general session of the Conference; and (2) the Governing Body would be invited to create a new Committee of Experts to assist the Office in its studies of social policy in dependent territories.

Following this decision it was agreed without opposition that the Conference should also be asked to put forward for second discussion at its next session the Articles which had not been adopted and the amendments which had been moved to these Articles.

This was the most important general discussion in the Committee. It is also necessary, however, to record that important points of principle were raised as to the appropriateness of referring in a Recommendation to the ratification of Conventions which had previously been adopted.

Two connected but separate points were raised both by the British Government member. The first related to the appropriateness of asking through a text of the International Labour Organisation for the application of Conventions drawn up under the auspices of the League of Nations (Slavery and Opium). The second question was whether it was constitutionally advisable in a Recommendation to provide by implication for the ratification of International Labour Conventions (Forced Labour Recruiting and Contracts of Employment) and in one case for what amounted to a revision of a Convention (Penal Sanctions). These matters are referred to under their respective Articles (Articles 5 to 16 inclusive).

Another question of a more general character which was raised during the discussion on different Articles was that of the peoples who should be regarded as covered by the term "the peoples of dependent territories". As a result of intervention by the Indian workers' member and the Panama Government member, it was agreed that by this term should be understood all peoples lawfully resident or working within dependent territories.

Another important question of principle was that of leaving no possibility of appearing to encourage measures of economic protection contrary to the general interests. It was this that, as later stated, led to the rejection of Article 27 of the Office's proposed text. The Belgian Government member expressed the general opinion of the Committee that no useful minimum standards could be maintained without effective world economic co-operation, and that to this end the International Labour Organisation should co-operate closely with the appropriate world institutions.

On several occasions during the discussions and in particular in connection with a discussion on the Preamble to the proposed Recommendation, it was emphasised that for many years a principal purpose of colonial government had been to further the social and economic progress of the peoples of dependent territories, and that in this work important contributions had been made by the employers and by the peoples in dependent territories. The efforts made and the progress achieved were not underestimated by the Committee. The texts adopted should not be interpreted in any sense as an apology for the past. They were an effective recognition of the value of emphasising and encouraging through international agreement the continuation of programmes of social welfare based on full and loyal co-operation between colonial governments and dependent peoples. They were supported by the endorsement of the independent countries which are not responsible for the administration of dependent territories but which have a legitimate stake in world social justice.

Consideration of the proposed text by the Governments and other interests, which will have to examine the text, and the possibility and the possibilities of their application, will be assisted by a summary of the discussions in the Committee. Time, however, has not permitted the examination and adoption by the Committee of this summary. It is therefore published as Part II of the report and is presented on the responsibility of the Reporter, the Chairman and the two Vice-Chairmen.

This second part summarises the discussions which took place in the Committee on the separate items of the text proposed by the Office. It has seemed convenient to divide this summary as fol...
The text proposed by the Office was as follows:

All policies affecting dependent territories shall be primarily directed to the well-being and development of the peoples of such territories.

There was no dispute as to the desirability of beginning the whole text by a broad general statement of purpose. Some discussion took place on the most appropriate wording. After the American Government member had proposed to replace the word "affecting" by the words "designed to" and the Nigerian substitute for the British workers' member had pointed out that there were policies of more general application which principally affected dependent peoples, it was agreed to make this distinction clear. An agreed wording was later submitted by the United States and Belgian Government members and the substitute for the British workers' member. The British employers' member, supported by the United States workers' member, proposed to add "and to the promotion of a desire on their part for social progress". This proposal was unanimously adopted.

In its final form, the amended Article reads as follows:

"1. All policies designed to apply to dependent territories shall be primarily directed to the well-being and development of the peoples of such territories and to the promotion of the desire on their part for social progress."

"2. Policies of more general application shall be formulated with due regard to their effect upon the well-being of dependent peoples."

**Article 2**

The text proposed by the Office was as follows:

1. In order to promote economic advancement and thus to lay the foundations of social progress, provision shall be made, on an international, regional, national or territorial basis, for financial and technical assistance in the economic development of dependent territories in the interest of their peoples.

2. Every effort shall be made to create development funds, on an international, regional, national or territorial basis, for the purpose of ensuring the supply of capital for development purposes on terms which shall secure to the peoples of the dependent territories the full benefits of such development.

3. In appropriate cases international, regional or national action shall be taken with a view to establishing conditions of trade sufficient for the maintenance of reasonable standards of living for producers efficiently producing the essential export products of the dependent territories.

There was full agreement on the necessity of laying down the guiding principle that social progress could only be accomplished on the foundation of economic advancement and in giving some general indications of the economic and similar policies calculated to permit social progress.

The most appropriate wording of paragraphs 1 and 2 led to some discussion. The United States Government members proposed that paragraph 1 should read: "In order to promote economic advancement and thus to lay the foundation of social progress, full effort should be made to secure, on an international, regional, national or territorial basis, financial and technical assistance in the economic development of dependent territories under controls adequate to safeguard the interests of the indigenous peoples". It was pointed out that in the absence of specific international measures some metropolitan countries would be unable to give full assistance to their dependent territories. It was also explained that the controls mentioned in the United States Government amendment would be those decided by the local administrations.

In regard to paragraph 2, the United States Government member declared that the amendment was not meant to diminish the importance of international action.
States Government member proposed to substitute the words, "the major benefits for the full benefits". After a discussion in which it was agreed that the term "full benefits" would not preclude the repayment of interest on borrowed capital nor the legitimate profits of private enterprise, a British Government amendment was adopted unanimously stating that "it should be an object of policy for all Government authorities to ensure that adequate funds are made available to provide capital for development purposes on terms which secure to the peoples of the dependent territories the full benefits of such developments".

Paragraph 3 of the Office's text was approved without modification.

In its final form, the amended Article reads as follows:

"1. In order to promote economic advancement and thus to lay the foundation of social progress, every effort shall be made to secure, on an international, regional, national or territorial basis, financial and technical assistance in the economic development of dependent territories under the control of the local administrations, in such a way as to safeguard the interests of the peoples of dependent territories.

"2. It shall be an objective of policy for all Government authorities to ensure that adequate funds are made available to provide capital for development purposes on terms which secure to the peoples of the dependent territories the full benefits of such developments.

"3. In appropriate cases international, regional or national action shall be taken with a view to establishing conditions of trade sufficient for the maintenance of reasonable standards of living for producers efficiently producing the essential export products of the dependent territories."

Article 4

The text proposed by the Office was as follows:

All possible steps shall be taken to associate the peoples of the dependent territories in the framing and execution of measures of social progress through their own appropriate institutions.

The Indian workers' member proposed to add the words "effectively" after the word "taken" and to end the Article by the words "preferably by election". Government members drew attention to the variety of conditions in dependent territories. They approved, however, the contention that the objective should be the encouragement in the light of local conditions of the emergence of truly democratic means of expression. After the workers' members had pointed out that the text of the amendment took account of a variety of local conditions, by asking only that preference should be given to the method of election, it was unanimously agreed on a British Government suggestion that the text to be substituted for the words "through their appropriate institutions" should be "preferably through their own elected representatives where such a method was appropriate and possible".

The addition of the word "effectively" was accepted.

In its final form, the amended Article reads as follows:

"All possible steps shall be taken effectively to associate the peoples of the de-
pendent territories in the framing and execution of measures of social progress, preferably through their own elected representatives where appropriate and possible."

PART II. MINIMUM STANDARDS

SECTION 1. SLAVERY

Article 5

The text proposed by the Office was as follows:

The slave trade and all forms of slavery shall be prohibited and effectively suppressed in accordance with the International Slavery Convention of 25 September 1930.

It was on this Article that the question of principle mentioned in the first part of this report was first raised.

The British Government member pointed out that International Conventions, whether those of the League of Nations or of the International Labour Organisation, constituted the highest form of international undertakings. In including these Conventions in a text formulating general guiding principles there was a risk of diminishing their authority and their obligatory character. Furthermore, the British Government would not wish to participate in decisions inviting other Governments to ratify Conventions which it had not itself ratified. This was not the case in respect of the Slavery and Opium Conventions or the four I.L.O. Conventions primarily affecting dependent territories, but it was a point of principle suggested by later Articles. The whole matter was of such constitutional importance that it should be examined by the Governing Body.

The Belgian Government member agreed that the Governments whose representatives voted in favour of a Recommendation could not by so doing undertake an obligation to ratify Conventions. Nevertheless, the present task of the Committee was to provide a charter of social policy in dependent territories and there would be a serious omission if the Conventions on Slavery and Opium were not mentioned. The Brazilian Government member stressed that it should be possible to find a text which would avoid constitutional objections and which yet would emphasise the social importance of these questions.

During further discussions it was pointed out that the Slavery and Opium Conventions had been ratified universally, that there was no question of not recognising the authority under which these Conventions had been drawn up or of duplicating any established systems of exchange of information on the application of these Conventions. It was, however, also stressed that the subject matter of these Conventions necessarily had a place in any formulation of minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories.

The formulation of a text which would be open to no possible constitutional objections was referred to a Subcommittee comprising the United States Government member, the British workers' member and the Belgian employers' member. This Subcommittee proposed the following draft which was accepted unanimously:

"In pursuance of the objective of free labour in a free world, the principle is affirmed that the slave trade, and slavery in all of its forms, shall be prohibited and effectively suppressed in all dependent territories."

SECTION 2. OPIUM

Article 6

The text submitted by the Office was as follows:

1. The traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs shall be regulated in accordance with the Hague Convention of 23 January 1912, and the Geneva Conventions of 19 February 1926, 13 July 1931, and 26 June 1936. Any declaration or measure by which the obligations of these Conventions are limited in their application to dependent territories shall be reconsidered.

2. The policy of prohibition of opium smoking and of the abolition of Government opium monopolies shall be adopted in respect of all dependent territories where opium smoking may still be authorised.

The same Subcommittee proposed a re-draft of the first paragraph and this re-draft was approved unanimously by the Committee.

The final text as agreed was as follows:

"1. In recognition of the menace which the use of opium may represent to the health, productivity and general welfare of the peoples of dependent territories, the principle is affirmed that the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs shall be strictly regulated in such manner as to protect fully the interests of the workers.

"2. Consideration shall be given to the prohibition of opium smoking and the abolition of Government opium monopolies in all dependent territories where opium smoking may still be authorised."

SECTION 3. FORCED OR COMPULSORY LABOUR

Article 7

The text submitted by the Office was as follows:

1. The use of forced or compulsory labour shall be suppressed in accordance with the provisions of Article 1 of the Forced Labour Convention, 1930. The transitional period, during which as an exceptional measure forced or compulsory labour may be permitted in accordance with the subsequent Articles of the Forced Labour Convention, shall be as short as possible. During this
transitional period forced or compulsory labour, where permitted, shall be subject to the limitations and guarantees set forth in the relevant Articles of the Forced Labour Convention.

2. In order to avoid the development of indirect compulsion to labour, effect shall be given to the principles set forth in the Forced Labour (Indirect Compulsion) Recommendation, 1930.

The United States Government member proposed the following substitution for the Office's text and explained that the purpose was to strengthen the existing text and to emphasise the desirability of eliminating all forms of forced or compulsory labour as rapidly as possible:

"1. The use of forced or compulsory labour in dependent territories, which may have been inaugurated during the present war emergency, shall be eliminated entirely upon the cessation of hostilities. Meanwhile such measures shall be adopted in dependent territories as will increase the spontaneous offer of labour.

2. The use of forced or compulsory labour in all of its forms shall be suppressed within the shortest possible period.

3. The temporary or exceptional employment of forced or compulsory labour in dependent territories shall be in accordance with the conditions and guarantees set forth in the Forced Labour Convention, 1930.

4. Consideration shall be given to the possibility of eliminating or withdrawing any exceptions taken to the Forced Labour Convention, in its application to dependent territories.

5. Consideration shall be given to the application of the Forced Labour Convention to those dependent territories not already covered by it.

6. Consideration shall be given to the desirability of ratifying the Forced Labour Convention by such States as have not yet done so, with a view to obtaining an international measure of forced or compulsory labour.

The debate on this amendment led to important declarations on the desirability of eliminating forced labour, on the practical difficulties of the present moment and on the actual steps which had been taken by the Belgian, British and French Governments to hasten the end of forms of compulsion which war necessities had made inevitable. Worker members, in particular the British member and South African workers' delegate, stated their strong objections to the continuation of forced or compulsory labour. The British workers' members referred to the query which had been raised as to the admissibility even in time of war of forced labour for private employers or for profit. The French Government member, who outlined the strong and unanimous recommendations made by the Brazzaville Conference in favour of full freedom of labour and the actual steps which were now being taken to bring an end to all systems of labour compulsion, pointed out that the shortage of goods and of means of transport imposed by the war made it impossible to undertake at what precise date full freedom of labour would be effectively established.

For the British Government it was suggested that the mention of the term "upon the cessation of hostilities" was inappropriate in that the British Government hoped to secure, as in the case of Nigeria, the abolition of the exceptional forms of emergency labour before the cessation of hostilities.

The British workers' member moved an amendment to provide that nothing in the exemptions from the Forced Labour Convention should permit the use of forced labour by private employers for the purpose of profit irrespective of whether or not the State contracts with the employers, or enables them to pay less than the recognised rates of full pay. After employer and worker members had exchanged views on the meaning of the phrase "for purposes of profit" it was pointed out that the Forced Labour Convention positively prohibited all forced labour for private employers, and that the sole point at issue was how to bring to a rapid end any exemption that might be permitted from the provisions of the Convention in cases of public emergency such as war.

A redraft of his amendment was later submitted by the United States Government member. It was adopted unanimously, the British Government member adding the cautionary note that the transition from forced or compulsory labour could not immediately be attained in every territory and for every purpose.

In its final form, the amended Article reads as follows:

"1. The use of forced or compulsory labour in dependent territories, which may have been inaugurate during the present war emergency, shall be eliminated entirely within the shortest possible period.

2. The use of forced or compulsory labour in all its forms shall be suppressed within the shortest possible period.

3. Where forced or compulsory labour is used in dependent territories as a temporary and exceptional measure the conditions and guarantees provided for in the Forced Labour Convention, 1930, shall be respected. In no case shall the use of forced or compulsory labour by private employers be permitted, irrespective of whether or not the State contracts with the employers.

4. Consideration shall be given to the possibility of eliminating or withdrawing any exceptions to the application of all the provisions of the Forced Labour Convention, 1930, in dependent territories.

5. Consideration shall be given to the application of the Forced Labour Conven-
tion, 1930, to those dependent territories in respect of which the Convention is not already in force where forced or compulsory labour may occur.

"6. Consideration shall be given to the desirability of ratifying the Forced Labour Convention, 1930, by such States as have not already done so and are responsible for dependent territories where forced or compulsory labour may occur."

Article 8

This was made a separate Article and as adopted by the Committee reads as follows:

"With a view to avoiding the development of indirect compulsion to labour, consideration shall be given to the application of the provisions of the Recruiting of Indigenous Workers Convention, 1936."

SECTION 4. RECRUITING OF WORKERS

Article 9

The text proposed by the Office (originally Article 8) was as follows:

1. The recruiting of workers in territories in which such recruiting exists or may hereafter exist shall be regulated in accordance with the provisions of the Recruiting of Indigenous Workers Convention, 1936.

2. In order to promote the progressive elimination of the recruiting of workers and the development of the spontaneous offer of labour, effect shall be given to the principles contained in the Elimination of Recruiting Recommendation, 1936.

The United States Government member moved the following amended text with the object of emphasising that the objective was the spontaneous offer of labour coupled with the freest choice of occupation:

"1. It shall be recognised that the recruiting of workers in dependent territories is inconsistent with the best interest of the worker, and, in accordance with the Elimination of Recruiting Recommendation, 1936, this practice shall be eliminated progressively in those dependent territories in which it exists.

"2. The recruiting of workers in dependent territories, where such recruiting may be found necessary as a temporary expedient, shall be regulated in accordance with the provisions of the Recruiting of Indigenous Workers Convention, 1936."

The British Government member moved a motion to omit paragraph 2 of the Article and to invite the Governing Body to seek advice from a Committee of Experts on a revision of the Elimination of Recruiting Recommendation, 1936. He pointed out that the volume of migrant labour had increased since the war and might be a source of serious difficulties.

The recruiting system had certain advantages in the provisions that could be made under it for medical attention, the payment of travelling expenses and similar safeguards. The problem was how to eliminate the system while retaining its advantages.

The Belgian employers’ member, the French employers’ member and the French and Netherlands Government members also pointed out that in certain circumstances recruiting might provide safeguards that were otherwise impossible. Worker members of the Committee and the New Zealand Government member thought that the Committee should nevertheless clearly stress the necessity of eliminating recruiting.

A Subcommittee composed of the United States and British Government members, the Belgian employers’ member and the British workers’ member was set up to prepare a text to cover these various points of view.

The text proposed by the Subcommittee was adopted without opposition. In addition to the passages in it appropriate for inclusion in a Recommendation, it stated that:

"(1) In recognition of the fact that the abrupt termination of existing systems of recruitment would be likely in some dependent territories to result in conditions disruptive of their economy and unsuitable to the welfare of the workers, the question of formulating detailed proposals for a system of agencies in substitution for recruitment should with the minimum of delay be remitted to a Committee of Experts;

"(2) Consideration should continue to be given to the application of the Elimination of Recruiting Recommendation, 1936, pending the receipt of a report by the Committee of Experts and with a view to the more rapid promotion of a change-over to the new methods contemplated."

The final text of this Article was as follows:

"1. It shall be an aim of policy to eliminate the recruiting of workers and to replace such recruiting by arrangements which, though based upon the spontaneous offer of labour through free agencies controlled by Government, provide for medical inspection, transport, food and shelter and all other benefits accruing to workers under existing systems.

"2. Pending the formulation of any new proposals concerning the methods of obtaining labour and with a view to the more rapid promotion of a change-over to the new methods contemplated, consideration shall be given to the application of the principles contained in the Elimination of Recruiting Recommendation, 1936."

Article 10

That part of the Subcommittee’s text
which concerns the Recruiting of Indigenous Workers Convention, 1936, was made a separate Article and reads as follows:

"1. Consideration shall be given to the application of the Recruiting of Indigenous Workers Convention, 1936, to those dependent territories where recruiting may occur in respect of which the Convention is not already in force.

"2. Consideration shall be given to the desirability of ratifying the Recruiting of Indigenous Workers Convention, 1936, by such States as have not already done so and are responsible for dependent territories where recruiting may occur."

SECTION 5. CONTRACTS OF EMPLOYMENT

Articles 11-15

The text proposed by the Office for its Article 9 was as follows:

1. Contracts of employment shall be concluded in writing in the cases required by and in accordance with the provisions of the Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939.

2. The maximum periods of service that may be stipulated in any contract shall be those set forth in the Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers) Recommendation, 1939.

3. Steps shall be taken to diminish the employment of casual labour, as a result of which workers are absent from their homes in greater numbers and for longer periods than the nature of the employment requires, by the encouragement of the conclusion under proper safeguards of short-term labour agreements which enable workers to secure full-time employment during their absence from home.

The British Government member proposed the following redraft which took into account the discussions on previous Articles and extended the scope of paragraph 3 of the original text in regard to casual labour:

"1. (a) It shall be an aim of policy in the interests of the workers to regulate long-term employment by a system of written contracts in the cases required by and in accordance with the provisions of the Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939.

(b) Consideration shall be given to the application of the Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939, to those dependent territories not already covered by it.

(c) Consideration shall be given to the desirability of ratifying the Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939, by such States as have not already done so.

2. With a view to the definite limitation of periods of service under contract consideration shall be given to the application of the principles set forth in the Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers) Recommendation, 1939.

3. All practicable steps shall be taken to equate supply and demand in areas where some casual employment is inevitable and to guard against any undesirable attraction of casual labour to centres of potential employment. Measures, such as short-term labour contracts, shall be considered in order to secure the maximum employment for labour normally available at such centres."

This amendment, in favour of which the United States Government member withdrew an amendment, was unanimously adopted.

The French Government members proposed to add a paragraph reading as follows:

"The administrative authority should ascertain whether the worker hired in the circonscription under its control is married. If such is the case, it should send out, together with the worker, his wife or wives and his children. Neither the worker nor his family will have the right not to take advantage of said disposition without written agreement granted by the administrative authority in charge."

The French Government member said that the chief defect to be found in all recruiting systems was their destructive effect on Native family life. The amendment was based on successful policy in French West Africa. If it were thought too rigid, he would readily accept a more flexible text. The United States and British Government members admitted the principles involved but thought a more flexible drafting essential. The British Government member moved the following alternative, in favour of which the French Government member withdrew his amendment:

"Where a married man is employed on contract within his own country but at a considerable distance from his home, the competent authority shall take all practicable steps in appropriate cases to afford him full opportunity to be accompanied, if he so desires, by his wife and family."

The above amendment was adopted unanimously. It was understood that in regions where polygamy is part of the religious and social life of the peoples concerned "wife and family" should be interpreted as "wives and family".

This amendment was unanimously adopted.

In its final text, the above proposals were divided into various Articles which read as follows:

"Article 11

1. It shall be an aim of policy to regu-
late long-term employment by a system of written contracts in the cases required by and in accordance with the provisions of the Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939.

"2. Consideration shall be given to the application of the Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939, to those dependent territories for which it is not already in force where employment under long-term contract may occur.

"3. Consideration shall be given to the desirability of ratifying the Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939, by such States as have not already done so and are responsible for dependent territories where employment under long-term contract may occur.

"Article 12

"With a view to the definite limitation of periods of service under contract, consideration shall be given to the application of the principles set forth in the Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers) Recommendation, 1939.

"Article 13

"All practicable steps shall be taken to equate supply and demand in areas where some casual employment is inevitable and to guard against undesirable attraction of casual labour to centres of potential employment. Measures, such as short-term labour agreements, shall be considered in order to secure the maximum employment for labour normally available at such centres.

"Article 14

"The practice of entering statements of a subjective nature on the worker's conduct or ability in work-cards or work-books required by law to be carried on the person of the worker shall be eliminated. The use of work-cards or work-books shall be regulated to prevent their use as a device of intimidation or compulsion in employment.

"Article 15

"Where a married man is employed on contract within his own country but at a considerable distance from his home, the competent authority shall take all practical steps in appropriate cases to afford him full opportunity to be accompanied if he so desires by his wife and family."

SECTION 6. PENAL SANCTIONS

Article 16

The text proposed by the Office (Article 10) was as follows:

Penal sanctions for breach of contract of employment, as defined in Article 1 of the Penal Sanctions (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939, shall be abolished.

The British Government member pointed out that the above text involved, in the form of a Recommendation, a revision of an existing Convention. The British Government had ratified the Convention and was abolishing all forms of penal sanctions as rapidly as possible. Abolition, however, depended on local circumstances and any revision of a Convention should be carried out in accordance with the usual procedures of the International Labour Organisation. He therefore moved the following amendment:

"1. Consideration shall be given to the application of the Penal Sanctions (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939, to those dependent territories not already covered by it.

"2. Consideration shall be given to the desirability of ratifying the Penal Sanctions (Indigenous Workers) Convention by such States as have not already done so.

"3. Moreover, in the interests of workers, penal sanctions for breach of contract of employment as defined in Article 1 of the Penal Sanctions (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939, should be entirely abolished and it is recommended that appropriate action should be taken with a view to revision of the Convention to give effect to this principle."

The Brazilian Government member, the British workers' member and the Indian workers' member recorded their preference for the wording in the Office text. The substitution, however, was approved without formal opposition.

The text as finally drafted was as follows:

"1. It shall be an aim of policy to abolish penal sanctions for breach of contract of employment as defined in Article 1 of the Penal Sanctions (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939.

"2. Consideration shall be given to the application of the Penal Sanctions (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939, to those dependent territories in respect of which the Convention is not already in force where the imposition of penal sanctions may occur.

"3. Consideration shall be given to the desirability of ratifying the Penal Sanctions (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939, by such States as have not already done so which are responsible for dependent territories where penal sanctions may occur."

SECTION 7. EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PERSONS

Article 17

The text proposed by the Office (Article 11) was as follows:
1. Appropriate provision shall be made for the education and social protection of the children below the age for admission to employment.

2. In order that the child population may be able to profit by existing facilities for education and in order that the extension of these facilities may not be hindered by a demand for child labour, the employment of persons below the normal school-leaving age during the hours fixed for school attendance shall be prohibited.

A general discussion was first held on the whole Section. The British employers' member suggested that the question of a minimum age was intimately connected with the school-leaving age and that this latter question was bound up with the provision of necessary schools and teachers. He thought that a Committee of Experts on Native Labour should be consulted on the question.

The British workers' member thought that the Committee should lay down guiding principles, even if a Committee of Experts were later consulted on the methods of application. The agreed objective for dependent peoples was self-government through educated democracy.

The British Government member indicated his willingness, subject to some few amendments, to support the details of the proposed Articles if they were regarded as guiding principles. Some of them could be accepted immediately without change, but the colonial Governments should be consulted on others, such as the Article fixing a minimum age for underground employment in mines, as this question had not been covered by any previous international agreement.

After this general discussion the Committee proceeded to examine the original Article 11. The United States Government member moved the following substitution for the proposed text:

"1. Adequate provision shall be made in dependent territories, to the extent possible under local conditions, for the progressive development of broad systems of education, vocational training and apprenticeship, with a view to the elimination of illiteracy among children and young persons, and to their effective preparation for profitable employment upon reaching working age."

This amendment was adopted with the addition of the words "maximum" before "possible under local conditions" and "useful" in substitution for "profitable".

The British workers' member moved the deletion in the second paragraph of the words "during the hours fixed for school attendance". The Brazilian Government member and the Indian workers' member supported the amendment as designed to guard against the possibility of children being overworked while they were attending school. The Belgian and Netherlands employers' members drew attention to the way in which children aided their families in tropical territories. The Netherlands workers' member suggested that if the amendment were rejected the Committee might wish to provide that hours of employment and school hours should not together exceed the length of the normal working day.

The Committee also had to consider an amendment by the British Government member to add at the end of the paragraph "in any area where educational facilities are provided on a scale adequate for the majority of the children of school age".

The United States Government member supported the British workers' amendment, but suggested that to the paragraph might be added the words "except in conjunction with an educational programme approved by the competent authorities".

The British Government member suggested that the various amendments might be combined and the Committee adopted the following text, the Mexican Government alone dissenting, expressing his continued preference for the original text:

"1. Adequate provision shall be made in dependent territories, to the maximum extent possible under local conditions, for the progressive development of broad systems of education, vocational training and apprenticeship, with a view to the elimination of illiteracy among children and young persons and to their effective preparation for a useful occupation.

"2. In order that the child population may be able to profit by existing facilities for education and in order that the extension of these facilities may not be hindered by a demand for child labour, the employment of persons below the school-leaving age shall be prohibited in any area where educational facilities are provided on a scale adequate for the majority of the children of school age."

Article 18

The text proposed by the Office (Article 12) was as follows:

1. Children under the age of twelve years shall not be employed in any employment, except on light work of an agricultural or domestic character in which only members of the employer's family are employed or except on agricultural light work carried on collectively by the local community.

2. Where the transfer of children to the family of an employer is permitted by custom, the conditions of transfer and of employment shall be closely regulated and supervised, whether the children are above or below twelve years of age.

The British workers' member proposed in the first paragraph (1) to insert between "years" and "shall" the words "progressively increased to fifteen" and (2) to delete all words after employment. There was general agreement that it would be valuable to point to the objective of raising the age for admission to employment, and on the proposal of the British Government member it was decided to place at the end of the paragraph: "This age shall be progressively raised along with
the school-leaving age". The second part of the amendment was opposed. The Belgian, French and Netherlands Government members the Netherlands workers' member the British workers' member from Nigeria and the French and Netherlands employers' members all objected that it would be impossible to control such work and that its prohibition would be contrary to the interests of the Native economies. The British workers' member then proposed to omit from the exception only agricultural work. He was supported by the Panama workers' member, but the amendment was rejected by 7 votes to 18.

The Brazilian Government member moved an amendment to the second paragraph to provide that "the progressive abolition of all such transfers should be an aim of policy for all dependent territories". The amendment was supported by the Belgian workers' member and was adopted unanimously.

The final text reads as follows:

"1. Children under the age of twelve years shall not be employed in any employment, except on light work of an agricultural or domestic character in which only members of the employer's family are employed or except on agricultural light work carried on collectively by the local community. This age shall be progressively raised along with the school-leaving age.

"2. Where the transfer of children to the family of an employer is permitted by custom, the conditions of transfer and of employment shall be closely regulated and supervised. Whether the children are above or below twelve years of age. The progressive abolition of all such transfers shall be an aim of policy for all dependent territories."

Articles 19 and 20

The text proposed by the Office (Articles 13 and 14) was as follows:

1. Children under the age of fifteen years shall not be employed or work in any industrial undertaking, or in any branch thereof.

2. Provided that among peoples whose children reach puberty at a comparatively early age the minimum age may be fixed at fourteen years.

1. Children under the age of fifteen years shall not be employed or work underground in mines.

2. Provided that among peoples whose children reach puberty at a comparatively early age the minimum age may be fixed at fourteen years.

The British workers' member moved the deletion of the second paragraph in both cases.

The Mexican Government member supported the amendment. He suggested that puberty could not be accepted as an indication of capacity to work. The Belgian and French Government members supported the amendment. The British Government member said that it was acceptable if the Articles were regarded as guiding principles.

The Belgian employers' member thought that the standards proposed were based on those prevailing in highly developed countries and suggested that a colonial Committee of Experts might be consulted. The Representative of the Secretary-General explained the precedents for the Office text in existing Conventions, and pointed out that many dependent territories had fixed high minimum ages for admission to the limited forms of industrial employment existing in the territories.

The amendment was unanimously adopted and the final text of these Articles reads as follows:

"Article 19

"Children under the age of fifteen years shall not be employed or work in any industrial undertaking, or in any branch thereof.

"Article 20

"Children under the age of fifteen years shall not be employed or work on vessels."

"Article 21

The text proposed by the Office (Article 15) was as follows:

1. Young persons under the age of sixteen years shall not be employed underground in mines.

2. The employment underground in mines of young persons who have attained the age of sixteen years but not that of eighteen years shall be conditional on the production of a medical certificate attesting fitness for such work, signed by a doctor who shall be approved by competent authority.

The British Government member proposed to substitute the following for paragraph 2: "In all areas where any doctor approved by the competent authority for the purpose is available, the employment underground in mines of young persons who have attained the age of 16 years but not that of 18 years shall be conditional on the production of a medical certificate attesting fitness for such work". He explained that he proposed this to cover the few cases where there was not a doctor available. He indicated, however, that he was ready to withdraw the amendment.

The Belgian, French and Netherlands Government members, however, stressed the responsibility of the authorities to require that doctors were available for mining employment. No special latitude in the employment of young persons should be granted to mining undertakings which had no medical staff. The British Government member thereupon withdrew his amendment and the text remained unchanged.
The text proposed by the Office (Article 16) was as follows:

1. Young persons under the age of eighteen shall not be employed or work on vessels as trimmers or stokers.
2. When a trimmer or stoker is required in a port, young persons of less than eighteen years of age only are available, such young persons may be employed and in that case it shall be necessary to engage two young persons in place of the trimmer or stoker required. Such young persons shall be at least sixteen years of age.
3. Provided that the provisions of this Article do not apply:
   (a) to the employment of young persons on vessels mainly propelled by other means than steam;
   (b) to young persons of not less than sixteen years of age who, if found physically fit after medical examination, may be employed as trimmers or stokers on vessels exclusively engaged in coastal trade.

The British workers' member proposed the deletion of paragraph 2 and 3. He cited views expressed by the National Union of Seamen. There was no case for the employment of anyone under eighteen years in the heavy work of stoking and trimming. Moreover young labour was cheap labour, a threat to adult labour. This view was supported by the Mexican employers' member. The British Government member pointed out that the two paragraphs were taken from a 1921 Convention, and their deletion would mean the imposition of standards on dependent territories not yet achieved by metropolitan countries following the terms of the Convention. He sympathised with the views expressed, but as he doubted that it was possible for the Committee to recommend a change in an existing Convention, he thought that the original text of the Office should be retained and that the following statement should be included in the report to the Conference:

"The Committee considered the omission of paragraphs 2 and 3 of Article 16, but they felt they were precluded from putting forward for dependent territories guiding principles going beyond the practice prescribed by an I.L.O. Convention of general application. If, as they hope, consideration can be given to the revision of the Convention, they think that the new principles thus established would rapidly be extended to dependent territories."

He made this proposal since, though it might perhaps be possible to recommend a modification of a Convention such as that covering penal sanctions which applied exclusively to dependent territories, it might not be possible to recommend a revision of a general Convention. After further discussion, it was decided to approve the Office's text unchanged, but to record the general opinion that young persons under eighteen years of age should not be employed on this strenuous work.

The text proposed by the Office (Article 17) was as follows:

The provisions of Articles 12, 13 and 14 do not apply to work done by children or young persons in technical schools, or school ships or training ships, provided that such work is approved and supervised by the competent authority.

The United States Government member proposed that the exception should also apply to children covered by Article 18 (1) and that the wording should continue that "done by children or young persons in bona fide public or private technical schools having prescribed courses of study and reasonable limitations on the length of time in which their students may remain in training or apprenticeship; or school ships or training ships, provided that such work is approved and supervised by the competent authority." He emphasised new trends in education in support of his amendment and was supported by the Brazilian Government member. The amendment was adopted without opposition, and as redrafted by the Drafting Committee, reads as follows:

"The provisions of Articles 18 (1), 19 and 20 do not apply to work done by children or young persons in bona fide State or private technical schools or school ships or training ships having prescribed courses of study and reasonable limits on the length of time in which students may remain in training or apprenticeship. It shall be a condition of those exceptions that such work is approved and supervised by the competent authority."

The text proposed by the Office (Article 18) was as follows:

1. In the case of unhealthy, dangerous or onerous work minimum ages higher than those required in virtue of Articles 18 (1) and 19 shall be fixed, or the hours of work of children between the minimum age of employment and an appropriate higher age shall be subject to special limitations, or other special protection shall be afforded.
2. Special protection shall be provided for children who are permitted to undertake employment away from their homes.

This Article was carried without opposition or change.

The text proposed by the Office (Article 19) was as follows:

1. Young persons under eighteen years of age shall not be employed during the night in any industrial undertaking, or in any branch thereof.
2. Provided that young persons over the age of sixteen years may be employed during the night
in exceptional circumstances defined by the competent authority.

3. Provided also that, where local conditions justify such action, the minimum age provided for in paragraph 1 may be fixed at sixteen years and the minimum age provided for in paragraph 2 at fifteen years.

The British workers' member, supported by the Mexican Government member, proposed to delete "where local conditions justify such action". It was pointed out, however, that the omission would render the paragraph meaningless, whereupon it was proposed that the whole paragraph be deleted. The Belgian employers' member pointed out that the whole text would be covered by Article 35 of the Constitution of the I.L.O., and even if deleted, the Constitution would stand as a limiting factor.

By a vote of 22 to 11 it was decided to delete paragraph 3. The text now reads:

"1. Young persons under eighteen years of age shall not be employed during the night in any industrial undertaking, or in any branch thereof.

2. Provided that young persons over the age of sixteen years may be employed during the night in exceptional circumstances defined by the competent authority."

**Article 26**

The text proposed by the Office (Article 20) was as follows:

1. The employment of any child or young person under eighteen years of age on any vessel shall be conditional on the production of a medical certificate attesting fitness for such work, signed by a doctor who shall be approved by the competent authority.

2. In urgent cases the competent authority may allow a young person below the age of eighteen years to embark without having undergone medical examination, always provided that such an examination shall be undergone at the expense of the employer, at the first port at which the vessel calls, and that failing satisfactory medical attestation the young person shall be returned as a passenger to the port or place where he was engaged or to his home, whichever is the nearer, at the expense of the employer."

**Article 27**

The text proposed by the Office (Article 21) was as follows:

"In developing systems of education suited to the economic and social interests of the communities, the principles set forth in the Vocational Training Recommendation, 1939, shall so far as it is practicable be applied.

An amendment by the British Government member proposed the following re-draft of the conclusion to the Article as follows: "Consideration shall be given to the application of the principles set forth in the Vocational Training Recommendation, 1939, so far as that is practicable and appropriate to local circumstances". Only parts of the long Recommendation referred to were now applicable to the circumstances of the majority of dependent territories. The form suggested was in line with that used in Articles 8, 9, and 10 as now amended. The Belgian Government member supported the change, which was carried without opposition.

The final form reads as follows:

"In developing systems of education suited to the economic and social interests of the communities, consideration shall be given to the application of the principles set forth in the Vocational Training Recommendation, 1939, so far as this is practicable and appropriate to local circumstances."

**Article 28**

The Brazilian Government member proposed the following new Article: "In order to bring about the provisions foreseen in Section 7 it is recommended that administrative bodies be created or officers appointed to care for the welfare of juvenile workers in dependent territories on lines already tried out in metropolitan or independent countries". The amendment was supported by the British Government member, who stated that it was definitely part of the United Kingdom policy to
establish advisory bodies to help in juvenile welfare. It should, however, be made clear that this was only one method of assisting juvenile workers. He suggested that the words should read: “As part of the policy of giving effect to principles stated”. The proposal was generally supported, although the Belgian Government member pointed out that this was part of the general question of inspection. The Mexican employers' members asked that it be made clear that the “administrative bodies” were in fact to be appointed by the Governments. The amendment and subamendment were adopted, and the text, in its final form, reads as follows:

“To assist in the application of the provisions of this Section, administrative bodies or officers shall be appointed. The appointment and establishment of these administrative bodies or officers shall be in accordance with practices successfully adopted in metropolitan or independent countries.”

SECTION 8. EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

Article 29

The text proposed by the Office (Article 22) was as follows:

Appropriate measures shall be taken with due regard to local conditions to secure for women adequate opportunities for general education, vocational training and employment, safeguards against physically harmful conditions of employment and economic exploitation, including safeguards for motherhood, protection against any special forms of exploitation, and fair and equal treatment as regards remuneration and other conditions of employment.

The British Government member submitted the following amendment:

“It shall be an object of policy for all competent authorities to take such measures as, having due regard to local conditions, are appropriate and practicable to secure for women adequate opportunities of general education, vocational training and employment, safeguards against physically harmful conditions of employment and economic exploitation, including safeguards for motherhood, protection against any special forms of exploitation, and fair and equal treatment as regards remuneration and other conditions of employment.”

The British Empire Government member explained that he had changed the first words. The last part of the amendment, by inserting the words “the fixing of”, indicated that rates of remuneration might differ to mark the objective of policy and the need for taking account of local conditions. The Belgian and Netherlands employers' members supported the proposed change. The United States, Belgian, Brazilian, Mexican and Netherlands Government members and the British workers' member stressed the importance of the principle of equal remuneration between men and women for work of equal value contained in the Constitution of the Organisation.

The first part of the amendment was adopted without opposition. The second part, the introduction of the words “the fixing of”, was first adopted by 17 votes to 16. The result being challenged, a record vote was taken and resulted in the rejection of the amendment by 21 votes to 13.

The final text of the Article reads as follows:

“It shall be an object of policy for all competent authorities to take such measures as, having due regard to local conditions, are appropriate and practicable to secure for women adequate opportunities of general education, vocational training and employment, safeguards against physically harmful conditions of employment and economic exploitation, including safeguards for motherhood, protection against any special forms of exploitation, and fair and equal treatment between men and women as regards remuneration and other conditions of employment.”

Article 30

The Brazilian Government member proposed the following new Article:

“1. In the carrying out of measures relating to the employment and economic status of women and their welfare, the principle, embodied in Article 3 of the Constitution of the I.L.O. which calls for women advisers, where questions specially affecting women are to be considered, shall be applied.

2. The women advisers shall be drawn from the local population and their representative institutions if progress reached permits; otherwise they shall be drawn from the metropolitan countries.

3. Native laws and customs which maintain or reduce women to the position of chattels or slaves shall not be applied in any dependent territory.”

The Brazilian Government member pointed out that women desired a voice in the fixing of conditions under which they work. The principle enunciated in paragraph 1 was based on a principle of representation already in the I.L.O. Constitution. As regards paragraph 3, she thought that, as the Committee had outlined measures to prevent the enslavement of women through conditions of work, there was need to state that there were other causes of enslavement.

The British Government member suggested the inclusion of the point under
paragraph 2 within paragraph 1 by adding thereto the phrase “these advisers shall whenever possible be drawn from local populations”. He desired to omit the reference to metropolitan territories; there would be occasions when advisers might be drawn from other dependent territories. The British workers' member suggested that the intention of the Article should be clarified by omitting reference to the I.L.O. Constitution. It was agreed to adopt paragraphs 1 and 2 of the amendment in the following form:

“In the carrying out of measures relating to the employment and economic status of women and their welfare, the principle embodied in Article 3 of the Constitution of the I.L.O., which calls for women advisers where questions specially affecting women are to be considered, shall be applied. The women advisers shall be drawn from the local population and their representative institutions if progress reached permits”.

The British Government member proposed that the following be substituted for the third paragraph of the new Article: “It shall be a definite aim of policy to improve the social and economic status of women in any dependent territories in which, whether by law or custom, arrangements survive which maintain women in or reduce them to a condition of servitude”. Later, to meet the views of the Brazilian Government member, he altered the opening phrase to read: “All practicable steps shall be taken...”.

The text as passed therefore reads: “All practicable steps shall be taken to improve the social and economic status of women in any dependent territories in which whether by law or custom arrangements survive which in effect maintain women in or reduce them to a condition of servitude.”

In final drafting it was decided to divide the new Article into two parts, and to place the combined paragraphs 1 and 2 at the end of the Section on women, and to make Article 30 read:

“All practicable steps shall be taken to improve the social and economic status of women in any dependent territory where, whether by law or custom, arrangements survive which in effect maintain women in or reduce women to a condition of servitude.”

**Article 31**

The text proposed by the Office (Article 23) was as follows:

1. In any industrial or commercial undertaking, or in any branch thereof, a woman:

   (a) shall not be permitted to work following her confinement until a period prescribed by the competent authority has elapsed;
   (b) shall have the right to leave her work if she produces a medical certificate stating that her confinement will probably take place within a period prescribed by the competent authority;
   (c) shall be entitled to free attendance by a doctor or certified midwife while she is absent from her work in pursuance of subparagraphs (a) and (b); and
   (d) shall be paid benefits sufficient for the full and healthy maintenance of herself and her child, as prescribed by the competent authority.

2. Where a woman is absent from her work in accordance with subparagraphs (a) and (b) of paragraph 1 or remains absent from her work for a longer period as a result of illness medically certified to arise out of pregnancy or confinement and rendering her unfit for work, it shall not be lawful, until her absence shall have exceeded a maximum period to be fixed by the competent authority, for her employer to give her notice of dismissal during such absence, nor to give her notice of dismissal at such time that the notice would expire during such absence.

The British Government member proposed a motion that “Article 23 should be restated in the form of the principle that provision should be made as rapidly as possible for maternity protection in dependent territories and that, as a first step to this end, questions based upon the draft should be addressed to the Governments concerned”.

During the discussion the Brazilian Government member suggested that women should have the right but should not be compelled to absent themselves from employment. The adviser to the British workers' member and the Netherlands Government member emphasised that women should not renounce their rights in this respect. The French workers' member proposed that owing to the shortage of doctors, the text should provide that a woman shall “have the right to leave her work as soon as she feels that her condition does not allow her to work any longer”.

The British Government member then replaced his motion by the following amended text:

“Provision shall be made as rapidly as possible for maternity protection in the case of women employed in any commercial or industrial undertakings in dependent territories, and in so doing the aim shall be to give effect, subject to such modifications as may be necessary in the light of local conditions, to the provisions of the Childbirth Convention, 1919, and in particular to the following principles:

(a) the right to be absent from employment before and after childbirth; and

(b) the right to medical assistance and benefits during such absence.”

This amendment was approved and the final text reads as follows:

1. Provision shall be made as rapidly as possible for maternity protection of
women employed in industrial and commercial undertakings.

"2. In so doing the aim shall be to give effect, subject to such modifications as may be necessary in the light of local conditions, to the provisions of the Childbirth Convention, 1919, and in particular to the following principles:

"(a) the right to be absent from employment before and after childbirth;

"(b) the right to medical assistance and benefits during such absence."

Article 32

The text proposed by the Office (Article 24) was as follows:

1. Women without distinction of age shall not be employed during the night in any industrial undertaking, or in any branch thereof.

2. Provided that women may be employed during the night (a) in cases where the work has to do with raw materials or materials in course of treatment which are subject to rapid deterioration, and (b) when in any undertaking an emergency occurs which it was impossible to foresee and which is not of a recurring character.

3. Provided also that the prohibition of night work may be suspended, when in case of serious emergency the public interest demands it.

4. The provisions of this Article do not apply to women holding responsible positions of management, who are not ordinarily engaged in manual work.

This Article was adopted without amendment or opposition, except that in final drafting the words "without distinction of age" were omitted as unnecessary.

Article 33

The text proposed by the Office (Article 25) was as follows:

1. Women without distinction of age shall not be employed on underground work in any mine.

2. Provided that the competent authority may grant exemptions from the above prohibition in respect of:

(a) women holding positions of management who do not perform manual work;

(b) women employed in health and welfare services;

(c) women who, in the course of their studies, spend a period of training in the underground parts of a mine; and

(d) any other women who may occasionally have to enter the underground parts of a mine for the purpose of a non-manual occupation.

This Article was adopted without amendment or opposition, except that in final drafting the words "without distinction of age" were omitted.

Article 34

The first part of the Brazilian Government amendment (see under Article 30 of the present report) was inserted here and in final drafting given the following form:

"In order to promote the application of measures relating to the employment and economic status of women and their welfare, use shall be made of women advisers where questions especially affecting women are to be considered. The women advisers shall whenever possible be drawn from the local population."

SECTION 9. REMUNERATION

Article 35

The text proposed by the Office (Article 26) was as follows:

1. The improvement of standards of living shall be regarded as the principal objective in the planning of economic development.

2. All practicable measures appropriate to local conditions shall be taken to secure for independent producers and wage earners conditions sufficient for the maintenance of minimum standards of living as ascertained by cost-of-living surveys.

3. Forms of economic enterprise which require the labour of workers living away from their homes shall take account of the normal family needs of the workers.

4. Where the labour resources of other areas are used on a temporary basis for the benefit of one area, measures shall be taken to encourage the transfer of part of benefits from the area of labour utilisation to the areas of labour supply.

5. Where workers and their families move from low-cost to higher-cost areas, account shall be taken of the increased cost of living resulting from the change.

Paragraphs 1, 3 and 4 were adopted unanimously. It was agreed that the benefits mentioned in paragraph 4 were those resulting from wages and savings.

On paragraph 2 a British Government member proposed to omit the words "as ascertained by means of official enquiries" and to substitute the words "reasonable standards of living" for "minimum standards of living". It was argued that reasonable standards indicated an objective of improvement and that cost-of-living surveys had a limited significance. Opposition was, however, expressed to this change since it was thought that the term "minimum standards" was more precise and that such standards could only be ascertained by cost-of-living enquiries.

The Committee decided to retain the term "minimum standards", but accepted a British Government suggestion that the last part of the paragraph might read "ascertained by means of official enquiries into living conditions".

The British employers' member proposed to add the words "by their efforts" to indicate the need of a desire for social progress among the workers concerned. This amendment was carried without opposition.

The British Government member proposed that paragraph 5 should begin "Where workers and their families are moved under arrangements made or con-
trolled by Governments”. This was recognised to be the intention of the original text, but the amendment was lost on an equality of votes (18–13).

The Committee had on an earlier occasion accepted United States Government amendment to provide that “the utilisation of alcohol or other spirituous beverages as compensation in lieu of all or part of wages for services performed by the workers shall be prohibited”. In drafting, it was decided to insert this provision here, and the final text of the whole Article was as follows:

“1. The improvement of standards of living shall be regarded as the principal objective in the planning of economic development.

“2. All practicable measures appropriate to local conditions shall be taken to secure for independent producers and wage earners conditions which will ensure the maintenance of minimum standards of living as ascertained by means of official enquiries into the living conditions and will give scope to independent producers and wage earners to improve these standards by their own efforts.

“3. Forms of economic enterprise which require the labour of workers living away from their homes shall take account of the normal family needs of the workers.

“4. Where the labour resources of other areas are used on a temporary basis for the benefit of one area, measures shall be taken to encourage the transfer of part of the workers’ benefits from the area of labour utilisation to the areas of labour supply.

“5. Where workers and their families move from low-cost to higher-cost areas, account shall be taken of the increased cost of living resulting from the change.

“6. The substitution of alcohol or other spirituous beverages as compensation for all or any part of wages for services performed by the workers shall be prohibited.”

Article 36

The text proposed by the Office (Article 28) was as follows and was adopted unanimously without alteration:

“All public works, whether undertaken directly by a public authority or through contracts entered into between a public authority and an employer, shall be subject to the requirement that the rates of wages and the general conditions of employment shall be not less than the prevailing rates and conditions, and shall where practicable be fixed after consultation with any employers’ and workers’ organisations concerned.”

SECTION 10. HEALTH, HOUSING AND SOCIAL SECURITY

Article 37

The text submitted by the Office (Article 33) was as follows:

“1. All practicable measures shall be taken to improve the health of the people by the extension of medical facilities, the development of public health programmes, the spread of health education and the improvement of nutrition and of housing.

“2. All practicable measures shall be taken to ascertain by nutritional surveys the food requirements of the people and the ways of improving nutrition and to give effect to the food policies which such surveys indicate.

“3. The establishment and maintenance of satisfactory housing conditions shall be a responsibility of the competent authority. As a general rule workers normally dependent on wages earnings shall have the opportunity of securing satisfactory housing accommodation on premises which are not the property of their employers. Where an undertaking employing labour is situated in a remote district or is of a shifting or temporary character, and in other cases where a change in existing arrangements is impracticable, the provision of housing may be made an obligation on the undertaking; in such cases the competent authority shall exercise strict control in respect of both minimum standards of accommodation and the rights of the worker on leaving his employment.

The Brazilian Government member submitted the following revised drafting of paragraph 1 to bring out the importance of the study of tropical medicine:

“All practicable measures shall be taken to improve the health of the people by the extension of medical facilities, the development of health programmes, by surveys of epidemical and endemical diseases prevalent in tropical dependent territories and the introduction of appropriate measures of combating them. The substitution of alcohol or other spirituous beverages as compensation for all or any part of wages for services performed by the workers shall be prohibited.”

The above amendment was adopted without opposition.

On the proposal of the British workers’ member at the end of paragraph 2 was added: “national nutritional organisations shall be set up and be provided with adequate funds, facilities and authority”. He explained that this should not be interpreted as meaning that the smallest territory should have its separate organisation. It merely re-emphasised a principle accepted at the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture. The amendment was adopted without opposition.

To paragraph 3 the British Government member submitted the following amendment:

“The competent authority shall be responsible for ensuring the establishment of satisfactory housing conditions. Whenever possible, and if the competent authorities are satisfied that such an arrangement would be in the best interests of the workers, they shall provide workers normally dependent on wage earning with the opportunity of securing satisfactory housing accommodation on premises not the property of the employer. But where an undertaking employing labour is situated in an area where satisfactory accommodation outside the employer’s property is not available, the provision of housing
may be made an obligation on the undertaking; in such cases the competent authority shall exercise strict control in respect of both minimum standards of accommodation and the rights of the worker on leaving his employment."

It was stated on behalf of the British Government that the principle had been accepted that the Government must accept wider responsibility for housing and that this responsibility should extend to the provision of houses. In this respect the amendment was designed to strengthen the Office's text. Nevertheless, since in some territories private employers would have to remain responsible for the provision of housing, the amendment was intended to ensure that this responsibility would continue to be accepted and enforced.

After it had been suggested that the second sentence of the amendment weakened the Office text and that where the employers provided houses this should be under an equitable arrangement, it was decided that the Committee would consider a redraft. In this redraft, also submitted by the British Government delegation, account was taken of the contention of the French Government that the competent authority should define the rights of the worker. It was agreed, however, that the manner of such definition would be left to the competent authority and would not necessarily require the codification of rights which might exist under a number of different laws.

The revised amendment was accepted unanimously as paragraphs 3 and 4 and the whole Article in its final form reads as follows:

"1. All practicable measures shall be taken to improve the health of the peoples by the extension of medical facilities, by the development of public health programmes, by surveys of epidemic and endemic diseases prevalent in tropical dependent territories and by the introduction of appropriate measures of combating them, as well as by the spread of health education and the improvement of nutrition and housing.

"2. All practicable measures shall be taken to ascertain by nutritional surveys the food requirements of the people and the ways of improving nutrition and to give effect to the food policies which such surveys indicate. National nutritional organisations shall be set up and shall be provided with adequate funds, facilities and authority.

"3. The competent authority shall be responsible for ensuring the establishment of satisfactory housing conditions. The general aim of policy shall be to provide workers normally dependent on wage earners with the opportunity of securing satisfactory housing accommodation on premises not the property of the employer.

"4. Where an undertaking employing labour is situated in an area where satisfactory housing accommodation is not available, the provision of housing may be made an obligation on the undertaking on an equitable basis. In such cases the competent authority shall define the minimum standards of accommodation and shall exercise strict control over the enforcement of these standards. The competent authority shall also define the rights of the worker who may be required to leave his house on leaving employment and shall take all necessary steps to secure the enforcement of these rights."

Article 38

The text proposed by the Office (Article 34) was as follows:

Appropriate provision, with due regard to local conditions, shall be made for the maintenance and treatment of the sick and for the care of the aged, of the incapacitated and of the dependants of deceased persons.

A British Government amendment proposed that the Article begin "Such arrangements as are practicable, having due regard to local conditions. . . ." This amendment was adopted by 17 votes to 8 and the final text reads as follows:

"Such arrangements as are practicable, having due regard to local conditions, shall be made for the maintenance and treatment of the sick and for the care of the aged, of the incapacitated and of the dependants of deceased persons."

Article 39

The Committee at first decided only to consider the first two paragraphs of this Article which in the Office's text (Article 35) was as follows:

1. Provision shall be made by law for the payment of compensation to employed persons in case of incapacity for work caused by accidents arising out of and in the course of their employment, and to their dependent survivors in case of death caused by such accidents, and for the medical care of persons injured by such accidents.

2. The laws and regulations concerning workmen's compensation shall apply to all workers, employees and apprentices employed by industrial, commercial and agricultural undertakings.

The first paragraph was adopted unanimously and without alteration.

In the second paragraph it was agreed on the proposal of the British workers' member and with the support of the Netherlands employers' member that the maritime industry should be included.

The remaining paragraphs in the Office's text consisted of a list of exceptions which might be permitted to the scope of workmen's compensation and the safeguards to be enforced for the payment of workmen's compensation. It was thought that the first two paragraphs might be taken as a general guiding principle and that the later details deserved much fuller consideration than was pos-
able. Nevertheless, on considering the text submitted by the Drafting Committee, it was pointed out that the result was an Article which no Government could accept without reservations and the whole validity of the Recommendation might thereby be prejudiced. The Mexican Government member protested against the reopening at that stage of a question on which the Committee had reached agreement, but did not press his objection when it was pointed out that only by general assent could the text be altered.

The third paragraph of the text proposed by the Office was as follows:

3. Provided that exceptions may be made in respect of:
   (a) persons whose employment is of a casual nature and who are employed otherwise than for the purpose of the employer’s trade or business;
   (b) out-workers;
   (c) members of the employer’s family who work exclusively on his behalf and who live with him;
   (d) non-manual workers whose remuneration exceeds a limit to be determined by the laws or regulations;
   (e) during the early years of the application of any worker’s compensation scheme, persons employed by undertakings employing less than a number of workers prescribed by the competent authority.

It was thereupon inserted, subject to the omission, proposed by the British workers’ member, of paragraph (e).

The final text reads as follows:

“1. Provision shall be made by law for the payment of compensation to employed persons in case of incapacity for work caused by accidents arising out of and in the course of their employment, and to their dependent survivors in case of death caused by such accidents and for the medical care of persons injured by such accidents.

2. The laws and regulations concerning workmen’s compensation shall apply to all workers, employees and apprentices employed on vessels or by industrial, commercial, and agricultural undertakings.

3. Provided that exceptions may be made in respect of:
   (a) persons whose employment is of a casual nature and who are employed otherwise than for the purpose of the employer’s trade or business;
   (b) out-workers;
   (c) members of the employer’s family who work exclusively on his behalf and who live with him;
   (d) non-manual workers whose remuneration exceeds a limit to be determined by the laws or regulations”.

The text proposed by the Office (Article 37) was as follows:

1. Compensation shall be payable to workers incapacitated by occupational diseases, or, in case of death from any such disease, to their dependants, in accordance with the general principles of workmen’s compensation.

2. Provided that such compensation may be limited to the occupational diseases of chief importance in the territory concerned.

This Article was adopted unanimously and without alteration.

SECTION 11. PROHIBITION OF COLOUR AND RELIGIOUS BARS AND OTHER DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES

Article 41

The text proposed by the Office (Article 43) was headed “Prohibition of Colour and Religious Bars” and read as follows:

1. In accordance with Article 41 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation, the standards set by law in each territory with respect to conditions of labour shall have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein.

2. Discrimination directed against workers belonging to certain races or confessions with regard to admission to public or private employment shall not be permitted.

3. All measures practicable under local conditions shall be taken to promote effective equality of treatment in employment by the provision of facilities for training, by the discouragement of discrimination in the negotiation of collective agreements, by requirements in appropriate cases that undertakings shall employ in different grades of employment a proportion of persons from groups liable to be discriminated against, and by other appropriate means.

Great importance was attached by the Committee to this Article and in particular by the members from dependent territories.

An amendment was moved by the Panama Government member in the following terms:

“In title, delete “and”. Add after “religious” the words “nationality and racial”.

“2. Discrimination directed against workers which is based upon distinction of race, confession, or nationality shall not be permitted either with regard to admission to public employment conducted directly by Governments, contractors or concessionaires, or with respect to the payment of their wages which in any way is a violation of the principle of equal wages for equal work established by the I.L.O.”

“3. All measures practicable under local conditions shall … and by the prohibition of discrimination in the negotiation of collective agreements, in the fixing of wage rates and in the qualification of the skill of workers as well as in their access to the
different grades of employment or occupation.”

A second amendment to paragraph 2 was moved by the United States Government member as follows:

“The competent authority shall take all practicable steps to eliminate arbitrary discrimination in public or private employment for reasons of race, colour, confession, tribal association, or trade union membership.”

The first point decided was the Panama proposal to prohibit discrimination on grounds of nationality. It was pointed out that the text covered public as well as private employment and that in the former such discriminations were inevitable. This part of the amendment was rejected by 23 votes to 2.

The United States Government amendment was directed against all forms of discrimination, including those which might be directed against workers belonging to trade unions. The Indian workers’ member and the British workers’ substitute member from Nigeria held it inadvisable to do anything which might appear to weaken the condemnation of colour bars. They suggested that the trade union point should rather be covered under industrial organisation. The American Government member thereupon proposed a change in the title, which was eventually adopted in the form given above, and a new draft of his amendment, which was also adopted, in the following form: “Discrimination directed against workers for reason of race, colour, confession or tribal association with regard to admission to public or private employment shall be prohibited”.

To the Panama proposal that provision should be made for equal pay for equal work, it was objected that, while the principle should not be questioned, persons working in a territory other than their own had additional expenses. This part of the Panama amendment was rejected but it was agreed that the question of equality of remuneration for equal work in dependent territories should be among the questions to be considered at the next session of the Conference.

The text as finally agreed was as follows:

“1. The standards set by law in each territory with respect to conditions of labour shall have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident or working therein.

2. Discrimination directed against workers for reason of race, colour, confession or tribal association, as regards their admission to public or private employment, shall be prohibited.

3. All measures practicable under local conditions shall be taken to promote effective equality of treatment in employment by the provision of facilities for training, by the discouragement of discrimination in the negotiation of collective agreements or on grounds of trade union membership, and by other appropriate means.”

SECTION 12. INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATION

Article 42

The text proposed by the Office (Article 49) was as follows:

1. The right of employers and employed alike to associate for all lawful purposes shall be guaranteed by appropriate means.

2. All practicable measures shall be taken to associate the representatives of organisations of employers and workers in the working of machinery for conciliation, arbitration, minimum wage fixing and labour inspection. Where representative organisations of workers have not developed, the competent authority shall appoint persons especially qualified to act on the behalf of the workers and to encourage their organisation.

3. All practicable measures shall be taken to assure to trade unions which are representative of the workers concerned the right to conclude agreements with employers or employers’ organisations.

The following amendment was proposed by the British Government delegation for the main purpose of ensuring that in paragraph 2 the assistance to be given by the Governments would not interfere with the free development of trade unionism; “All practicable measures shall be taken to consult and associate the representatives of organisations of employers and workers in the establishment and working of machinery for conciliation, arbitration, minimum wage fixing and labour inspection. Where representative organisations of workers have not developed, the competent authority shall appoint persons especially qualified to act on the behalf of the workers and by advice and guidance to assist in the development of workers’ organisations.”

It was agreed that the word “early” should be inserted before the word “development” in order to strengthen the British Government’s point and that by competent authority was meant here, as elsewhere, the constitutional Government authority.

The amendment was unanimously adopted and the final text of the Article is as follows:

“1. The rights of employers and employed alike to associate for all lawful purposes shall be guaranteed by appropriate means.

2. All practicable measures shall be taken to consult and associate the representatives of organisations of employers and workers in the establishment and working of machinery for conciliation, arbitration, minimum wage fixing and labour inspection. Where representative organisations of workers have not developed, the competent authority shall appoint persons specially qualified to act on behalf of the workers and by advice and guidance to assist in the early development of workers’ organisations.”
“3. All practicable measures shall be taken to assure the trade unions which are representative of the workers concerned the right to conclude collective agreements with employers or employers' organisations.”

Article 43

The text proposed by the Office (Article 50) was as follows:

1. As rapidly as practicable, machinery shall be created for the settlement of collective disputes between employers and workers.

2. Representatives of the employers and workers concerned, including representatives of their respective organisations, if any, shall where practicable be associated in the operation of the machinery, in such manner and to such extent, but in any case in equal numbers and on equal terms, as may be determined by the competent authority.

This Article was adopted without amendment.

SECTION 13. CO-OPERATIVE ORGANISATIONS

Article 44

The text proposed by the Office (Article 51) was as follows:

All practicable measures shall be taken to encourage and regulate co-operative organisations, particularly for the protection of small producers. These measures shall where practicable include the creation of a special service to promote and supervise co-operative organisations.

The following amendment was moved by the British workers' member in order to amplify the Office's text, to secure that, while self-help was to be encouraged, some form of financial assistance might be afforded and to include both education in co-operation and co-operative efforts in education:

“1. The assistance and development of co-operative societies shall be accepted as part of the duty of Government in dependent territories.

2. To this end consideration shall be given to:

(a) the adoption of adequate legislation covering all forms of co-operative institutions and simple and cheap in application;

(b) the creation of special services to promote and supervise the development of co-operative organisations and to encourage education in co-operation.

3. In appropriate cases co-operative organisations shall be effectively represented on public boards and agencies affecting their interests.”

SECTION 14. DEFINITIONS AND SCOPE

Article 45

The text proposed by the Office (Article 52) was as follows:

For the purposes of this Part of the present Annex:

(a) the term “agricultural undertaking” may be defined so as to include processes conducted on the undertaking for the preservation and despatch of the agricultural products of the undertaking, unless it is desired to classify these processes as parts of an industrial undertaking;

(b) the term “commercial undertaking” includes:

(i) Commercial establishments and offices, including establishments engaged wholly or mainly in the sale, purchase, distribution, insurance, negotiation, loan, or administration of goods or services of any kind;

(ii) establishments for the treatment or against sickness and disease as well as the improvement of his housing conditions can be achieved only by full co-operation between national and international social legislative, social insurance and financing institutions and the co-operative organisations of agricultural and industrial workers in every country; all practicable measures shall be taken by the competent authorities to encourage co-operative health and housing organisations of workers and agricultural settlements and provide them with financial assistance in their constructive activities, considering such co-operatives as semi-public social institutions.”

Verbal amendments were suggested and a new draft submitted by the British Government member and adopted. In its final form the Article reads as follows:

“1. The assistance and development of co-operative societies, including co-operative organisations of workers for the promotion of health, housing and education, shall be accepted as part of the economic programme of competent authorities in dependent territories, and the measures to be taken shall include financial assistance wherever this is appropriate.

2. To this end consideration shall be given to:

(a) the adoption of adequate legislation, simple and inexpensive in application, covering all forms of co-operative organisations;

(b) the creation of special services to promote and supervise the development of co-operative organisations and to encourage education in co-operation.

3. In appropriate cases co-operative organisations shall be effectively represented on public boards and agencies affecting their interests.”
care particularly of the aged, sick, infirm, destitute, or mentally unfit;
(iii) hotels, restaurants, boarding houses, clubs, cafes and other refreshment houses;
(iv) theatres and places of public amusement;
(v) any establishment similar in character to those enumerated in subparagraphs (i), (ii), (iii) and (iv) above;
(c) the term “industrial undertaking” includes:
(i) undertakings in which articles are manufactured, altered, cleaned, repaired, ornamented, finished, adapted for sale, broken up or demolished, or in which materials are transformed, including undertakings engaged in shipbuilding or in the generation, transformation, or transmission of electricity, the production or distribution of gas or motive power of any kind, the purification or distribution of water, or in heating;
(ii) undertakings engaged in the construction, reconstruction, maintenance, repair, alteration, or demolition of any one or more of the following: buildings, railways, tramways, airports, harbours, docks, piers, works of protection against floods or coast erosion, canals, works for the purpose of inland, maritime or aerial navigation, roads, tunnels, bridges, viaducts, sewers, drains, wells, irrigation or drainage works, telecommunication installations, works for the production or distribution of electricity or gas, pipelines, waterworks, and undertakings engaged in other similar work or in the preparation for or laying the foundations of any such work or structure;
(iii) mines, quarries or other works for the extraction of minerals from the earth; and
(iv) undertakings engaged in the transport of passengers or goods by road or rail, including the handling of goods at docks, quays, wharves, and warehouses, but excluding transport by hand, unless such undertakings are regarded as parts of the operation of an agricultural or commercial undertaking;
(d) the terms “agricultural undertaking”, “commercial undertaking” and “industrial undertaking” include both public and private undertakings;
(e) the term “vessel” includes all ships and boats, of any nature whatsoever, engaged in maritime navigation, whether publicly or privately owned, excluding ships of war; it may be interpreted as excluding vessels of less than a specified tonnage and carrying a crew of less than a specified number.

Article 46

The text proposed by the Office (Article 53) was as follows:
1. Agricultural, commercial or industrial undertakings or vessels in which only the members of the same family are employed may be exempted, in whole or in part, from the application of the provisions of this Part of the present Annex.
2. Agricultural undertakings employing on an average less than twenty persons or industrial undertakings employing on an average less than ten persons may be exempted, in whole or in part, from the application of the provisions of this Part of the present Annex.

Here again it was agreed that the objective was the extension of protection to the workers employed in all undertakings even of the smallest size. Since practical difficulties prevented such extension in many cases, but since the competent authority should consistently direct its efforts towards such extension, the text was redrafted in more general form. In reply to a question on the Office’s text it was emphasised that co-operative organisations would have been covered in the same way as other organisations.

The final text was as follows:
“The competent authority may exclude from the application of the provisions of this Part of the present Annex undertakings or vessels, in respect of which, from
their nature and size, adequate supervision may be impracticable."

PART II. TEXT OF THE PROPOSED RECOMMENDATION

The above Articles, it is proposed, should form an Annex to a Recommendation.

The text adopted on this point by the Committee follows the main lines of the text submitted by the Office, which read as follows:

Whereas the Atlantic Charter expresses the desire of the signatories "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"; and

Whereas the Conference of the International Labour Organisation, by a Resolution adopted on 5 November 1941, endorsed the principles of the Atlantic Charter and pledged the full cooperation of the International Labour Organisation in their implementation; and

Whereas the peoples of non-self-governing colonies, protectorates and possessions (hereinafter called "dependent territories") are among those whose need for improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security is greatest; and

Whereas the International Labour Organisation has from time to time adopted Conventions and Recommendations dealing with special aspects of the conditions of life and labour in dependent territories and has promoted the application to such territories, in accordance with Article 35 of the Constitution of the Organisation, of Conventions and Recommendations of general application; and

Whereas the progress of the well-being and development of dependent peoples is influenced by the economic relations between the dependent territories and the rest of the world, as well as by the measures taken within the dependent territories; and

Whereas it is desirable to state the fundamental principles of social policy in dependent territories, and to provide for the extension of the application to such territories of accepted international minimum standards and for the development of these standards, in order to promote the attainment of the aforesaid objects;

The Conference makes the following Recommendations:

1. Each Member of the International Labour Organisation should take such steps as are within its competence to promote the well-being and development of the peoples of dependent territories through the effective application of the general principles set forth in Part I of the Annex to this Recommendation.

2. Each Member of the Organisation which is responsible for any dependent territory should take the necessary steps to secure the effective application in such territory of the minimum standards set forth in Part II of the Annex to this Recommendation, and in particular should bring this Recommendation before the authority or authorities competent to make effective in such territories the minimum standards set forth in Part II of the Annex.

3. Each Member of the Organisation should if it approves this Recommendation notify the Director of the International Labour Office of its acceptance of the general principles set forth in Part I of the Annex; should communicate to the Director at the earliest possible date particulars of the action taken to make effective the minimum standards set forth in Part II of the Annex in respect of each dependent territory for which the Member in question is responsible; and thereafter should report to the International Labour Office from time to time, as requested by the Governing Body, concerning the action taken to give effect to the Recommendation.

4. The standards set forth in Part II of the Annex to this Recommendation should be regarded as minimum standards, which do not qualify or impair any obligation to apply higher standards incumbent upon any Member of the Organisation under the Constitution of the Organisation or under any international labour Convention which the Member may have ratified, and should in no case be so interpreted or applied as to lessen the protection afforded by existing legislation to the workers concerned.

The alterations that were made are as follows:

1. The Office's Preamble began with reference to the Atlantic Charter. It was held by the Committee that it would be proper to express the attention paid to the economic advancement and social progress of the peoples of dependent territories by the States responsible for their administration. A second consideration should mark the efforts of the International Labour Organisation to cooperate with Governments, employers and workers. Thirdly, mention should be made of the Atlantic Charter.

2. The following passage in the Office's Preamble raised considerable objection.

Whereas the peoples of non-self-governing colonies, protectorates and possessions (hereinafter called "dependent territories") are among those whose need for improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security is greatest;

It was thought that this implied an unjust criticism of colonial government and that it was unfounded in fact. Accordingly it was deleted.

3. Paragraph 2 of the proposed Recommendation provided that each Member of the Organisation should "take the necessary steps to secure the effective application ... in any dependent territory for which it is responsible. It was pointed out that with growing self-government metropolitan countries had no competence in many matters of social policy in some territories. It was agreed that the intention of the paragraph was that in such cases the principles of the Recommendation would be laid before the competent authorities of the territories concerned. To make this clearer the text was amended to read: "Each Member of the International Labour Organisation which is responsible for any dependent territory should take all steps within its competence ... and in particular should bring this Recommendation before the authority or authorities competent to make effective in each territory the minimum standards".

4. The standards set forth in Part II of the Annex to this Recommendation should be regarded as minimum standards, which do not qualify or impair any obligation to apply higher standards incumbent upon any Member of the Organisation under the Constitution of the Organisation or under any international labour Convention which the Member may have ratified, and should in no case be so interpreted or applied as to lessen the protection afforded by existing legislation to the workers concerned.

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The British Government member asked why the verb "shall" was used in the Annex, since the normal Recommendation form was "should". It was pointed out that the Annex was governed by the terms of the Recommendation, that a dual use of "should" would suggest weakness and that a similar course had already been followed in one case, that of the Safety Provisions (Building) Recommendation, 1937.

III.

The Committee unanimously adopted the following two resolutions for submission to the Conference:

1. In accordance with the provisions of paragraph 3 of Article 16 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation, the Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labour Conference decides to include on the agenda of the next general session of the International Labour Conference the question of:

"Minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories (supplementary provisions)."

2. The Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labour Conference, Recognising the value of the work performed by the Committee of Experts on Native Labour and the necessity of assisting the Office with all possible technical advice on problems of social policy in dependent territories,

"Requests the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to set up as soon as possible a Committee to advise the Office on standards of social policy in dependent territories.

"The following are among the questions which the Governing Body may consider should appropriately be laid before the Committee, the creation of which is suggested:

1. The status of women in dependent territories;
2. Migratory labour and its protection in dependent territories;
3. Housing standards in dependent territories, including methods to facilitate the interchange of information on progress realised."

The purpose of the first resolution is to secure the discussion at the next general session of the proposals for minimum standards on which full agreement was not reached or which was not discussed or fully discussed. These questions are enumerated under IV.

The second resolution originated from various proposals that certain questions needed fuller technical examination, such as had so valuably been given to the questions of forced labour, recruiting and contracts of employment by the Committee of Experts on Native Labour before Conference action in respect of these subjects. Since the problems were now admitted to be under those suggested by the title "Native Labour" a wider scope is suggested for this Committee, the creation of which is asked of the Governing Body through the Conference.

IV.

If the Conference approves the inscription of the question of: "Minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories (supplementary provisions)" on the agenda of the next general session of the Conference, the following course of action should be followed by the Office.

The texts should be communicated by the Office to the Governments of the proposed Articles in the Office's text on which final agreement was not reached, together with all and any amendment moved, and an account of any discussion that took place. The same treatment would be given to all resolutions in the Committee.

The points covered would be:

1. Articles 29-31 of the Office's proposed text (problems of remuneration);
2. Article 32 (land);
3. Articles 35 (4)-(8), 36, 38 and 39 (questions of social security);
4. Articles 40-42 (hours and holidays);
5. Articles 44-48 (inspection and safety).

In all cases any amendments put in in writing during the session of the Committee would be included and a summary of any discussion which took place in Committee.

The following resolutions proposed by members of the Committee would equally be included in the communication to the Governments:

1. Resolution by the Indian workers' member to provide for closer association between the International Labour Organisation and the dependent territories;
2. Resolution by the Indian workers' member concerning the peoples under the control of Indian Princes;
3. Resolution by the United States Government member to include in the Committee's report reference to the work of regional advisory commissions.

The Conference should note that the Indian workers' member strongly emphasised his dissatisfaction that no provision was included in the Committee's proposed Recommendation on the subject of labour inspection. He thought that without adequate provisions for inspection the Recommendation would be of minor value. To the Office's Article on inspection he had
moved an amendment to permit direct co-operation by the I.L.O. in such inspection. He reserved his right to raise the matter in the Conference.

The Chairman said that the Committee realised the importance of inspection. Only lack of time had prevented consideration of the Office's text and the Indian amendment. He pointed out that by the procedure the Committee proposed to the Conference the Section on inspection and the Indian amendment would be communicated to Governments with a view to consideration of the whole question at the next general session of the Conference.

The following Article (Article 27) of the Office's proposed text was deleted:

All practicable steps shall be taken to keep under review the adequacy of the incomes received by producers in dependent territories from exported products. In cases where the prices received for such products are inadequate to enable efficient producers to maintain a reasonable standard of living, such action shall be taken as may be appropriate to raise or supplement the incomes of the producers concerned.

Two amendments were submitted.

The British Government delegation proposed to substitute the following:

"All practicable steps shall be taken to keep under review the incomes enjoyed by workers in dependent territories engaged in the production of goods for export and to ensure the adoption of such measures of a national or international character as may be feasible to increase such incomes where they are inadequate to maintain a reasonable standard of living."

The Australian Government member proposed to add to the original text:

"All practical steps shall be taken to maintain and increase real incomes, and in particular the competent authority shall adopt commercial policies compatible with this end".

The Belgian Government member criticised the whole Article as permitting wide interpretations, including unsatisfactory practices such as tariff walls and monetary manipulation.

The Representative of the Secretary-General had explained that the Office had intended here only to refer to the normal responsibilities of Governments to concern themselves with internal measures to improve the efficiency of the export trade or to supplement it in territories of monoculture and the like. The Article should not be adopted if it were capable of the interpretations suggested.

The Committee decided to omit the Article and both amendments were withdrawn.

1 See below p. 505.

The Mexican Government proposed that the Recommendation should end with the following declaration:

"All the Recommendations and measures contained in the Articles approved by this Conference on the subject of social policy in dependent territories should be considered as due to the material conditions which exist in the various territories but the Conference considers it necessary to affirm that all the standards which are set in relation to labour conditions should eventually be the same for all peoples."

The proposal, however, was not seconded and therefore not discussed.

Philadelphia, 9 May 1944.

(Signed) P. HONIG,
Chairman.

A. WAUTERS,
Reporter.

(3) Draft Recommendation concerning minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories, as included in Part I of the Report.

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Having been convened at Philadelphia by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Twenty-sixth Session on 20 April 1944, and

Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories, which is the fifth item on the agenda of the session, and

Having determined that these proposals shall take the form of a Recommendation.

adopts, this day of May of the year one thousand nine hundred and forty-four, the following Recommendation which may be cited as the Social Policy (Dependent Territories) Recommendation, 1944:

Whereas the economic advancement and social progress of the peoples of dependent territories have become increasingly a matter of close and urgent concern to the States responsible for their administration; and

Whereas the International Labour Organisation has from its inception endeavoured to assist the efforts towards this end of Governments, employers and workers; and

Whereas the Atlantic Charter has expressed the desire of the signatories "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”; and

Whereas the Conference of the International Labour Organisation, by a resolution adopted on 5 November 1941, endorsed the principles of the Atlantic Charter and pledged the full co-operation of the International Labour Organisation in their implementation; and

Whereas the International Labour Organisation has from time to time adopted Conventions and Recommendations dealing with special aspects of the conditions of life and labour in dependent territories and has promoted the application to such territories, in accordance with Article 35 of the Constitution of the Organisation of Conventions and Recommendations of general application; and

Whereas the progress of the well-being and development of dependent peoples is influenced by the economic relations between the dependent territories and the rest of the world, as well as by measures taken within the dependent territories; and

Whereas it is desirable to state the fundamental principles of social policy in dependent territories, and to provide for the extension of the application to such territories of accepted international minimum standards and for the improvement of these standards, in order to promote the attainment of the aforesaid objects;

The Conference makes the following recommendations:

1. Each Member of the International Labour Organisation should take or continue to take such steps as are within its competence to promote the well-being and development of the peoples of dependent territories through the effective application of the general principles set forth in Part II of the Annex to this Recommendation.

2. Each Member of the Organisation which is responsible for any dependent territory should take all steps within its competence to secure the effective application in each such territory of the minimum standards set forth in Part II of the Annex to this Recommendation, and in particular should bring this Recommendation before the authority or authorities competent to make effective in each such territory the minimum standards set forth in Part II of the Annex.

3. Each Member of the Organisation should, if it approves this Recommendation, notify the Director of the International Labour Office of its acceptance of the general principles set forth in Part I of the Annex; should communicate to the Director at the earliest possible date particulars of the action taken to make effective the minimum standards set forth in Part II of the Annex in respect of any dependent territory for which the Member in question is responsible; and thereafter should report to the International Labour Office from time to time, as requested by the Governing Body, concerning the action taken to give effect to the Recommendation.

4. The standards set forth in Part II of the Annex to this Recommendation should be regarded as minimum standards, which do not qualify or impair any obligation to apply higher standards incumbent upon any Member of the Organisation under the Constitution of the Organisation or under any international labour Convention which the Member may have ratified, and should in no case be so interpreted or applied as to lessen the protection afforded by existing legislation to the workers concerned.

ANNEX

PART I. GENERAL PRINCIPLES

Article 1

1. All policies designed to apply to dependent territories shall be primarily directed to the well-being and development of the peoples of such territories and to the promotion of the desire on their part for social progress.

2. Policies of more general application shall be formulated with due regard to their effect upon the well-being of dependent peoples.

Article 2

1. In order to promote economic advancement and thus to lay the foundations of social progress, every effort shall be made to secure, on an international, regional, national or territorial basis, financial and technical assistance in the economic development of dependent territories under the control of the local administrations, in such a way as to safeguard the interests of the peoples of dependent territories.

2. It shall be an objective of policy for all Government authorities to ensure that adequate funds are made available to provide capital for development purposes on terms which secure to the peoples of the dependent territories the full benefits of such developments.

3. In appropriate cases international, regional or national action shall be taken with a view to establishing conditions of trade sufficient for the maintenance of reasonable standards of living for producers efficiently producing the essential export products of the dependent territories.
Article 3

All possible steps shall be taken by appropriate international, regional, national and territorial measures to promote improvement in such fields as public health, housing, nutrition, education, the welfare of children, the status of women, conditions of employment, the remuneration of wage earners and independent producers, migratory labour, social security, standards of public services and general production. These steps shall include the adoption of appropriate commercial and trading policies by countries on which dependent territories depend.

Article 4

All possible steps shall be taken effectively to associate the peoples of the dependent territories in the framing and execution of measures of social progress, preferably through their own elected representatives where appropriate and possible.

PART II. MINIMUM STANDARDS

SECTION 1. SLAVERY

Article 5

In pursuance of the objective of free labour in a free world, the principle is affirmed that the slave trade and slavery in all of its forms shall be prohibited and effectively suppressed in all dependent territories.

SECTION 2. OPIUM

Article 6

1. In recognition of the menace which the use of opium may represent to the health, productivity and general welfare of the peoples of dependent territories, the principle is affirmed that the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs shall be strictly regulated in such manner as to protect fully the interests of the workers.

2. Consideration shall be given to the prohibition of opium smoking and the abolition of Government opium monopolies in all dependent territories where opium smoking may still be authorised.

SECTION 3. FORCED OR COMPULSORY LABOUR

Article 7

1. The use of forced or compulsory labour in dependent territories, which may have been inaugurated during the present war emergency, shall be eliminated entirely within the shortest possible period. In the meantime measures shall be adopted in dependent territories to increase the spontaneous offer of labour.

2. The use of forced or compulsory labour in all its forms shall be suppressed within the shortest possible period.

3. Where forced or compulsory labour is used in dependent territories as a temporary and exceptional measure the conditions and guarantees provided for in the Forced Labour Convention, 1930, shall be respected. In no case shall the use of forced or compulsory labour by private employers be permitted, irrespective of whether or not the State contracts with the employers.

4. Consideration shall be given to the possibility of eliminating or withdrawing any exceptions to the application of all the provisions of the Forced Labour Convention, 1930, in dependent territories.

5. Consideration shall be given to the application of the Forced Labour Convention, 1930, to those dependent territories in respect of which the Convention is not already in force where forced or compulsory labour may occur.

6. Consideration shall be given to the desirability of ratifying the Forced Labour Convention, 1930, by such States as have not already done so and are responsible for dependent territories where forced or compulsory labour may occur.

Article 8

With a view to avoiding the development of indirect compulsion to labour, consideration shall be given to the application of the principles set forth in the forced Labour (Indirect Compulsion) Recommendation, 1930.

SECTION 4. RECRUITING OF WORKERS

Article 9

1. It shall be an aim of policy to eliminate the recruiting of workers and to replace such recruiting by arrangements which, though based upon the spontaneous offer of labour through free agencies controlled by Government, provide for medical inspection, transport, food and shelter and all other benefits accruing to workers under existing systems.

2. Pending the formulation of any new proposals concerning the methods of obtaining labour and with a view to the more rapid promotion of a change over to the new methods contemplated, consideration shall be given to the application of the principles contained in the Elimination of Recruiting Recommendation, 1930.

Article 10

1. Consideration shall be given to the application of the Recruiting of Indige-
nous Workers Convention, 1936, to those dependent territories where recruiting may occur in respect of which the Convention is not already in force.

2. Consideration shall be given to the desirability of ratifying the Recruiting of Indigenous Workers Convention, 1936, by such States as have not already done so and are responsible for dependent territories where recruiting may occur.

SECTION 5. CONTRACTS OF EMPLOYMENT

Article 11

1. It shall be an aim of policy to regulate long-term employment by a system of written contracts in the cases required by and in accordance with the provisions of the Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939.

2. Consideration shall be given to the application of the Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939, to those dependent territories for which it is not already in force where employment under long-term contract may occur.

3. Consideration shall be given to the desirability of ratifying the Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939, by such States as have not already done so and are responsible for dependent territories where employment under long-term contract may occur.

Article 12

With a view to the definite limitation of periods of service under contract, consideration shall be given to the application of the principles set forth in the Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers) Recommendation, 1939.

Article 13

All practicable steps shall be taken to equate supply and demand in areas where some casual employment is inevitable and to guard against undesirable attraction of casual labour to centres of potential employment. Measures, such as short-term labour agreements, shall be considered in order to secure the maximum employment for labour normally available at such centres.

Article 14

The practice of entering statements of a subjective nature on the worker's conduct or ability in work-cards or work-books required by law to be carried on the person of the worker shall be eliminated. The use of work-cards or work-books shall be regulated to prevent their use as a device of intimidation or compulsion in employment.

Article 15

Where a married man is employed on contract within his own country but at a considerable distance from his home, the competent authority shall take all practical steps in appropriate cases to afford him full opportunity to be accommodated if he so desires by his wife and family.

SECTION 6. PENAL SANCTIONS

Article 16

1. It shall be an aim of policy to abolish penal sanctions for breach of contract of employment as defined in Article 1 of the Penal Sanctions (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939.

2. Consideration shall be given to the application of the Penal Sanctions (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939, to those dependent territories in respect of which the Convention is not already in force where the imposition of penal sanctions may occur.

3. Consideration shall be given to the desirability of ratifying the Penal Sanctions (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939, by such States as have not already done so which are responsible for dependent territories where penal sanctions may occur.

SECTION 7. EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PERSONS

Article 17

1. Adequate provision shall be made in dependent territories, to the maximum extent possible under local conditions, for the progressive development of broad systems of education, vocational training and apprenticeship, with a view to the elimination of illiteracy among children and young persons and to their effective preparation for a useful occupation.

2. In order that the child population may be able to profit by existing facilities for education and in order that the extension of these facilities may not be hindered by a demand for child labour, the employment of persons below the school-leaving age shall be prohibited in any area where educational facilities are provided on a scale adequate for the majority of the children of school age.

Article 18

1. Children under the age of twelve years shall not be employed in any employment, except on light work of an agricultural or domestic character in which only members of the employer's family are em-
ployed or except on agricultural light work carried on collectively by the local community. This age shall be progressively raised along with the school-leaving age.

2. Where the transfer of children to the family of an employer is permitted by custom, the conditions of transfer and of employment shall be closely regulated and supervised, whether the children are above or below twelve years of age. The progressive abolition of all such transfers shall be an aim of policy for all dependent territories.

**Article 19**

Children under the age of fifteen years shall not be employed or work in any industrial undertaking, or in any branch thereof.

**Article 20**

Children under the age of fifteen years shall not be employed or work on vessels.

**Article 21**

1. Young persons under the age of sixteen years shall not be employed underground in mines.

2. The employment underground in mines of young persons who have attained the age of sixteen years but not that of eighteen years shall be conditional on the production of a medical certificate attesting fitness for such work, signed by a doctor who shall be approved by the competent authority.

**Article 22**

1. Young persons under the age of eighteen years shall not be employed or work on vessels as trimmers or stokers.

2. When a trimmer or stoker is required in a port where young persons of less than eighteen years of age only are available, such young persons may be employed and in that case it shall be necessary to engage two young persons in place of the trimmer or stoker required. Such young persons shall be at least sixteen years of age.

3. Provided that the provisions of this Article do not apply:

   - (a) to the employment of young persons on vessels mainly propelled by other means than steam;
   - (b) to young persons of not less than sixteen years of age who, if found physically fit after medical examination, may be employed as trimmers or stokers on vessels exclusively engaged in coastal trade.

**Article 23**

The provisions of Articles 18 (1), 19 and 20 do not apply to work done by children or young persons in bona fide State or private technical schools or school ships or training ships having prescribed courses of study and reasonable limits on the length of time in which students may remain in training or apprenticeship. It shall be a condition of these exceptions that such work is approved and supervised by the competent authority.

**Article 24**

1. In the case of unhealthy, dangerous or onerous work, minimum wages higher than those required in virtue of Articles 18 (1) and 19 shall be fixed, or the hours of work of children between the minimum age of employment and an appropriate higher age shall be subject to special limitations, or other special protection shall be afforded.

2. Special protection shall be provided for children who are permitted to undertake employment away from their homes.

**Article 25**

1. Young persons under eighteen years of age shall not be employed during the night in any industrial undertaking, or in any branch thereof.

2. Provided that young persons over the age of sixteen years may be employed during the night in exceptional circumstances defined by the competent authority.

**Article 26**

1. The employment of any young person under eighteen years of age on any vessel shall be conditional on the production of a medical certificate attesting fitness for such work, signed by a doctor who shall be approved by the competent authority.

2. In urgent cases the competent authority may allow a young person below the age of eighteen years to embark without having undergone medical examination, always provided that such an examination shall be undergone, at the expense of the employer, at the first port at which the vessel calls, and that failing satisfactory medical attestation the young person shall be returned as a passenger to the port or place where he was engaged or to his home, whichever is the nearer, at the expense of the employer.

**Article 27**

In developing systems of education suited to the economic and social interests of the communities, consideration shall be given to the application of the principles set forth in the Vocational Training Recommendation, 1939, so far as this is prac-
ticable and appropriate to local circumstances.

**Article 28**

To assist in the application of the provisions of this Section, administrative bodies or officers shall be appointed. The appointment and establishment of these administrative bodies or officers shall be made in accordance with practices successfully adopted in metropolitan or independent countries.

**SECTION 8. EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN**

**Article 29**

It shall be an objective of policy for all competent authorities to take such measures as, having due regard to local conditions, are appropriate and practicable to secure for women adequate opportunities of general education, vocational training and employment, safeguards against physically harmful conditions of employment and economic exploitation, including safeguards for motherhood, protection against any special forms of exploitation, and fair and equal treatment between men and women as regards remuneration and other conditions of employment.

**Article 30**

All practicable steps shall be taken to improve the social and economic status of women in any dependent territory where, whether by law or custom, arrangements survive which in effect maintain women in or reduce women to a condition of servitude.

**Article 31**

1. Provision shall be made as rapidly as possible for maternity protection for women employed in industrial and commercial undertakings.

2. In so doing the aim shall be to give effect, subject to such modifications as may be necessary in the light of local conditions, to the provisions of the Childbirth Convention, 1919, and in particular to the following principles:

   (a) the right to be absent from employment before and after childbirth;

   (b) the right to medical assistance and benefits during such absence.

**Article 32**

1. Women shall not be employed during the night in any industrial undertaking, or in any branch thereof.

2. Provided that women may be employed during the night:

   (a) in cases where the work has to do with raw materials or materials in course of treatment which are subject to rapid deterioration, and

   (b) when in any undertaking an emergency occurs which it was impossible to foresee and which is not of a recurring character.

3. Provided also that the prohibition of night work may be suspended, when in case of serious emergency the public interest demands it.

4. The provisions of this Article do not apply to women holding responsible positions of management who are not ordinarily engaged in manual work.

**Article 33**

1. Women shall not be employed on underground work in any mine.

2. Provided that the competent authority may grant exemptions from the above prohibition in respect of:

   (a) women holding positions of management who do not perform manual work;

   (b) women employed in health and welfare services;

   (c) women who, in the course of their studies, spend a period of training in the underground parts of a mine; and

   (d) any other women who may occasionally have to enter the underground parts of a mine for the purpose of a non-manual occupation.

**Article 34**

In order to promote the application of measures relating to the employment and economic status of women and their welfare, use shall be made of women advisers where questions especially affecting women are to be considered. The women advisers shall, whenever possible, be drawn from the local population.

**SECTION 9. REMUNERATION**

**Article 35**

1. The improvement of standards of living shall be regarded as the principal objective in the planning of economic development.

2. All practicable measures appropriate to local conditions shall be taken to secure for independent producers and wage earners conditions which will ensure the maintenance of minimum standards of living
as ascertained by means of official enqui­ries into living conditions and will give scope to independent producers and wage earners to improve those standards by their own efforts.

3. Forms of economic enterprise which require the labour of workers living away from their homes shall take account of the normal family needs of the workers.

4. Where the labour resources of other areas are used on a temporary basis for the benefit of one area, measures shall be taken to encourage the transfer of part of the worker’s benefits from the area of labour utilisation to the areas of labour supply.

5. Where workers and their families move from low-cost to higher cost areas, account shall be taken of the increased cost of living resulting from the change.

6. The substitution of alcohol or other spirituous beverages as compensation for all or any part of wages for services per­formed by the workers shall be prohibited.

Article 36

All public works, whether undertaken directly by a public authority or through contracts entered into between a public authority and an employer, shall be subject to the requirement that the rates of wages and the general conditions of employment shall be not less than the prevailing rates and conditions, and shall where practicable be fixed after consulta­tion with any employers' and workers' or­ganisations concerned.

SECTION 10. HEALTH, HOUSING AND
SOCIAL SECURITY

Article 37

1. All practicable measures shall be taken to improve the health of the people by the extension of medical facilities, by the development of public health pro­grammes, by surveys of epidemical and endemical diseases prevalent in tropical dependent territories and by the introduc­tion of appropriate measures of combat­ting them, as well as by the spread of health education and the improvement of nutrition and housing.

2. All practicable measures shall be taken to ascertain by nutritional surveys the food requirements of the people and the ways of improving nutrition and to give effect to the food policies which such surveys indicate. National nutritional or­ganisations shall be set up and shall be provided with adequate funds, facilities and authority.

3. The competent authority shall be re­sponsible for ensuring the establishment of satisfactory housing conditions. The general aim of policy shall be to provide workers normally dependent on wage earning with the opportunity of securing satisfactory housing accommodations on premises not the property of the employer.

4. Where an undertaking employing labour is situated in an area where satisfactory housing accommodation is not avail­able, the provision of housing may be made an obligation on the undertaking on an equitable basis. In such cases the com­petent authority shall define the minimum standards of accommodation and shall ex­ercise strict control over the enforcement of these standards. The competent author­ity shall also define the rights of the work­er who may be required to leave his house on leaving employment and shall take all necessary steps to secure the enforcement of these rights.

Article 38

Such arrangements as are practicable, having due regard to local conditions, shall be made for the maintenance and treatment of the sick and for the care of the aged, of the incapacitated and of the dependants of deceased persons.

Article 39

1. Provision shall be made by law for the payment of compensation to employed persons in case of incapacity for work caused by accidents arising out of and in the course of their employment, and to their dependent survivors in case of death caused by such accidents, and for the medical care of persons injured by such acci­dents.

2. The laws and regulations concerning workmen’s compensation shall apply to all workers, employees and apprentices em­ployed on vessels or by industrial, com­mercial, and agricultural undertakings.

3. Provided that exceptions may be made in respect of:
   (a) persons whose employment is of a casual nature and who are em­ployed otherwise than for the pur­pose of the employer's trade or business;
   (b) out-workers;
   (c) members of the employer's family who work exclusively on his behalf and who live with him;
   (d) non-manual workers whose re­muneration exceeds a limit to be determined by the laws or regula­tions.

Article 40

1. Compensation shall be payable to workers incapacitated by occupational dis­eases, or, in case of death from any such disease to their dependants, in accordance
with the general principles of workmen's compensation.

2. Provided that such compensation may be limited to the occupational diseases of chief importance in the territory concerned.

Section 11. Prohibition of Colour and Religious Bars and Other Discriminatory Practices

Article 41

1. The standards set by law in each territory with respect to conditions of labour shall have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident or working therein.

2. Discrimination directed against workers for reason of race, colour, confession or tribal association, as regards their admission to public or private employment shall be prohibited.

3. All measures practicable under local conditions shall be taken to promote effective equality of treatment in employment by the provision of facilities for training, by the discouragement of discrimination in the negotiation of collective agreements or on grounds of trade union membership, and by other appropriate means.

Section 12. Industrial Organisation

Article 42

1. The rights of employers and employed alike to associate for all lawful purposes shall be guaranteed by appropriate measures.

2. All practicable measures shall be taken to consult and associate the representatives of organisations of employers and workers in the establishment and working of machinery for conciliation, arbitration, minimum wage fixing and labour inspection. Where representative organisations of workers have not developed, the competent authority shall appoint persons specially qualified to act on behalf of the workers and by advice and guidance to assist in the early development of workers' organisations.

3. All practicable measures shall be taken to assure to trade unions which are representative of the workers concerned the right to conclude collective agreements with employers or employers' organisations.

Article 43

1. As rapidly as possible, machinery shall be created for the settlement of collective disputes between employers and workers.

2. Representatives of the employers and workers concerned, including representatives of their respective organisations, if any, shall, where practicable, be associated in the operation of the machinery, in such manner and to such extent, but in any case in equal numbers and on equal terms, as may be determined by the competent authority.

Section 13. Co-operative Organisations

Article 44

1. The assistance and development of co-operative societies, including co-operative organisations of workers for the promotion of health, housing and education, shall be accepted as part of the economic programme of competent authorities in dependent territories, and the measures to be taken shall include financial assistance wherever this is appropriate.

2. To this end consideration shall be given to:

(a) the adoption of adequate legislation, simple and inexpensive in application, covering all forms of co-operative organisations;

(b) the creation of special services to promote and supervise the development of co-operative organisations and to encourage education in co-operation.

3. In appropriate cases co-operative organisations shall be effectively represented on public boards and agencies affecting their interests.

Section 14. Definitions and Scope

Article 45

For the purpose of this Part of the present Annex:

(a) the term "agricultural undertaking" may be defined so as to include processes conducted on the undertaking for the preservation and despatch of the agricultural products of the undertaking, unless it is desired to classify these processes as parts of an industrial undertaking;

(b) the term "commercial undertaking" includes:

(i) commercial establishments and offices, including establishments engaging wholly or mainly in the sale, purchase, distribution, insurance, negotiation, loan, or administration of goods or services of any kind;

(ii) establishments for the treatment or care particularly of the
aged, infirm, sick, destitute, or mentally unfit;

(iii) hotels, restaurants, boarding houses, clubs, cafés and other refreshment houses;

(iv) theatres and places of public amusement;

(v) any establishment similar in character to those enumerated in subparagraphs (i), (ii), (iii), and (iv) above;

(c) the term “industrial undertaking” includes:

(i) undertakings in which articles are manufactured, altered, cleaned, repaired, ornamented, finished, adapted for sale, broken up or demolished, or in which materials are transformed, including undertakings engaged in shipbuilding or in the generation, transformation, or transmission of electricity, the production or distribution of gas or motive power of any kind, the purification or distribution of water, or in heating;

(ii) undertakings engaged in the construction, reconstruction, maintenance, repair, alteration, or demolition of any one or more of the following: buildings, railways, tramways, airports, harbours, docks, piers, works of protection against floods or coast erosion, canals, works for the purpose of inland, maritime or aerial navigation, roads, tunnels, bridges, viaducts, sewers, drains, wells, irrigation or drainage works, telecommunication installations, works for the production or distribution of electricity or gas, pipelines, waterworks, and undertakings engaged in other similar work or in the preparation for or laying the foundations of any such work or structure;

(iii) mines, quarries or other works for the extraction of minerals from the earth; and

(iv) undertakings engaged in the transport of passengers or goods, excluding transport by hand, unless such undertakings are regarded as parts of the operation of an agricultural or commercial undertaking;

(d) the terms “agricultural undertaking”, “commercial undertaking” and “industrial undertaking” include both public and private undertakings;

(e) the term “vessel” includes all ships and boats, of any nature whatsoever, engaged in maritime navigation, whether publicly or privately owned, excluding ships of war; it may be interpreted as excluding vessels of less than a specified tonnage and carrying a crew of less than a specified number;

(f) the term “night” signifies a period of at least eleven consecutive hours: Provided that in those tropical countries in which work is suspended during the middle of the day, the night period may be shorter if compensatory rest is accorded during the day;

(g) provisions prescribing a minimum age may be interpreted as relating to an apparent minimum age where records of birth are inadequate.

Article 46

The competent authority may exclude from the application of the provisions of this Part of the present Annex undertakings or vessels, in respect of which, from their nature and size, adequate supervision may be impracticable.

DRAFT RESOLUTIONS

I

In accordance with the provisions of paragraph 3 of Article 16 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation, the Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labour Conference decides to include in the agenda of the next general session of the International Labour Conference the question of:

Minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories (supplementary provisions).

II

The Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labour Conference,

Recognising the value of the work of the Committee of Experts on Native Labour and the necessity of providing the Office with all possible technical advice on social problems in dependent territories,

Requests the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to set up as soon as possible a Committee to advise the Office on standards of social policy in dependent territories.

The following are among the questions which the Governing Body may consider should appropriately be laid before the Committee, the creation of which is suggested:

(1) The status of women in dependent territories;

(2) Migratory labour and its protection;

(3) Housing standards in dependent territories, including methods to facilitate the interchange of information on progress realised.
Appendix VIII: Dependent Territories

APPENDIX

Below is given a list of the Articles which were not discussed or not fully discussed by the Committee and of the resolutions presented in Committee but not discussed. It is these texts, together with any amendments presented in Committee to the Articles, which, if the Conference approves Resolution No. I, will be forwarded to the Governments in preparation for the discussions at the next session of the general Conference.

The following is the list in question:

1. Articles 29-31 of the Office's proposed text (problems of remuneration);
2. Article 32 (land);
3. Articles 35 (4)-(8), 36, 38 and 39 (questions of social security);
4. Articles 40-42 (hours and holidays);
5. Articles 44-48 (inspection and safety);
6. Resolution by the Indian workers' member for closer association between the International Labour Organisation and the dependent territories;
7. Resolution by the Indian workers' member concerning the peoples under the control of Indian Princes;
8. Resolution by the United States Government member to include in the Committee's report reference to the work of regional advisory committees.

(4) Amendment submitted by Mr. Mehta, Indian workers' delegate.

Include in the draft Recommendation as a new Article between the existing Articles 44 and 45, Article 44 (Inspection) as contained in Report V on minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories; and add:

"1. On the request of the I.L.O., the competent authority in a dependent territory shall furnish in writing directly to the I.L.O., or to a visiting Committee duly authorised in that behalf by the I.L.O., all information regarding the actual working of accepted policies laid down in these Articles.

"2. On the receipt of such information, the I.L.O. will be free to make to the competent authority such recommendations as the I.L.O. might consider necessary with a view to the proper implementing of those policies and the competent authority shall report to the I.L.O. within a reasonable time the action taken on those recommendations."

(5) Text of the Recommendation (No. . .) concerning minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories, submitted by the Drafting Committee.

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Having been convened at Philadelphia by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Twenty-sixth Session on 20 April 1944, and

Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories, which is the fifth item on the agenda of the Session, and

Having determined that these proposals shall take the form of a Recommendation,

adopts, this day of May of the year one thousand nine hundred and forty-four, the following Recommendation which may be cited as the Social Policy in Dependent Territories Recommendation, 1944:

Whereas the economic advancement and social progress of the peoples of dependent territories have become increasingly a matter of close and urgent concern to the States responsible for their administration; and

Whereas the International Labour Organisation has from its inception endeavoured to assist the efforts towards this end of Governments, employers and workers; and

empowered by law:

(a) to visit and inspect, at any hour of the day or night, places where they may have reasonable cause to believe that persons under the protection of the law are employed;
(b) to enter by day any place which they may have reasonable cause to believe to be an undertaking, or part thereof, subject to their supervision;
(c) to question, without witnesses, the staff belonging to the undertaking, and, for the purpose of carrying out their duties, to apply for information to any persons whose evidence they may consider necessary;
(d) to require to be shown any registers or documents which the laws regulating conditions of work require to be kept.

Section 14. Inspection and Safety

Article 44

1. Labour inspection services shall be established in territories where such services do not already exist. Inspectors shall be required to inspect conditions of employment at frequent intervals.
2. The inspectors shall have no direct or indirect interest in undertakings subject to their supervision.
3. Workers and their representatives shall be afforded every facility for communicating freely with the inspectors.
4. Inspectors provided with credentials shall be...
Whereas the Atlantic Charter has expressed the desire of the signatories "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"; and

Whereas the Conference of the International Labour Organisation, by a resolution adopted on 5 November 1941, endorsed the principles of the Atlantic Charter and pledged the full co-operation of the International Labour Organisation in their implementation; and

Whereas the International Labour Organisation has from time to time adopted Conventions and Recommendations dealing with special aspects of the conditions of life and labour in dependent territories and has promoted the application to such territories, in accordance with Article 35 of the Constitution of the Organisation, of Conventions and Recommendations of general application; and

Whereas the progress of the well-being and development of dependent peoples is influenced by the economic relations between the dependent territories and the rest of the world, as well as by measures taken within the dependent territories; and

Whereas it is desirable to state the fundamental principles of social policy in dependent territories and to provide for the extension of the application to such territories of accepted international minimum standards and for the improvement of these standards, in order to promote the attainment of the aforesaid objects;

The Conference makes the following recommendations:

1. Each Member of the International Labour Organisation should take or continue to take such steps as are within its competence to promote the well-being and development of the peoples of dependent territories through the effective application of the general principles set forth in Part I of the Annex to this Recommendation.

2. Each member of the Organisation which is responsible for any dependent territory should take all steps within its competence to secure the effective application in each such territory of the minimum standards set forth in Part II of the Annex to this Recommendation, and in particular should bring this Recommendation before the authority or authorities competent to make effective in each such territory the minimum standards set forth in Part II of the Annex.

3. Each Member of the Organisation should, if it approves this Recommendation, notify the Director of the International Labour Office of its acceptance of the general principles set forth in Part I of the Annex; should communicate to the Director at the earliest possible date particulars of the action taken to make effective the minimum standards set forth in Part II of the Annex in respect of each dependent territory for which the Member in question is responsible; and thereafter should report to the International Labour Office from time to time, as requested by the Governing Body, concerning the action taken to give effect to the Recommendation.

4. The standards set forth in Part II of the Annex to this Recommendation should be regarded as minimum standards, which do not qualify or impair any obligation to apply higher standards incumbent upon any Member of the Organisation under the Constitution of the Organisation or under any international labour Convention which the Member may have ratified, and should in no case be so interpreted or applied as to lessen the protection afforded by existing legislation to the workers concerned.

ANNEX

PART I. GENERAL PRINCIPLES

Article 1

1. All policies designed to apply to dependent territories shall be primarily directed to the well-being and development of the peoples of such territories and to the promotion of the desire on their part for social progress.

2. Policies of more general application shall be formulated with due regard to their effect upon the well-being of dependent peoples.

Article 2

1. In order to promote economic advancement and thus to lay the foundations of social progress, every effort shall be made to secure, on an international, regional, national or territorial basis, financial and technical assistance in the economic development of dependent territories under the control of the local administrations, in such a way as to safeguard the interests of the peoples of dependent territories.

2. It shall be an aim of policy for all Government authorities to ensure that adequate funds are made available to provide capital for development purposes on terms which secure to the peoples of the dependent territories the full benefits of such development.

3. In appropriate cases international, regional or national action shall be taken with a view to establishing conditions of trade sufficient for the maintenance of reasonable standards of living for producers efficiently producing the essential export products of dependent territories.
Article 3

All possible steps shall be taken by appropriate international, regional, national and territorial measures to promote improvement in such fields as public health, housing, nutrition, education, the welfare of children, the status of women, conditions of employment, the remuneration of wage earners and independent producers, migratory labour, social security, standards of public services and general production. These steps shall include the adoption of appropriate commercial and trading policies by countries on which dependent territories depend.

Article 4

All possible steps shall be taken effectively to associate the peoples of the dependent territories in the framing and execution of measures of social progress, preferably through their own elected representatives where appropriate and possible.

PART II. MINIMUM STANDARDS

SECTION 1. SLAVERY

Article 5

In pursuance of the objective of free labour in a free world, the principle is affirmed that the slave trade and slavery in all its forms shall be prohibited and effectively suppressed in all dependent territories.

SECTION 2. OPIUM

Article 6

1. In recognition of the menace which the use of opium may represent to the health, productivity and general welfare of the peoples of dependent territories, the principle is affirmed that the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs shall be strictly regulated in such manner as to protect fully the interests of the workers.

2. Consideration shall be given to the prohibition of opium smoking and the abolition of Government opium monopolies in all dependent territories where opium smoking is still authorised.

SECTION 3. FORCED OR COMPULSORY LABOUR

Article 7

1. The use of forced or compulsory labour in dependent territories, which may have been inaugurated during the present war emergency, shall be eliminated entirely within the shortest possible period. In the meantime measures shall be adopted in dependent territories to increase the spontaneous offer of labour.

2. The use of forced or compulsory labour in all its forms shall be suppressed within the shortest possible period.

3. Where forced or compulsory labour is used in dependent territories as a temporary and exceptional measure the conditions and guarantees provided for in the Forced Labour Convention, 1930, shall be respected. In no case shall the use of forced or compulsory labour by private employers be permitted, irrespective of whether or not the State contracts with the employers.

4. Consideration shall be given to the possibility of eliminating or withdrawing any exceptions to the application in dependent territories of all the provisions of the Forced Labour Convention, 1930.

5. Consideration shall be given to the application of the Forced Labour Convention, 1930, to those dependent territories where forced or compulsory labour may occur in respect of which the Convention is not already in force.

6. Consideration shall be given to the desirability of ratifying the Forced Labour Convention, 1930, by such States responsible for dependent territories where forced or compulsory labour may occur as have not already done so.

Article 8

With a view to avoiding the development of indirect compulsion to labour, consideration shall be given to the application of the principles set forth in the Forced Labour (Indirect Compulsion) Recommendation, 1930.

SECTION 4. RECRUITING OF WORKERS

Article 9

1. It shall be an aim of policy to eliminate the recruiting of workers and to replace such recruiting by arrangements which, though based upon the spontaneous offer of labour through free agencies controlled by Government, provide for medical inspection, transport, food and shelter and all other benefits accruing to workers under existing systems.

2. Pending the formulation of any new proposals concerning the methods of obtaining labour and with a view to the more rapid promotion of a change-over to the new methods contemplated, consideration shall be given to the application of.
Article 10

1. Consideration shall be given to the application of the Recruiting of Indigenous Workers Convention, 1936, to those dependent territories where recruiting may occur in respect of which the Convention is not already in force.

2. Consideration shall be given to the desirability of ratifying the Recruiting of Indigenous Workers Convention, 1936, by such States responsible for dependent territories where recruiting may occur as have not already done so.

SECTION 5. SPECIAL TYPES OF CONTRACT OF EMPLOYMENT

Article 11

1. It shall be an aim of policy to regulate long-term employment by a system of written contracts in the cases required by and in accordance with the provisions of the Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939.

2. Consideration shall be given to the application of the Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939, to those dependent territories where employment under long-term contract may occur in respect of which the Convention is not already in force.

3. Consideration shall be given to the desirability of ratifying the Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939, by such States responsible for dependent territories where employment under long-term contract may occur as have not already done so.

Article 12

With a view to the definite limitation of periods of service under contract, consideration shall be given to the application of the principles set forth in the Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers) Recommendation, 1939.

Article 13

1. All practicable steps shall be taken to equate supply and demand in areas where some casual employment is inevitable and to guard against undesirable attraction of casual labour to centres of potential employment.

2. Measures, such as short-term labour agreements, shall be considered in order to secure the maximum employment for labour normally available at such centres.

Article 14

1. The practice of entering statements of a subjective nature on the worker's conduct or ability in work-cards or work-books required by law to be carried on the person of the worker shall be eliminated.

2. The use of work-cards or work-books shall be regulated to prevent their use as a device of intimidation or compulsion in employment.

Article 15

Where a married man is employed on contract within his own country but at a considerable distance from his home, the competent authority shall take all practical steps in appropriate cases to afford him full opportunity to be accompanied if he so desires by his wife and family.

SECTION 6. PENAL SANCTIONS

Article 16

1. It shall be an aim of policy to abolish penal sanctions for breach of contract of employment as defined in Article 1 of the Penal Sanctions (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939.

2. Consideration shall be given to the application of the Penal Sanctions (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939, to those dependent territories where the imposition of penal sanctions may occur in respect of which the Convention is not already in force.

3. Consideration shall be given to the desirability of ratifying the Penal Sanctions (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939, by such States responsible for dependent territories where the imposition of penal sanctions may occur as have not already done so.

SECTION 7. EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PERSONS

Article 17

1. Adequate provision shall be made in dependent territories, to the maximum extent possible under local conditions, for the progressive development of broad systems of education, vocational training and apprenticeship, with a view to the elimination of illiteracy among children and young persons and to their effective preparation for a useful occupation.

2. In order that the child population may be able to profit by existing facilities for education and in order that the extension of these facilities may not be hindered by a demand for child labour, the
employment of persons below the school-leaving age shall be prohibited in any area where educational facilities are provided on a scale adequate for the majority of the children of school age.

Article 18

1. Children under the age of twelve years shall not be employed in any employment, except on light work of an agricultural or domestic character in which only members of the employer's family are employed or except on agricultural light work carried on collectively by the local community. This age shall be progressively raised along with the school-leaving age.

2. Where the transfer of children to the family of an employer is permitted by custom, the conditions of transfer and of employment shall be closely regulated and supervised, whether the children are above or below twelve years of age. The progressive abolition of all such transfers shall be an aim of policy for all dependent territories.

Article 19

Children under the age of fifteen years shall not be employed or work in any industrial undertaking, or in any branch thereof.

Article 20

Children under the age of fifteen years shall not be employed or work on vessels.

Article 21

1. Young persons under the age of sixteen years shall not be employed underground in mines.

2. The employment underground in mines of young persons who have attained the age of sixteen years but not that of eighteen years shall be conditional on the production of a medical certificate attesting fitness for such work, signed by a doctor who shall be approved by the competent authority.

Article 22

1. Young persons under the age of eighteen years shall not be employed or work on vessels as trimmers or stokers.

2. When a trimmer or stoker is required in a port where young persons of less than eighteen years of age are available, such young persons may be employed and in that case it shall be necessary to engage two young persons in place of the trimmer or stoker required. Such young persons shall be at least sixteen years of age.

3. Provided that the provisions of this Article do not apply:

(a) to the employment of young persons on vessels mainly propelled by other means than steam;

(b) to young persons of not less than sixteen years of age who, if found physically fit after medical examination, may be employed as trimmers or stokers on vessels exclusively engaged in coastal trade.

Article 23

The provisions of Articles 18 (1), 19 and 20 do not apply to work, approved and supervised by the competent authority, done by children or young persons in bona fide State or private technical schools or school ships or training ships having prescribed courses of study and reasonable limits on the length of time in which students may remain in training or apprenticeship.

Article 24

1. In the case of unhealthy, dangerous or onerous work, minimum ages higher than those required in virtue of Articles 18 (1) and 19 shall be fixed, or the hours of work of children between the minimum age of employment and an appropriate higher age shall be subject to special limitations, or other special protection shall be afforded.

2. Special protection shall be provided for children who are permitted to undertake employment away from their homes.

Article 25

1. Young persons under eighteen years of age shall not be employed during the night in any industrial undertaking, or in any branch thereof.

2. Provided that young persons over the age of sixteen years may be employed during the night in exceptional circumstances defined by the competent authority.

Article 26

1. The employment of any young person under eighteen years of age on any vessel shall be conditional on the production of a medical certificate attesting fitness for such work, signed by a doctor who shall be approved by the competent authority.

2. In urgent cases the competent authority may allow a young person below the age of eighteen years to embark without having undergone medical examination, always provided that such an examination shall be undergone, at the expense of the employer, at the first port at which
the vessel calls, and that failing satisfactory medical attestation the young person shall be returned as a passenger to the port or place where he was engaged or to his home, whichever is the nearer, at the expense of the employer.

Article 27

In developing systems of education suited to the economic and social interests of the communities, consideration shall be given to the application of the principles set forth in the Vocational Training Recommendation, 1939, so far as this is practicable and appropriate to local circumstances.

Article 28

To assist in the application of the provisions of this Section, administrative bodies or officers shall be appointed. The appointment and establishment of these administrative bodies or officers shall be made in accordance with practices successfully adopted in metropolitan or independent countries.

SECTION 8. EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

Article 29

It shall be an aim of policy for all competent authorities to take such measures as, having due regard to local conditions, are appropriate and practicable to secure for women: adequate opportunities of general education, vocational training and employment; safeguards against physically harmful conditions of employment and economic exploitation, including safeguards for motherhood; protection against any special forms of exploitation; and fair and equal treatment between men and women as regards remuneration and other conditions of employment.

Article 30

All practicable steps shall be taken to improve the social and economic status of women in any dependent territory where, whether by law or custom, arrangements survive which in effect maintain women in, or reduce women to, a condition of servitude.

Article 31

1. Provision shall be made as rapidly as possible for maternity protection for women employed in industrial and commercial undertakings.

2. In so doing the aim shall be to give effect, subject to such modifications as may be necessary in the light of local conditions, to the provisions of the Childbirth Convention, 1919, and in particular to the following principles:

(a) the right to be absent from employment before and after childbirth;

(b) the right to medical assistance and benefits during such absence.

Article 32

1. Women shall not be employed during the night in any industrial undertaking, or in any branch thereof.

2. Provided that women may be employed during the night:

(a) in cases where the work has to do with raw materials or materials in course of treatment which are subject to rapid deterioration; and

(b) when in any undertaking an emergency occurs which it was impossible to foresee and which is not of a recurring character.

3. Provided also that the prohibition of night work may be suspended, when in case of serious emergency the public interest demands it.

4. The provisions of this Article do not apply to women holding responsible positions of management who are not ordinarily engaged in manual work.

Article 33

1. Women shall not be employed on underground work in any mine.

2. Provided that the competent authority may grant exemptions from the above prohibition in respect of:

(a) women holding positions of management who do not perform manual work;

(b) women employed in health and welfare services;

(c) women who, in the course of their studies, spend a period of training in the underground parts of a mine; and

(d) any other woman who may occasionally have to enter the underground parts of a mine for the purpose of a non-manual occupation.

Article 34

In order to promote the application of measures relating to the employment and economic status of women and their welfare, use shall be made of women advisers where questions especially affecting women are to be considered. The women advisers shall, whenever possible, be drawn from the local population.
SECTION 9. REMUNERATION

Article 35

1. The improvement of standards of living shall be regarded as the principal objective in the planning of economic development.

2. All practicable measures appropriate to local conditions shall be taken to secure for independent producers and wage earners conditions which will ensure the maintenance of minimum standards of living as ascertained by means of official enquiries into living conditions and will give scope to independent producers and wage earners to improve those standards by their own efforts.

3. Forms of economic enterprise which require the labour of workers living away from their homes shall take account of the normal family needs of the workers.

4. Where the labour resources of other areas are used on a temporary basis for the benefit of one area, measures shall be taken to encourage the transfer of part of the workers’ wages and savings from the area of labour utilisation to the areas of labour supply.

5. Where workers and their families move from low-cost to higher cost areas, account shall be taken of the increased cost of living resulting from the change.

6. The substitution of alcohol or other spirituous beverages for all or any part of wages for services performed by the workers shall be prohibited.

Article 36

All public works, whether undertaken directly by a public authority or through a contract entered into between a public authority and an employer, shall be subject to the requirement that the rates of wages and the general conditions of employment shall be not less than the prevailing rates and conditions, and shall where practicable be fixed after consultation with any employers’ and workers’ organisations concerned.

SECTION 10. HEALTH, HOUSING AND SOCIAL SECURITY

Article 37

1. All practicable measures shall be taken to improve the health of the people by the extension of medical facilities, by the development of public health programmes, by surveys of epidemic and endemic diseases prevalent in tropical dependent territories and by the introduction of appropriate measures of combating them, by the spread of health education and the improvement of nutrition and housing.

2. All practicable measures shall be taken to ascertain by nutritional surveys the food requirements of the people and the ways of improving nutrition and to give effect to the food policies which such surveys indicate. National nutritional organisations shall be set up and shall be provided with adequate funds, facilities and authority.

3. The competent authority shall be responsible for ensuring the establishment of satisfactory housing conditions. The general aim of policy shall be to provide workers normally dependent on wage earning with the opportunity of securing satisfactory housing accommodation on premises not the property of the employer.

4. Where an undertaking employing labour is situated in an area where satisfactory housing accommodation is not available, the provision of housing may be made an obligation on the undertaking on an equitable basis. In such cases the competent authority shall define the minimum standards of accommodation and shall exercise strict control over the enforcement of these standards. The competent authority shall also define the rights of the worker who may be required to vacate his house on leaving employment and shall take all necessary steps to secure the enforcement of these rights.

Article 38

Such arrangements as are practicable, having due regard to local conditions, shall be made for the maintenance and treatment of the sick and for the care of the aged, of the incapacitated and of the dependent survivors of deceased persons.

Article 39

1. Provision shall be made by law for the payment of compensation to employed persons in case of incapacity for work caused by accidents arising out of and in the course of their employment, and to their dependent survivors in case of death caused by such accidents, and for the medical care of persons injured by such accidents.

2. The laws and regulations concerning workmen’s compensation shall apply to all workers, employees and apprentices employed on vessels and by industrial, commercial, and agricultural undertakings.

3. Provided that exceptions may be made in respect of:

(a) persons whose employment is of a casual nature and who are employed otherwise than for the purpose of the employer’s trade or business;

(b) out-workers;
(c) members of the employer's family who work exclusively on his behalf and who live with him;

(d) non-manual workers whose remuneration exceeds a limit to be determined by laws or regulations.

Article 40

1. Compensation shall be payable to workers incapacitated by occupational diseases, or, in case of death from any such disease, to their dependants, in accordance with the general principles of workmen's compensation.

2. Provided that such compensation may be limited to the occupational diseases of chief importance in the territory concerned.

Section 11. Prohibition of Colour and Religious Bars and Other Discriminatory Practices

Article 41

1. The standards set by law in each territory with respect to conditions of labour shall have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident or working therein.

2. Discrimination directed against workers for reason of race, colour, confession or tribal association, as regards their admission to public or private employment shall be prohibited.

3. All measures practicable under local conditions shall be taken to promote effective equality of treatment in employment by the provision of facilities for training, by the discouragement of discrimination in the negotiation of collective agreements or on grounds of trade union membership, and by other appropriate means.

Section 12. Inspection

Article 42

1. Labour inspection services shall be established in territories where such services do not already exist. Inspectors shall be required to inspect conditions of employment at frequent intervals.

2. The inspectors shall have no direct or indirect interest in undertakings subject to their supervision.

3. Workers and their representatives shall be afforded every facility for communicating freely with the inspectors.

Section 13. Industrial Organisation

Article 43

1. The rights of employers and employed alike to associate for all lawful purposes shall be guaranteed by appropriate measures.

2. All practicable measures shall be taken to consult and associate the representatives of organisations of employers and workers in the establishment and working of machinery for conciliation, arbitration, minimum wage fixing and labour inspection. Where representative organisations of workers have not developed, the competent authority shall appoint persons specially qualified to act on behalf of the workers and by advice and guidance to assist in the early development of workers' organisations.

3. All practicable measures shall be taken to assure to trade unions which are representative of the workers concerned the right to conclude collective agreements with employers or employers' organisations.

Article 44

1. As rapidly as possible, machinery shall be created for the settlement of collective disputes between employers and workers.

2. Representatives of the employers and workers concerned, including representatives of their respective organisations, where such exist, shall where practicable, be associated in the operation of the machinery, in such manner and to such extent, but in any case in equal numbers and on equal terms, as may be determined by the competent authority.

Section 14. Co-operative Organisations

Article 45

1. The assistance and development of co-operative societies, including co-operative organisations of workers for the promotion of health, housing and education, shall be accepted as part of the economic programme of competent authorities in dependent territories, and the measures to be taken shall include financial assistance wherever this is appropriate.

2. To this end consideration shall be given to:

(a) the adoption of adequate legislation, simple and inexpensive in application, covering all forms of co-operative organisations;

(b) the creation of special services to promote and supervise the development of co-operative organisations and to encourage education in co-operation.
3. In appropriate cases co-operative organisations shall be effectively represented on public boards and agencies affecting their interests.

SECTION 15. DEFINITIONS AND SCOPE

Article 46

For the purposes of this Part of the present Annex:

(a) the term “agricultural undertaking” may be defined so as to include processes conducted on the undertaking for the preservation and despatch of the agricultural products of the undertaking, unless it is desired to classify these processes as parts of an industrial undertaking;

(b) the term “commercial undertaking” includes:

(i) commercial establishments and offices, including establishments engaging wholly or mainly in the sale, purchase, distribution, insurance, negotiation, loan, or administration of goods or services of any kind;

(ii) establishments for the treatment or care particularly of the aged, infirm, sick, destitute, or mentally unfit;

(iii) hotels, restaurants, boarding houses, clubs, cafés and other refreshment houses;

(iv) theatres and places of public amusement; and

(v) any establishment similar in character to those enumerated in subparagraphs (i), (ii), (iii), and (iv) above;

(c) the term “industrial undertaking” includes:

(i) undertakings in which articles are manufactured, altered, cleaned, repaired, ornamented, finished, adapted for sale, broken up or demolished, or in which materials are transformed, including undertakings engaged in shipbuilding, in the generation, transformation, or transmission of electricity, in the production or distribution of gas or motive power of any kind, in the purification or distribution of water, or in heating;

(ii) undertakings engaged in the construction, reconstruction, maintenance, repair, alteration, or demolition of any one or more of the following: buildings, railways, tramways, airports, harbours, docks, piers, works of protection against floods or coast erosion, canals, works for the purpose of inland, maritime or aerial navigation, roads, tunnels, bridges, viaducts, sewers, drains, wells, irrigation or drainage works, telecommunication installations, works for the production or distribution of electricity or gas, pipelines, waterworks, and undertakings engaged in other similar work or in the preparation for or laying the foundations of any such work or structure;

(iii) mines, quarries or other works for the extraction of minerals from the earth; and

(iv) undertakings engaged in the transport of passengers or goods, excluding transport by hand, unless such undertakings are regarded as parts of the operation of an agricultural or commercial undertaking;

(d) the terms “agricultural undertaking”, “commercial undertaking” and “industrial undertaking” include both public and private undertakings;

(e) the term “vessel” includes all ships and boats, of any nature whatsoever, engaged in maritime navigation, whether publicly or privately owned, excluding ships of war; it may be interpreted as excluding vessels of less than a specified tonnage and carrying a crew of less than a specified number;

(f) the term “night” signifies a period of at least eleven consecutive hours: Provided that in those tropical countries in which work is suspended during the middle of the day, the night period may be shorter if compensatory rest is accorded during the day;

(g) provisions prescribing a minimum age may be interpreted as relating to an apparent minimum age where records of birth are inadequate.

Article 47

The competent authority may exclude from the application of the provisions of this Part of the present Annex undertakings or vessels in respect of which, from their nature and size, adequate supervision may be impracticable.
APPENDIX IX

Election of Members of the Governing Body

(1) Letter addressed by the Acting Director of the International Labour Office to Governments of States Members of the International Labour Organisation.

Montreal, 25 March 1944.

Sir:

I have the honour to refer to my letter D. 626/100 of 19 January 1944 relating to the Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labour Conference, in which I drew attention to the fact that the Government delegates (other than those of the eight States of chief industrial importance) and also the employers' delegates and workers' delegates to the Conference will have to take decisions at that session concerning their representatives on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office for the coming years.

I now have the honour to give you the following information on this subject.

As you are aware, the composition of the Governing Body is determined by the provisions of Article 7 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation. These provisions are as follows:

Article 7

1. The International Labour Office shall be under the control of a Governing Body consisting of thirty-two persons:

Sixteen representing Governments,
Eight representing the employers, and
Eight representing the workers.

2. Of the sixteen persons representing Governments, eight shall be appointed by the Members of chief industrial importance, and eight shall be appointed by the Members selected for that purpose by the Government delegates to the Conference, excluding the delegates of the eight Members mentioned above. Of the sixteen Members represented six shall be non-European States.

4. The persons representing the employers and the persons representing the workers shall be elected respectively by the employers' delegates and the workers' delegates to the Conference. Two employers' representatives and two workers' representatives shall belong to non-European States.

5. The period of office of the Governing Body shall be three years.

Furthermore, the Standing Orders of the Governing Body contain provisions governing the appointment of deputy members.

The last elections of members of the Governing Body were held on the occasion of the Twenty-third Session of the Conference (1937). The period of office of the Governing Body would normally have come to an end in 1940. However, the session of the Conference convened for that year had by force of circumstances to be adjourned. The Governing Body, at its first meeting held after that date, i.e., at its Ninetieth Session (New York, October-November 1941), decided that it would continue to function as then constituted until the next regular session of the International Labour Conference, when a new election of members of the Governing Body could be held.

Accordingly, once the Conference meets in regular session, it is incumbent on the three electoral colleges to take what decisions they see fit in regard to their representatives in the three groups of the Governing Body. The three electoral colleges will, therefore, be called upon to perform this task during the Twenty-sixth Session of the Conference, convened at Philadelphia for 20 April 1944.
In order that the delegates of your country may make their decisions with full knowledge of the circumstances, I am enclosing herewith a note containing information designed to facilitate the working of the electoral colleges at the Conference. I shall be obliged if you will kindly bring these matters to the attention of the Government, employers' and workers' delegates of your country. For your convenience, I am forwarding herewith four copies of the text of my letter and of the enclosed note of information.

I have the honour to be, etc.,

(Signed) E. J. PHELAN,
Acting Director,

ANNEX

Information designed to facilitate the working of the electoral colleges in connection with the appointment of the members of the Governing Body.

A. INFORMATION REGARDING THE REGULAR MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNING BODY

The regular members of the Governing Body consist of representatives of (1) Governments, (2) employers, and (3) workers.

1. Government group.

The regular members of the Governing Body representing Governments are divided into two categories:

(a) Representatives of the eight Members of chief industrial importance; and

(b) Representatives of the eight elected Members.

The Government electoral college at the Conference has no decision to take regarding the allocation of the seats of category (a), as these are held as of permanent right.1 The eight elected Members are appointed by the Government delegates other than those of the eight Members of chief industrial importance. Each State, therefore, entitled to take part in the proceedings of the electoral college and having a full delegation at the Conference, exercises two votes.

The eight Members elected in 1937 were: Brazil, Chile, China, Spain, Mexico, Norway, Poland, Yugoslavia.

2. Employers’ group.

The employers’ regular members are elected as individuals by the employers’ delegates at the Conference.

The eight persons elected in 1937 were: Mr. G. Curcín (Yugoslav), Mr. D. S. Erielkar (Indian), Sir John Forbes Watson (British), Mr. W. Gemmill (South African), Mr. Henry I. Harriman (United States of America), Mr. A. Lambert-Ribot (French), Mr. H. C. Oersted (Danish), Mr. G. Olivetti (Italian).2

3. Workers’ group.

The workers’ regular members are elected as individuals by the workers’ delegates at the Conference.

The eight persons elected in 1937 were: Mr. G. Anderson (Swedish), Mr. J. Hallsworth (British), Mr. N. M. Joshi (Indian), Mr. L. Jouhaux (French),3 Mr. F. Largo Caballero (Spanish), Mr. C. Mertens (Belgian),4 Mr. Robert J. Watt (United States of America), Mr. Yonekubo (Japanese).5

B. INFORMATION REGARDING THE DEPUTY MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNING BODY

The mode of appointment and functions of the deputy members of the Governing Body are defined by Article 3 of the Standing Orders of the Governing Body, which reads as follows:

1. Each of the Governments represented on the Governing Body may appoint for their regular delegate a deputy member of a different nationality. This deputy member shall be appointed by the Government of the regular member or by the regular member if duly authorised to do so by his Government.

2. The employers’ and workers’ groups may each appoint eight deputy members, the travelling and subsistence expenses of four of whom from each group shall be paid out of the funds of the International Labour Organisation. Full freedom is left to each group, employers or workers, as to the manner of appointing these deputy members.

3. Deputy members have the right to be present at the sittings of the Governing Body and to speak with the permission of the Chairman asked for in writing.

4. They have not the right to vote.

5. In the absence of the regular member and of his substitute if he has one, the deputy member has all the rights of the regular member.

6. (Not relevant).

Government deputy members.

The Government electoral college at the Conference has no decision to take regarding the appointment of the Government deputy members.

1 Messrs. Curcín, Gérard and Lambert-Ribot cannot be reached at the present time. Under Article 4, paragraph 4, of the Standing Orders of the Governing Body, the employers’ group has appointed the following persons to hold their seats temporarily: Mr. L. Lamuraglia (Argentine), Mr. H. Maclennell (Canadian), Mr. C. Taut (Swiss).

2 Resigned. Replaced by Mr. G. L. Gérard (Belgian) (see not 1 above).

3 Messrs. Jouhaux, Largo Caballero and Mertens cannot be reached at the present time. Under Article 4, paragraph 4, of the Standing Orders of the Governing Body, the workers’ group has appointed the following persons to hold their seats temporarily: Mr. C. Crofts (Australian), Mr. O. Hindahl (Norwegian), Mr. Tom Moore (Canadian).

4 Resigned. Replaced by Mr. C. Schürch (Swiss).

5 Resigned. Replaced by Mr. C. Schürch (Swiss).
Employers' deputy members.

The eight employers' deputy members are appointed as individuals by the employers' delegates at the Conference.

In 1937 the employers' group appointed as deputy members the following persons: Mr. K. Zen (Japanese), Mr. C. Tzaut (Swiss), Mr. G. L. Gérard (Belgian), Mr. J. Vanok (Czech), Mr. A. Knob (Hungarian), Mr. M. Szyllowsky (Polish), Mr. F. Junoy Rabat (Spanish), Mr. S. Camuzzi (Austrian), Mr. A. Knob (Hungarian), Mr. L. Lamuraglia (Argentine), Mr. K. H. Ling (Chinese).

Workers' deputy members.

The eight workers' deputy members are appointed as individuals by the workers' delegates at the Conference.

In 1937 the workers' group appointed as deputy members the following persons: Mr. C. Schürch (Swiss), Mr. V. Németh (Czech), Mr. C. Jensen (Danish), Mr. Z. Zulawski (Polish), Mr. C. Crofts (Australian), Mr. B. Krekitch (Yugoslav), Mr. A. Kupers (Netherlands), Mr. P. M. Draper (Canadian).

When communicating these appointments to the Conference, the workers' group announced that in addition "in order to ensure the presence of eight regular and four deputy members, should replacements be necessary, the workers' group has nominated eight substitute deputy members: Mr. Chu Hseuh-fan (Chinese), Mr. Gerutti (Argentine), Mr. A. Downes (South African), Mr. O. Hindahl (Norwegian), Mr. P. Krier (Luxembourg), Mr. C. Peyer (Hungarian), Mr. J. Roberts (New Zealand), Mr. V. Lombardo Tolei (Mexican)."

(2) Note by the Secretary-General of the Conference for the guidance of the electoral colleges for the elections to the Governing Body.

The Selection Committee has fixed the time of meeting of the electoral colleges at Friday, 5 May 1944, at 4.30 p.m. The places of meeting will be as follows:

Governments — Room D (Thatcher Hall).

1. The International Labour Office shall be under the control of a Governing Body consisting of thirty-two persons:

   1. The International Labour Office shall be under the control of a Governing Body consisting of thirty-two persons:

   Sixteen representing Governments,
   Eight representing the employers, and
   Eight representing the workers.

   2. Of the sixteen persons representing Governments, eight shall be appointed by the Members of chief industrial importance, and eight shall be appointed by the Members selected for that purpose by the Government delegates to the Conference, excluding the delegates of the eight Members mentioned above. Of the sixteen Members represented six shall be non-European States.

   3. Any question as to which are the Members of chief industrial importance shall be decided by the Council of the League of Nations.

   4. The persons representing the employers and the persons representing the workers shall be elected respectively by the employers' delegates and the workers' delegates to the Conference. Two employers' representatives and two workers' representatives shall belong to non-European States.

   5. The period of office of the Governing Body shall be three years.

   6. The method of filling vacancies and of appointing substitutes and other similar questions may be decided by the Governing Body subject to the approval of the Conference.

The following information sets out for each electoral college the procedure to be followed, as determined by the Standing Orders and the practice established by previous sessions of the Conference.

This indicates the procedure followed in normal circumstances. In view of the present abnormal circumstances, modifications of the normal procedure in certain respects may be deemed necessary; this is a matter for consideration by each of the electoral colleges. If, however, it should be thought desirable to limit the duration of the mandates of the Members and persons to be elected—for example, to a period to expire at the next ordinary session of the Conference—it would be necessary, in order to avoid subsequent difficulties, that identical decisions or understandings on this matter should be reached by the three electoral colleges.

As the normal date for the elections to the Governing Body is long since past, the new Governing Body will come into office immediately after these elections have taken place. It is expected that the Governing Body will be asked to meet at the close of the present session of the Conference.

Government electoral college.

The Government delegates to the Conference, excluding those of the eight States mentioned below, will be called
upon to elect eight Members to be represented on the Governing Body.

As a consequence of the decision of the Governing Body concerning the allocation of seats to be occupied by persons appointed by the Members of chief industrial importance, the Government delegates of the following States will not take part in the proceedings of the electoral college:

United States of America, Belgium, Canada, China, France, Great Britain, India, Netherlands.

Of the total of sixteen Members represented on the Governing Body, six must be non-European States. As four of the States mentioned in the preceding paragraph are non-European States, the Members to be elected by the electoral college must include at least two non-European States.

Votes are cast individually by each of the Government delegates to the Conference taking part in the proceedings of the electoral college. Each of these States which has sent a complete Government delegation to the Conference therefore possesses two votes for the election of members of the Governing Body.

The nomination of Government deputy members of the Governing Body is not effected by the Government delegates to the Conference. Under the Standing Orders of the Governing Body, each of the Governments represented on the Governing Body may appoint for its regular representative a deputy member of a different nationality; it is for each of the Governments concerned to exercise this power if it thinks fit.

**Employers' and workers' electoral colleges.**

These colleges are constituted respectively by all the employers' delegates and all the workers' delegates to the Conference.

Each college will be called upon to elect eight persons as regular members of the Governing Body, of whom two must belong to non-European States.

Each college will also be called upon to elect eight persons as deputy members of the Governing Body.

**Procedure in all electoral colleges.**

The procedure for the election will be as follows:

1. The vote will be taken by secret ballot.

2. The Chairman of each electoral college will ask the Representative of the President of the Conference to read the list of delegates who have the right to vote. As his name is called out, each delegate will come forward and place his voting paper in the ballot box.

3. The counting of the votes will be carried out under the direction of the Representative of the President, assisted by two returning officers appointed by the electoral college from among its members.

4. The seats on the Governing Body reserved to the group in question will be allotted to the States or persons who obtain the largest number of votes. However, no State or person shall be regularly elected unless it or he has obtained more than half the votes cast by the delegates present at the meeting. If, after the first vote one or more seats remain to be filled, one or more votes shall be taken, each delegate voting for a number of candidates equal to the number of seats which still remain to be filled.

5. On the conclusion of the voting the Chairman of the electoral college will announce the result of the meeting and a report will be drawn up to be communicated to the Conference. This report will be signed by the Representative of the President and also by the Chairman of the electoral college.

The President of the Conference will nominate three persons to direct the procedure of voting in the respective electoral colleges.

(3) **Results of the election of members of the Governing Body.**

The results of the elections of members of the Governing Body were reported orally to the Conference at its twelfth sitting (see Proceedings, p. 141.)
APPENDIX X

Communications to the Conference

Admission of the Republic of Costa Rica as a Member of the International Labour Organisation.

NOTE BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

During its Twenty-sixth Session the Conference will be called upon to give its formal confirmation of the decision provisionally taken by the Governing Body to admit the Republic of Costa Rica to membership of the International Labour Organisation.

This matter has during the last two years been the subject of negotiations which may be briefly summarised as follows.

It will be recalled that the Government of Costa Rica appointed an observer to represent it at the two Conferences of American States Members of the Organisation held at Santiago de Chile in 1936 and at Havana in 1939. It will also be remembered that an observer appointed by the Government of Costa Rica, Mr. H. Beeche, was present at the Conference of the Organisation held at New York and Washington in October and November 1941. Addressing that Conference, Mr. Beeche expressed the hope that the Republic of Costa Rica might soon become once more a Member of the International Labour Organisation, and this statement was very warmly welcomed by the Conference. After the Conference the authorities of Costa Rica were approached, informally, concerning the procedure that might be followed with a view to the resumption by Costa Rica of full participation in the work of the Organisation. The Office intimated that if it were officially informed of the desire of Costa Rica to resume its membership, it would suggest to the Governing Body, by telegram, that, subject to formal confirmation of the decision by the Conference at its next session, the Republic of Costa Rica should be deemed to have resumed full participation in the work of the Organisation as soon as the approval of the Governing Body had been given. At the Inter-American Conference on Social Security (Santiago de Chile, September 1942) Mr. Guillermo Padillo Castro, principal delegate of Costa Rica, officially announced that his country desired admission as a Member of the Organisation. An exchange of telegrams then took place between the Office and the Government of Costa Rica, in the course of which it was made clear that Costa Rica was prepared to contribute to the budget of the Organisation on the basis of one unit, and it was thus possible to submit the matter to the Governing Body. The following telegram was accordingly sent to the members of the Governing Body on 20 October 1942:

Costa Rican Government has applied for immediate readmission Organisation and undertaken discharge duties membership including payment contribution basis one unit. Recalling welcome Conference New York to declaration made by Costa Rican representative propose regarding Costa Rica entitled full rights membership pending formal confirmation readmission next session Conference. Please cable your approval. This cable despatched all members Governing Body.

This proposal met with the unanimous approval of the members of the Governing Body, and the decision was communicated to the Government of Costa Rica and to the Governments of all the States Members of the Organisation. Since 12 November 1942, therefore, Costa Rica has been once more effectively a Member of the International Labour Organisation, subject to confirmation of the decision by the Conference.

The Conference will no doubt wish to refer this matter without delay to the Selection Committee and to ask it to submit to the Conference as soon as possible the
text of a resolution which will enable the Conference to formulate the final decision on the matter in appropriate terms. The statement which has been exchanged concerning the admission of Costa Rica to membership of the Organisation is reproduced below.


(Translation)

Santiago de Chile, 17 September 1942.

On the occasion of the Inter-American Conference on Social Security, convened under the auspices of the Inter-American Committee, the International Labour Office and the Chilean Government, Mr. Guillermo Padilla Castro, delegate of the Government of Costa Rica, being thereto duly empowered, has come to an agreement with Mr. Osvald Stein on the following points relating to the admission of Costa Rica to the International Labour Organisation:

(1) The Government of Costa Rica expresses formally its desire to become again a Member of the International Labour Organisation.

(2) Mr. Osvald Stein, Assistant Director of the International Labour Office, in taking note of this decision, declares that measures to ensure the readmission of Costa Rica will be immediately taken.

(3) The representative of Costa Rica declares that his country will, of its own initiative, fulfil the financial obligations of a State Member of the International Labour Organisation; at the same time, he expresses his desire that, having regard to the resources of Costa Rica, these obligations should be fixed at the minimum contribution of a Member; Mr. Stein expresses his agreement.

It is understood that the further formalities concerning the admission of Costa Rica to the International Labour Organisation will be carried out as quickly as possible.

It is placed on record that Mr. Poblete Troncoso, who countersigns the present statement, done in three copies, acted as intermediary in the negotiations for the readmission of Costa Rica to the International Labour Organisation.

(Signed) OSVALD STEIN, Assistant Director of the International Labour Office.

(Signed) GUILLERMO PADILLA CASTRO, Delegate of Costa Rica.

(Signed) MOISES POBLETE TRONCOSO.

2. Telegram from the Secretary to the Presidency of the Republic of Costa Rica to the International Labour Office.

San José de Costa Rica, 17 October 1942.

Government wholly confirms agreements made by Social Security delegate Dr. Padilla Castro concerning Costa Rica re-entry International Labour Organisation. 

3. Telegram from the Acting Director of the International Labour Office to regular members of the Governing Body.

Montreal, 20 October 1942.

Costa Rican Government has applied for immediate readmission Organisation and undertaken discharge duties membership including payment contribution basis one unit. Recalling welcome Conference New York to declaration made by Costa Rican representative propose regarding Costa Rica entitled full rights membership pending formal confirmation readmission next session Conference. Please cable your approval. This cable despatched all members Governing Body.

4. Telegram from the Acting Director of the International Labour Office to Mr. Edgar Odio, Secretary to the Presidency of the Republic, San José de Costa Rica.

(Translation)

Montreal, 12 November 1942.

Am very glad to able to inform your Government that Governing Body has unanimously approved proposal mentioned in my telegram of 22 October regarding readmission of Costa Rica to International Labour Organisation. Consequently your Government is entitled immediately to all rights of Member of Organisation and will henceforth receive all communications and documents addressed to Member States. I am informing Governments of all Members of International Labour Organisation of the result of the consultation of the Governing Body. Letter follows.

5. Letter from the Acting Director of the International Labour Office to regular members of the Governing Body.

Montreal, 21 November 1942.

With reference to my letter of 20 October concerning the readmission of Costa Rica to the International Labour Organisation, I have the honour to communicate to you the text of the following message which is being sent by telegram to regular members of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office who cannot be reached easily by mail:

Twenty-nine affirmative votes Costa Rica admission received none negative no abstentions.

6. Letter from the Acting Director of the International Labour Office to Governments of States Members of the Organisation.

Montreal, 31 December 1942.

During the Conference of the International Labour Organisation held in New York and Washington from 27 October to 6 November 1941, Dr. Héctor Beeche, observer from the Republic of Costa Rica, expressed the hope that his country might before long become a Member of the International Labour Organisation and would then be able to take a more active part in its work.

This statement was warmly welcomed by the Conference, and the President, Miss Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor of the United States of America, voiced as follows the unanimous feeling of the delegates from the 54 States Members of the Organisation represented at the Conference:

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.

I now have the honour to inform you that the Government of Costa Rica, giving effect to the
intention communicated by its representative to the Conference of the International Labour Organisation, recently confirmed officially its desire that Costa Rica should resume full participation in the International Labour Organisation, at the same time indicating that it undertook to discharge the duties resulting from membership, including the obligation to make a regular contribution to the budget of the Organisation.

Confirming the welcome extended by the New York Conference to the above statement of the representative of Costa Rica, the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, the members of which were informed by telegram of the desire expressed by the Costa Rican Government, unanimously decided that Costa Rica would be entitled immediately (that is to say, from 12 November 1942) to the full rights resulting from membership of the Organisation, it being understood that the International Labour Conference would have, at its next session, to give formal confirmation to the readmission of Costa Rica to the Organisation.

I am confident that Members of the Organisation, remembering the participation of Costa Rica in the Conferences of American States Members of the International Labour Organisation (Santiago de Chile, 1936, and Havana, 1939) and in the recent Inter-American Conference on Social Security (Santiago de Chile, September 1942), will welcome the decision taken by the Costa Rican Government and the direct resumption of international collaboration in the social field by a State which has always shown such a keen and active interest in social problems.

7. Letter from the Acting Director of the International Labour Office to Mr. Edgar Odio, Secretary to the Presidency of the Republic, San José de Costa Rica.

(Translation)

Montreal, 15 January 1943.

I have the honour to refer to my telegram of 12 November 1942 regarding the readmission of Costa Rica to the International Labour Organisation, the text of which was as follows:

Am very glad to be able to inform your Government that Governing Body has unanimously approved proposal mentioned in my telegram of 22 October regarding readmission of Costa Rica to International Labour Organisation. Consequently your Government is entitled immediately to all rights of Member of Organisation and will henceforth receive all communications and documents addressed to Member States. I am informing Governments of all Members of International Labour Organisation of the result of the consultation of the Governing Body. Letter follows.

In accordance with the statement contained in this telegram, I have informed the Governments of the States Members of the Organisation that Costa Rica has resumed its place in the Organisation. This communication was made by a letter of 31 December 1942, a copy of which I have the honour to enclose.

In confirming that, from 12 November 1942, Costa Rica is entitled to all the rights of a Member of the International Labour Organisation, I beg to express to the Government of Costa Rica, on behalf of the International Labour Office, my lively satisfaction that Costa Rica should again be directly associated with the work of the Organisation and my conviction that this association will greatly contribute to the advancement of the world tasks of the Organisation. I would add that it is my firm hope that this decision will also contribute to social progress in Costa Rica, by facilitating the carrying out of the great reform scheme initiated by Mr. R. A. Calderón Guardia, President of the Republic, and his Government.

I have the honour to enclose herewith the text of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation. In a separate communication, I propose to forward to you certain information and various publications regarding the work of the Organisation, and at the same time to make several practical suggestions relating to the collaboration of your Government with the International Labour Office.
APPENDIX XI

Resolutions adopted by the Conference

I

Resolution concerning social provisions in the peace settlement.¹

Whereas the Conference is called upon to make recommendations to the United Nations for present and post-war social policy, and more particularly concerning the social provisions to be inscribed in the various general or special treaties or agreements to which the United Nations will jointly or severally become parties;

Whereas the prospect of a complete victory of the United Nations makes it possible to prepare a better world order directed towards the achievement of the social objectives which these nations proclaimed in the Atlantic Charter in expressing their 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 Conference considers that the principles stated in the following draft are appropriate for inclusion in a general or special treaty or agreement between nations desirous of giving early effect to the principles of the Atlantic Charter and Article VII of the Mutual Aid agreement:

I

The Conference considers that the principles stated in the following draft are appropriate for inclusion in a general or special treaty or agreement between nations desirous of giving early effect to the principles of the Atlantic Charter and Article VII of the Mutual Aid agreement:

The signatory Governments:

The signatory Governments:

Having pledged themselves to provide conditions which will ensure an increasing measure of freedom from want to their own peoples and to all peoples;

Recognising, therefore, their common obligation to foster expanding production and employment on a sound basis, free from disruptive fluctuations, and to ensure that workers and productive resources shall not be allowed to be idle while the needs of large parts of the world remain unsatisfied;

Realising that the economic life and conditions in each nation are increasingly dependent upon the economic life and conditions of other nations, and that hence the attainment of the above-stated objectives requires increasing collaboration among nations;

Have agreed that:

Article I

The Declaration concerning the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation adopted by the International Labour Conference at Philadelphia in 1944, the text of which is annexed, is hereby reaffirmed.

Article II

Each Government recognises its duty to maintain a high level of employment. Accordingly, all arrangements by and among the signatory and other like-minded Governments for international economic cooperation should be framed and administered to serve the objectives set forth in Article I. They should be directed to the expansion of production, employment and the exchange and consumption of goods and to the liberation of economic activity from unreasonable restrictions. Particular consideration should be given to measures for promoting the reconstruction of economic life in countries whose economic and social life has been disrupted as the result of Axis aggression.

Article III

The following matters are of international concern and should be among the

¹ See Proceedings, p. 262 and Appendix V.
social objectives of international as well as national policy:

1. Opportunity for useful and regular employment to all persons who want work, at fair wages or returns and under reasonable conditions, with provision for protection of health and against injury in all occupations;

2. Raising standards of living to provide adequate nutrition, housing, medical care and education;

3. Establishment of minimum standards of employment to prevent exploitation of workers, whether employed or self-employed, whose opportunities for high-wage employment are limited;

4. Provision for child welfare;

5. Provision for a regular flow of income to all those whose employment is interrupted by sickness or injury, by old age or by lack of employment opportunity;

6. The effective recognition of the right of freedom of association and of collective bargaining;

7. Provision of facilities for training and transfer of labour.

Article IV

The International Labour Office may, under standards constitutionally determined by the International Labour Conference, as occasion requires, collect from, and interchange with, the signatory Governments, uniform statistical and other economic information on the following matters which are among those of direct interest to the International Labour Organisation and are of international concern:

1. Employment, wages and conditions of work;

2. Standards of living and the distribution of income, with particular reference to wage and salaried workers;

3. Technical education and training for employment;

4. Industrial health, safety and welfare;

5. Industrial relations;

6. Social security; and

7. Administration of labour and social security legislation.

Article V

With respect to the matters set forth in Article III:

1. The Governments, through appropriate international agencies, shall develop standards and statistical measures, and shall maintain uniform statistics and other information;

2. The Governments shall interchange among themselves and make available to the International Labour Organisation such information and reports as may be required to assist them and the Organisation to develop Recommendations with respect to such matters;

3. The Governments shall take appropriate steps to assure close collaboration and full exchange of information between the International Labour Organisation and any other international bodies which now exist or may be established for the promotion of economic advancement and social well-being;

4. The Governments shall take appropriate steps to have placed on the agenda of the International Labour Conference annually the subject of the extent to which the social objectives set forth in Article I have been attained and on the measures taken during the year towards the attainment of the objectives.

Article VI

With respect to draft international Conventions and Recommendations adopted by the Conference in accordance with Article 19 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation, the signatory Governments undertake to report to the International Labour Office as requested by the Governing Body on the status of legislation and administration and, in so far as practicable, of practices under collective agreements between employers and workers.

Declaration concerning the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation

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

I

The Conference reaffirms the fundamental principles on which the Organisation is based and, in particular, that:

(a) labour is not a commodity;

(b) freedom of expression and of association are essential to sustained progress;

(c) poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere;

(d) the war against want requires to be carried on with unrelenting vigour within each nation, and by continuous and concerted international effort in which the representatives of workers and employers, enjoying equal status with those of Governments, join with them in free discussion and democratic decision with a view to the promotion of the common welfare.

II

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

(a) all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity;

(b) the attainment of the conditions in which this shall be possible must constitute the central aim of national and international policy;

(c) all national and international policies and measures, in particular those of an economic and financial character, should be judged in this light and accepted only in so far as they may be held to promote and not to hinder the achievement of this fundamental objective;

(d) it is a responsibility of the International Labour Organisation to examine and consider all international economic and financial policies and measures in the light of this fundamental objective;

(e) in discharging the tasks entrusted to it the International Labour Organisation, having considered all relevant economic and financial factors, may include in its decisions and Recommendations any provisions which it considers appropriate.

III

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

(a) full employment and the raising of standards of living;

(b) the employment of workers in the occupations in which they can have the satisfaction of giving the fullest measure of their skill and attainment, and make their greatest contribution to the common well-being;

(c) the provision, as a means to the attainment of this end and under adequate guarantees for all concerned, of facilities for training and the transfer of labour, including migration for employment and settlement;

(d) policies in regard to wages and earnings, hours and other conditions of work calculated to ensure a just share of the fruits of progress to all, and a minimum living wage to all employed and in need of such protection;

(e) the effective recognition of the right of collective bargaining, the cooperation of management and labour in the continuous improvement of productive efficiency, and the collaboration of workers and employers in the preparation and application of social and economic measures;

(f) the extension of social security measures to provide a basic income to all in need of such protection and comprehensive medical care;

(g) adequate protection for the life and health of workers in all occupations;

(h) provision for child welfare and maternity protection;

(i) the provision of adequate nutrition, housing and facilities for recreation and culture;

(j) the assurance of equality of educational and vocational opportunity.

IV

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

V

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

II

The Conference recommends that the Governing Body of the International Labour Office:

1. Call a special conference of the Organisation, when in its opinion there is a danger of a substantial fall in general employment levels, for the purpose of recommending appropriate national or international measures to prevent the development or spread of unemployment and to establish conditions under which high levels of employment may be maintained or restored;

2. Correlate the activities of the International Labour Organisation towards the end of maintaining full employment with those of any other international agency or agencies which may be designated by the United Nations to have primary responsibility in related economic fields.

III

The Conference recommends that:

1. The United Nations should undertake—

   (a) to apply to any dependent territories, in respect of which they have accepted or may accept a measure of international accountability through any international or regional commission or other body, the principle that all policies designed to apply to dependent territories shall be primarily directed to the well-being and development of the peoples of such territories, and to the promotion of the desire on their part for social progress;

   (b) to apply to such territories the provisions of the Forced Labour Convention, 1930; the Recruiting of Indigenous Workers Convention, 1936; the Contracts of Em-
ployment (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939; and the Penal Sanctions (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939;

(c) to make a periodical report to the International Labour Office in respect of each such territory indicating the extent to which effect has been given to the provisions of the Social Policy in Dependent Territories Recommendation, 1944;

(d) to ask the International Labour Office to appoint, in continuation of the collaboration established in the case of the Permanent Mandates Commission, a representative on any committee which may be entrusted with the task of watching over the application of the principle of international accountability, and further to ensure that any facilities which may be afforded, in the form of inspection or otherwise, for the better implementation of this principle, shall include appropriate measures for examining the application of the above-mentioned Conventions and Recommendation.

2. When determining the future status of dependent territories which on 1 September 1939 were controlled by Axis Powers, the United Nations should specifically require the application thereto of the arrangements provided for in the preceding paragraph.

3. In any negotiations regarding the organisation, control and operation of merchant shipping, and in particular in making international arrangements for the disposal of merchant shipping tonnage, the United Nations concerned should consult the competent bodies of the International Labour Organisation, such as the Joint Maritime Commission, in regard to the possibility of including stipulations concerning the standard of accommodation to be provided for crews and stipulations embodying the provisions of Conventions already adopted by the maritime sessions of the Conference, or of any further such Conventions that may be adopted before the negotiation of such agreement.

4. In making international arrangements concerning transport by air, land, and inland waterway, the United Nations should have due regard to the repercussions of such arrangements on the working and living conditions of persons employed in transport, and should consult the International Labour Organisation in regard to such repercussions and more particularly in regard to the working and living conditions of persons who, in operating such transport systems, work in or under the jurisdiction of more than one country.

5. The International Labour Organisation should make available to the United Nations any information or assistance calculated to facilitate the implementation of the proposals contained in the Resolution concerning economic policies for the attainment of social objectives and the present resolution and should be prepared to participate in any international conference which may be considering such proposals.

IV

Believing that the exceptional opportunity of the negotiations of the peace settlement should be taken to secure a concerted advance in the acceptance of binding obligations concerning conditions of labour;

The Conference, reaffirming the principle of the association of management and labour in the framing of such standards;

Recommends:

1. That throughout the peace settlement the United Nations should wherever appropriate include provisions for labour standards. In a number of cases such provisions might properly be taken from Conventions or Recommendations that have been or may be adopted by the International Labour Conference;

2. That the Governing Body should appoint a consultative committee on labour provisions in the peace settlement. This committee should hold itself in readiness, together with the Director of the International Labour Office, to give advice with reference to such provisions on the request of the United Nations or of particular groups of the United Nations. This committee should have the right to co-opt additional members of special competence with respect to the particular sets of provisions under consideration;

3. That the United Nations should make full use of this committee in any way in which they consider it appropriate to include labour provisions in the peace settlement.

V

The Conference recommends to Governments that a conference of representatives of the Governments of the United, associated, and other Nations, willing to attend, be called at an early date, in association with the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, to consider an international agreement on domestic policies of employment and unemployment; and this Conference pledges the full cooperation and the assistance of the International Labour Organisation in calling such a conference on employment, and in helping to carry into effect appropriate decisions it might make.
Resolution concerning the declaration made to the Conference by the delegations of the occupied countries of Europe.¹

The Conference having taken note of the declaration made on behalf of the occupied countries:

1. Expresses the conviction that the heroic resistance of the occupied countries is one of the essential factors in the struggle of the United Nations against the common enemy;

2. Shares the preoccupations, anxieties and wishes expressed by the representatives of the occupied countries concerning the special difficulties with which they are confronted in their economic and social reconstruction;

3. Welcomes the decisions already taken by the United Nations to heal the wounds caused by the war;

4. Expresses the hope that the United Nations and the other Members of the Conference will unite in their efforts to promote in every way the economic and social recovery of all the countries sorely tried by enemy occupation and by the devastation due to the war;

5. Asserts the determination of the International Labour Organisation to associate its endeavours with the concerted will of the oppressed nations for the purpose of rebuilding their social life according to principles of international solidarity and respect for the fundamental spiritual and human values.

ANNEX: DECLARATION MADE TO THE CONFERENCE BY THE DELEGATIONS OF THE OCCUPIED COUNTRIES OF EUROPE.¹

The delegates of the occupied countries of Europe represented at the Philadelphia Conference—that is, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Greece, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, and Yugoslavia,

Having taken note of the declaration concerning the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation, the resolution concerning social provisions in the peace settlement, and the resolution concerning economic policies for the attainment of social objectives,

Consider it to be their duty to state their views on the special problems of the economic, financial and social reconstruction of the occupied countries of Europe, once they have been liberated.

¹ See Proceedings, p. 255.
² See Proceedings, p. 255.
delivery can be made without the enemy’s obtaining any benefit therefrom.

2. Stocks are completely exhausted. We shall find these countries emptied of their substance. For a long time the essential needs of their populations will far exceed the available quantities of consumption goods.

3. The wear and tear on machines and materials, the exhaustion of reserves, the complete destruction of means of communication and transport, confiscation of all kinds, chaos in finance, currency and securities, all the destruction of buildings, factories, mines and electric power stations due to the campaigns of invasion and to the deliberate policy of an invader faced with indomitable resistance—to all these will be added still further devastation in the course of the campaign of liberation. Under such conditions, the immediate possibilities of the production of goods will be considerably reduced.

4. Until the emergence of order out of chaos and the restoration of equilibrium between needs and means, as regards both capital goods and consumption goods, the Governments of the liberated countries will doubtless find themselves compelled to maintain or to introduce economic controls similar to those that the United Nations have had to impose on themselves to meet war needs.

5. The dislocation of the entire machinery of production and distribution— including the loss of foreign markets—will of course render it for some considerable time still more difficult to ensure employment for all. Here there is a serious risk of extensive unemployment.

And that is just the very time when the repatriated, the demobilised and the members of the resistance organisations will have to be reincorporated in economic life.

An immense effort will thus have to be made to approach the ideal of employment for all. A series of special provisional measures will doubtless be required pending a gradual return to less abnormal conditions.

III

The sooner these efforts of economic reconstruction are successful, the sooner will it be possible to achieve the social objectives defined by the Conference.

The liberated countries are minded to undertake themselves, by their own efforts and under their own responsibility, the great work of national reconstruction, which will require gigantic efforts in the fields of labour and finance, but they are aware of the parallel need for a concerted effort in the international domain. In this general effort they will actively participate. They are justified in counting upon the full collaboration of countries less impoverished than they.

They are convinced that the international solidarity forged between the United Nations during the war will continue during the peace, and that the countries that have known neither occupation nor devastation will wish to give them priority in the supply of the essential consumption and capital goods required for their economic and social restoration.

The rapid restoration of the producing and consuming capacity of Europe is, moreover, indispensable to the return of the prosperity of the other countries of the world, and more especially to the prosperity of the great producers of raw materials, industrial products and agricultural produce.

In the general interest, international solidarity must be established both in the economic domain and in the financial domain with a view to the complete and speedy reconstruction of the occupied and devastated countries. To the United Nations falls the task of finding and applying the necessary measures for an equitable distribution of the costs of reconstruction after the war.

IV

Another danger threatens the occupied countries at the present time. The enemy, on the eve of his retreat or rout, may resort to the last excesses in destroying without discrimination both life and wealth. In certain regions this threat has already materialised. The more extensive the destruction, the more difficult will be the reconstruction and the longer will the achievement of social conditions answering the hopes of this Conference be delayed. A last warning to the invaders informing them categorically that the authors of such excesses will answer for them with their persons and with their property might lessen the danger that threatens. In the circumstances, such warning should be given without delay and with the high moral authority of all the nations gathered together at this Conference.

V

The peoples of Europe, at this moment bent under the yoke of the invader, will find in the solicitude of the Conference for their own special problems a measure of comfort and a guarantee that the effective organisation of international solidarity will help them after the war to efface the marks of the tragedy that has weighed them down through these years of hardship.

III

Resolution concerning the Constitution and constitutional practice of the International Labour Organisation and its relationship with other international bodies.

The General Conference resolves that:

1. During periods of emergency when,
Appendix XI: Resolutions adopted

in the judgment of the Governing Body, the efficient operation of the Organisation or of the Office will be advanced thereby, and the Governing Body so notifies the Members of the Organisation, it shall provide that, supplementary to the normal procedure, the following communications should be transmitted through the Director:

(a) the communication to Members of certified copies of Recommendations and Conventions in accordance with paragraph 4 of Article 19 of the Constitution of the Organisation;

(b) the communication by Members of the information concerning the action taken in regard to Recommendations required by paragraph 6 of Article 19 of the Constitution;

(c) the communication by Members of the formal ratification of international labour Conventions in accordance with paragraph 7 of Article 19 of the Constitution and the relevant provisions of the individual Conventions;

(d) the communication to Members of all notifications required by the terms of international labour Conventions.

2. The Conference requests the Governing Body:

(a) to take effective steps as promptly as possible to deal with problems common to a region or to a particular industry, with due regard to the Constitution and principles of the Organisation, and its competence; and

(b) to report to the next general session of the Conference the steps taken and plans for the further regionalisation of the Office and of the Organisation and for special consideration of the problems of particular industries.

3. The Conference requests the Governing Body during the period of the deliberations of the committee to be established under the terms of this Resolution and of the development of an overall pattern of international institutions, to take appropriate steps to assure close collaboration and a full exchange of information between the International Labour Organisation and any other public international organisations which now exist or may be established for the promotion of economic and social well-being, and in the furtherance of this objective it may instruct the Director to arrange with such organisations, on conditions mutually agreeable, for:

(a) the exchange of information, views, reports, studies and other documents regarding policies and measures of mutual interest and concern at appropriate stages in their formulation and execution; and

(b) the exchange of representatives without vote, at meetings convened by this Organisation and such other organisations; and

(c) the creation and maintenance of such joint committees as may facilitate their effective co-operation.

4. The Conference requests the Governing Body:

(a) to appoint a committee as soon as possible to consider the future constitutional development of the Organisation. The committee shall particularly consider the following matters in active collaboration with the Office, and in the light of the report on Item I submitted by the Office, the resolutions and amendments submitted to the Conference, the views expressed in the Conference and any suggestions which may be communicated to the Office by Governments—

(i) the relationship of the Organisation to other international bodies;

(ii) the constitutional practice of the Organisation and its clarification and codification;

(iii) the status, immunities and other facilities to be accorded to the Organisation by Governments as necessary to the efficient discharge of the responsibilities of the Organisation;

(iv) the methods of financing the Organisation;

(b) after receiving and considering the report of the committee to bring to the attention of the Conference at its next general session such matters as in its judgment require action by the Conference.

5. The Conference requests the Governing Body to appoint representatives with power to negotiate, if necessary prior to the next general session of the Conference, with international authorities on behalf of the Organisation concerning any constitutional questions which at any time require immediate action, including the matters referred to in paragraph 4.

6. The Conference authorises the Governing Body to decide the place at which the Twenty-seventh Session of the Conference shall be held. In the event of a maritime session being convened in the near future, this authorisation shall apply to the Twenty-seventh and Twenty-eighth Sessions.
Appendix XI: Resolutions adopted

IV
Resolution concerning the international character of the responsibilities of the Director and staff of the International Labour Office.¹

The Conference, desirous of reaffirming the international character of the responsibilities of the Director and staff of the International Labour Office, adopts the following resolution:

1. The Director of the International Labour Office shall, on appointment, make a solemn declaration before the Governing Body that he will discharge the duties committed to him with the interests of the International Labour Organisation alone in view, will not seek or receive instructions in regard to the discharge thereof from any authority external to the Organisation, and will at all times uphold the provisions of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation.

2. The responsibilities of the staff of the International Labour Office shall be exclusively international in character. Members of the staff shall on appointment make a solemn declaration in the form and manner approved by the Governing Body that they will not seek or receive instructions in regard to the discharge of their responsibilities from any authority external to the Organisation.

3. The Conference affirms it to be the duty of the Members of the Organisation to respect fully the international character of the responsibilities of the Director and staff of the International Labour Office and not to seek to influence any of their nationals in the discharge of such responsibilities.

V
Resolution concerning industrial committees.²

The Conference is of the opinion that the International Labour Office should proceed forthwith with the setting up of industrial sections and invites the Governing Body to elaborate regulations governing the activities of industrial committees.

VI
Resolution concerning economic policies for the attainment of social objectives.³

Whereas the prospect of a complete victory of the United Nations makes it possible to prepare a better world order directed towards the achievement of the social objectives which these nations proclaimed in the Atlantic Charter in expressing their 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; and

Whereas these objectives of the United Nations coincide with the basic principles of the International Labour Organisation, and whereas the Conference which met in New York in 1941 pledged the full collaboration of the International Labour Organisation in their implementation; and

Whereas the International Labour Conference is called upon by Item II on the agenda of the present session to make recommendations to the United Nations for present and post-war social policy concerning more especially the measures required to be taken internationally and nationally to ensure full employment, social security and rising standards of living; and

Whereas the initiative with regard to international policy lies with the United Nations at the present time, and it is desirable in order to attain the objectives referred to that all nations should pursue an appropriate national policy; and

Whereas the attainment of full employment and high productivity by the various nations after the war is essential to the achievement of freedom from want, the attainment of increasing living standards, the realisation of genuine economic security and the continuation of peaceful economic progress; and

Whereas full employment can be achieved and maintained only through the adoption, by Governments, industry and labour, of policies and measures which effectively encourage the continuing expansion of production and improvement of distribution; and

Whereas the speedy achievement of full employment requires the prompt and orderly reconversion, reconstruction and expansion of industry, trade, commerce and agriculture after the war, and the subsequent maintenance of employment and production at high levels requires the creation of an economic and social environment conducive to a progressive and expanding economy;

The Conference adopts the following resolution:

I. INTERNATIONAL POLICY

1. Believing that the relief of war-stricken peoples, repatriation of prisoners and exiles and resumption of agricultural and industrial production are matters which will be of the utmost urgency immediately on the liberation of occupied countries and that on the successful handling of these problems the possibility of

¹See Proceedings, p. 259, and Appendix V.
²See Proceedings, p. 259, and Appendix V.
³See Proceedings, p. 261, and Appendix V.
achieving the long-range objectives of social and economic well-being will largely depend.

The Conference welcomes the creation of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, urges all States concerned to co-operate actively in the achievement of the tasks entrusted to it and assures the Administration of the readiness of the International Labour Organisation to assist it in every appropriate way.

2. In view of the fact that for varying periods after the end of hostilities many essential commodities and transport facilities will be in short supply, and that international arrangements will be needed to ensure a fair allocation of available supplies and prevent excessive price movements.

The Conference considers that the Governments of the United Nations concerned should arrange to continue in operation, for such periods as any serious shortages may persist, the existing machinery of international co-ordination and control subject to such modification, and in particular to such enlargement of the membership of the authorities concerned, as may contribute to the equitable and efficient operation of such machinery in the transition from war to peace.

3. The Conference endorses the declaration of the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture held in May 1943, that while the primary responsibility lies with each nation for seeing that its own people have the food needed for life and health, each nation can fully achieve this goal only if all co-operate in appropriate international action, and urges the setting up of a permanent international organisation recommended by the Conference on Food and Agriculture, to raise the level of nutrition and improve the efficiency of agricultural production and distribution.

4. Recognising that a satisfactory international monetary system is essential to the full development of mutually advantageous economic relations between nations, and consequently to the raising of standards of living,

The Conference attaches great importance to the establishment at the earliest possible moment of effective international machinery for settling balances arising out of international trade and other transactions and for maintaining stability in rates of exchange, notes with satisfaction that the Governments of the United Nations are giving careful attention to this matter, and urges that they include in any agreement establishing such machinery a provision requiring the authorities responsible for its application to have regard in framing and applying their policies to the effect of their decisions on employment and living standards.

5. Noting that imports of capital will be needed for reconstruction, development and the raising of living standards in many countries, and believing that the provision of such capital will contribute to the maintenance of full employment in the lending countries,

The Conference:

(a) considers that the existing machinery of the international capital market should be supplemented by the establishment of appropriate international machinery for the purpose of promoting the international movement of capital;

(b) considers that the promotion of full employment and higher living standards should be regarded as a primary objective of any such international machinery;

(c) considers that the authorities responsible for the operation of such international machinery should consult the International Labour Organisation as to the appropriateness of including in the terms under which development works financed in whole or in part through such machinery are to be carried out, provisions regarding the welfare and working conditions of the labour employed; and that such provisions should be framed in consultation with the International Labour Organisation;

(d) affirms the readiness of the International Labour Organisation to render every assistance in its power in determining the appropriateness of the inclusion of such provisions and in their framing and application and in the promotion through the operations of such international machinery of the general objectives of full employment and higher living standards.

6. Recognising the great contribution which the international exchange of goods and services can make to higher living standards and to high levels of employment,

The Conference:

(a) believes that the measures proposed in the foregoing paragraphs for the promotion of exchange stabilisation and international lending will contribute to the expansion of international trade, but considers that the United Nations should also examine wartime changes in industrial capacity, should arrange for exchange of information on post-war industrial programmes and should take vigorous action to promote the expansion of international trade by appropriate commercial policies; and considers that all countries, creditor as well as debtor, should adapt their commercial policy in such a way as to enable them to settle all obligations arising out of international transactions;

(b) considers that the United Nations should initiate measures to facilitate the co-ordination through appropriate international machinery of the commercial policies of all countries for the purpose of promoting a steady expansion in world trade on a multilateral basis;

(c) considers that in such co-ordination...
special consideration should be given to
the need of countries which are highly de-
pendent on returns from exports to take
measures to ensure a high degree of sta-
Bility in the level of their economic activity
and observes that the need for these mea-
ures will decrease to the extent that inter-
national collaboration proves success-
ful; and

(d) considers that in such co-ordination
special account should be taken of the dis-
location and the accumulated needs result-
ing from the devastation caused by war
operations and from the prolonged diver-
sion from peacetime production in coun-
tries which have been engaged for a long
period in a sustained and total war effort.

7. In order to lay the foundation for ri-
sing levels of consumption throughout the
world and at the same time to ensure more
stable and adequate incomes to those pri-
mary producers whose services are needed
for the production of essential raw mate-
rials and foodstuffs,

The Conference considers that the
United Nations should initiate concerted
action designed to ensure the constant
availability to all purchasers of adequate
supplies of such commodities at prices
which give a reasonable return to the ef-
cient producer and are held sufficiently
stable to afford protection against major
short-term fluctuations in supply or de-
mand; and that such international ar-
rangements: (a) should provide for ade-
quate representation of consumers as well
as producers, representing both importing
and exporting countries, in all authorities
responsible for the determination and ap-
plication of policy; and (b) should aim to
assure to all workers, including the self-
employed, engaged in the production of
the commodities concerned, fair remunera-
tion, satisfactory working conditions and
adequate social security protection, having
gard to the general standards in the
countries concerned.

8. Believing that migratory move-
ments may play an important part in the de-
velopment of a dynamic economy, and that dis-
orderly international migration may cre-
ate economic and social dislocation in the
countries concerned and involve serious
individual hardship for the migrants
themselves, while desirable migratory
movements are often hampered by techni-
cal and financial difficulties which can be
overcome only through international co-
operation,

The Conference considers that:

(a) the United Nations should encour-
age by appropriate measures, with ade-
quate safeguards for all concerned, the
orderly migration of labour and settlers in
accordance with the economic needs and
social conditions prevailing in the various
countries, and in this connection should
note the conclusions adopted by the Con-
ference of Experts on Technical and Fi-
nancial Co-operation with regard to Mi-
gration for Settlement held at the
International Labour Office in 1938;
(b) arrangements should be made for
close co-operation between the Interna-
tional Labour Organisation and any public
international agency established to deal
with migration;
(c) the Governing Body should take
steps to bring before an early session of
the Conference a report of a representa-
tive commission, with such technical assistance
as it may require, on the means necessary
to protect the interests of labour, on the
one hand, against barriers which prevent
migration from areas of limited resources,
and on the other hand against the lowering
of the labour standards that might result
from immigration at a rate exceeding the
capacity of the receiving countries to ab-
sorb immigrants.

9. In order that re-employment may be
expedited and healthy living standards es-
lished within a period of minimum du-
ration in areas liberated from Axis occu-
pation,

The Conference recommends that ar-
rangements be made by those nations
whose productive capacities have been
maintained during the war, by all other
nations which are in a position to make
materials available and by the appropriate
international organisations, to give the
highest priority consistent with the exi-
gencies of war to immediately supplying
the territories liberated from Axis occupa-
tion with materials and equipment re-
quired for industrial installations, agricul-
ture, transport, public works and utilities
of an essential character.

10. Believing that the best possible con-
ditions for a rise in the standard of living
and the maintenance of full employment
in the world can only be obtained by mu-
tually consistent national economic, finan-
cial and social policies and by co-ordina-
tion of the activities of the different
international institutions in this field,

The Conference considers that appro-
priate international measures should be
taken which guarantee sufficient contact
and consultation with regard to such pol-
ices between Governments as well as be-
tween the different international institu-
tions.

II. NATIONAL POLICY

11. In order that full employment at
productive peacetime pursuits, freedom
from want, rising standards of living and
genuine economic security may be achieved
with a minimum of delay after the war,

The Conference urges that Governments
and employers' and workers' organisations
formulate comprehensive and co-ordinated
programmes, suited to the particular needs
of their countries, for prompt and orderly
reconversion, reconstruction and economic
expansion, and that such programmes be prepared and applied simultaneously with the consideration of the international measures referred to in the preceding paragraphs.

12. Recognising that the economic situation will differ markedly among the various countries at the war's end, varying particularly with the degree and type of industrial development, the extent to which the peacetime economy has been disrupted by the war, and whether the country's territory has been occupied by the enemy; and recognising that national post-war economic programmes must vary accordingly, in order to meet most effectively the needs of the country in which they are to be applied,

The Conference urges that, with due allowance for difference in national economic situations, programmes for economic reconversion, reconstruction and expansion include the development of sound policies and procedures to provide:

(a) effective arrangements for the orderly and expeditious demobilisation and repatriation, and for the early absorption in productive peacetime employment, of members of the armed forces, civilian workers, prisoners, persons who have resisted deportation, deported persons and refugees; the prompt termination of contracts and settlement of claims; the prompt determination of policy on the peacetime use of Government-owned war production capacity and equipment and the disposition of surplus materials, with a view to the use of these items to satisfy human needs; and liberal provision for the maintenance, educational training and retraining of persons unavoidably out of employment; as recommended by the Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labour Conference in its Recommendation concerning employment organisation in the transition from war to peace;

(b) retention, as long as shortages exist, of such war-created economic controls—for example, price and exchange controls and rationing—as are necessary to prevent inflation, and the relaxation of such controls as rapidly thereafter as is consistent with the public welfare;

(c) adjustment of tax systems to encourage rapid reconversion, reconstruction and economic expansion, while maintaining the protection, extension and improvement of productive activity and to obtain advance provision against economic insecurity, the maintenance of wages at a high level, and the protection, extension and improvement of collective bargaining procedures;

(d) development of effective mechanisms for adequate financing of the reconversion, reconstruction and expansion of industry, trade, commerce and agriculture, and particularly to assist the establishment of new and efficient enterprises.

13. The Conference urges that all practicable measures be taken to maintain a high and steady level of employment, to minimise fluctuations in business activity, and to assure a steadily expanding volume of production, more particularly by means of:

(a) fiscal, monetary and other measures, including useful public works, to sustain the volume of demand for goods and services at a high level, while avoiding the dangers of an inflationary spiral of prices and wages; in this connection attention should be paid, among other measures, to such methods as an adequate income security system, and to properly timed public works financed by borrowing in periods of depression, in accordance with the Public Works (National Planning) Recommendation, 1937;

(b) measures to discourage monopolistic practices and to encourage technological progress, to maintain a reasonably flexible system of prices and wages, to encourage the transfer of workers and productive resources from declining to expanding industries, and to attain a high degree of mobility of resources and freedom of access to alternative employments;

(c) measures to provide adequate incentives to engage in and expand constructive economic activity, to encourage private investment and to maintain the rate of investment; among the measures which warrant careful consideration in this connection are the adjustment of tax systems, removal of artificial barriers limiting access to resources and markets, the relaxation of unreasonable restrictions imposed by governmental agencies or by business or by labour organisations, and the maintenance of a high and stable demand for goods;

(d) measures to provide adequate opportunity for workers to engage in productive activity and to obtain advancement; among the measures which warrant careful consideration in this connection are the provision of improved and more generally accessible educational and training facilities, provision of higher nutritional and health standards, improvement of public employment services, increased provision against economic insecurity, the maintenance of wages at a high level, and the protection, extension and improvement of collective bargaining procedures.

VII

Resolution requesting the Governing Body to examine problems involved in labour provisions for internationally-financed development works.¹

Considering that the International Labour Organisation should be in a position to offer effective assistance in determining the appropriateness of including provisions concerning welfare and work-

¹ See Proceedings, p. 261, and Appendix V.
Appendix XI: Resolutions adopted

ing conditions in the terms under which any international development works are to be carried out, and in framing and applying any such provisions;

The Conference requests the Governing Body to examine the methods which might be adopted for determining the appropriateness in any particular case of the inclusion of such provisions, for framing such provisions, and for ensuring their effective application.

VIII

Resolution concerning measures for the protection of transferred foreign workers and of foreign workers' and employers' organisations.¹

Whereas the International Labour Conference is called upon by Item II on the agenda of the present session to make recommendations to the United Nations for present and post-war social policy; and

Whereas some of the gravest problems of social policy that will confront the United Nations when they come to occupy certain portions of Axis territory will be those which will arise in connection with the millions of foreign workers who have been transferred to work in Axis countries; and

Whereas the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration has assumed responsibility for the measures to be taken to repatriate such workers; and

Whereas it is desirable that provision should be made for the protection of such workers in regard to their feeding, accommodation, health, safety, welfare and general interests pending their repatriation;

The Conference recommends as follows:

1. Precautions should be taken, subject to the removal of all officials identified with the former totalitarian régime, to ensure that the administrative machinery set up by the former régime for handling questions connected with the utilisation of foreign labour power, together with all its records and documents, is for the time being preserved intact. In particular, the United Nations and the occupying authorities should make it clear that the personnel concerned will be held individually responsible for the preservation of such documents and records and that persons convicted of destroying or concealing them will be severely punished.

2. Pending the repatriation of foreign workers, which should be carried out with the greatest possible speed, the competent occupation authority should take appropriate action for the purpose of protecting such workers in regard to their feeding, accommodation, health, safety, welfare and general interests.

3. All discriminatory treatment in respect of remuneration, the right to employment, conditions of employment, the wearing of distinctive badges, etc., on account of race, national or local origin, or religion, should be immediately abolished.

4. The competent occupation authority should in the matters concerning foreign workers in Axis nations collaborate with the Governments and trade unions of Allied countries.

5. Arrangements should be made, within the framework of general restitution arrangements, for the restitution of funds or property that may have been confiscated in Germany or elsewhere from international and foreign trade union organisations, co-operatives, and employers' organisations by Axis agents.

IX

Resolution concerning the holding of a regional conference of the countries of the Near and Middle East.¹

Whereas the International Labour Organisation, during the coming years, will have to pay closer attention to the various regions of the world where similar social and economic conditions exist; and

Whereas the raising of the social standards of the workers in town and country will largely depend upon appropriate solutions being sought to the specific problems of the regions concerned; and

Whereas the Near and the Middle East constitute a vast region of particular importance, where similar conditions prevail as regards the working and living conditions of great masses of agricultural workers, whether independent, semi-independent, or wage-paid; and

Whereas these conditions, as well as the problems with which the countries concerned are confronted in their effort towards systematic development of resources and industrialisation, require special study, exchange of experience and joint action; and

Whereas particular attention should be directed to the working and living conditions in the oil producing areas of this region:

The Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labour Conference resolves to invite the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to examine the possibility of convening at an early date a regional conference of the countries of the

¹See Proceedings, p. 260, and Appendix V.
Near and Middle East, with a view to giving effect to the consideration of the specific problems of that region.

X

Resolution concerning the Conventions and Recommendations adopted at earlier sessions of the Conference bearing upon the problem of the organisation of employment in the transition from war to peace.¹

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Having adopted the Employment (Transition from War to Peace) Recommendation, 1944, the Employment Service Recommendation, 1944, the Public Works (National Planning) Recommendation, 1944,

draws the attention of the Members of the Organisation to the bearing upon the problem of the organisation of employment in the transition from war to peace of the following Conventions and Recommendations—

the Unemployment Convention, 1919,
the Fee-Charging Employment Agencies Convention, 1933,
the Employment Agencies Recommendation, 1933,
the Unemployment Provision Convention, 1934,
the Unemployment Provision Recommendation, 1934,
the Unemployment (Young Persons) Recommendation, 1935,
the Vocational Training Recommendation, 1939,
the Apprenticeship Recommendation, 1939,
the Vocational Education (Building) Recommendation, 1937,
the Minimum Age (Industry) Convention (Revised), 1937,
the Minimum Age (Family Undertakings) Recommendation, 1937,
the Minimum Age (Non-Industrial Employment) Convention (Revised), 1937,
the Minimum Age (Agriculture) Convention, 1921,
the Public Works (National Planning) Recommendation, 1937,
the Public Works (International Co-operation) Recommendation, 1937; and

urges that Members which have not already done so should give consideration to ratifying the said Conventions, and to giving effect, wherever possible, to their provisions pending ratification, and that all Members should give consideration to making effective the provisions of the said Recommendations.

XI

Resolution concerning co-operation in regard to the preparation for plans for public works in countries at present in enemy occupation.²

Whereas the Governments of the United Nations, whose territory is still under the occupation of the enemy, are unable to prepare detailed plans for public works in their countries, because they do not possess the data necessary for such a preparation and because they are handicapped either by the lack of trained technical personnel, or by the lack of adequate financial means, or by both;

Whereas the universities and technical colleges in some of the occupied countries have been forcibly closed for years, and laboratories, research institutes and libraries destroyed;

Whereas in most of these countries the number of previously trained technical experts has been, because of persecution, considerably reduced and the remaining experts have been for years without any communication with the outside world and consequently have been unable to keep up with the results and methods of technical progress achieved in non-occupied territories;

And whereas a considerable volume of public works will have to be undertaken upon the liberation of those countries in order to provide the basis for a speedy reconstruction, to organise the transportation network, to provide housing for the great masses of the population, and finally to provide employment;

It is resolved:

(a) that the Members of the International Labour Organisation be invited to exchange the results of their research in the various branches of development works, including public utilities, and their experiences with the technical problems involved in the preparation and carrying out of development works programmes;

(b) that they exchange experiences gained in the planning and organisation of development works and in the maintenance of such works and public utilities; and exchange information on the education of technical experts and on making these matters known to the public;

(c) that the Conference invite the Governing Body to call a meeting of the International Public Works Committee at the earliest practicable moment and include

¹See Proceedings, p. 250, and Appendix VI.
²See Proceedings, p. 250, and Appendix VI.
Appendix XI: Resolutions adopted

in the agenda of the meeting the study of the exchange of such information as is referred to in clauses (a) and (b).

XII
Resolution concerning social insurance and related questions in the peace settlement.¹

Whereas the peace settlement must necessarily comprise various clauses intended to solve a number of international problems of a social nature, of capital importance, which will arise as between the Axis and associated countries on the one hand and the United Nations on the other;

Whereas, among these problems the following deserve special attention—

(a) the protection of the social insurance rights of displaced persons;

(b) indemnities for losses and damage suffered, in consequence of the war and occupation, by the social security institutions of members of the United Nations and by their nationals;

(c) the settlement of the social problems resulting from the transfer of territories and the exchange of populations;

(d) the revival of bilateral social treaties and the juridical status under social legislation of nationals of members of the United Nations in the Axis and associated countries;

The Conference approves as a basis for the solution of the problems mentioned above the principles which are submitted in Annexes I to IV of the present Resolution; and

Invites the Governing Body to appoint within six months a special committee constituted in the manner indicated in Annex V, which should be entrusted with the preparation, on the basis of the said principles, of—

(1) precise provisions concerning these questions for submission to the United Nations with a view to their insertion in the peace settlement; and

(2) such executive measures as may appear practical.

ANNEX I
Principles concerning the Protection of the Social Insurance Rights of Displaced Persons

1. The peace settlement should include the following arrangements to protect the social insurance rights of workers recruited for employment by Axis and associated countries.

2. The arrangements shall apply to any person who, while residing in the territory of a member of the United Nations (hereinafter called "country of residence") has at any time since 31 August 1939 (since 28 September 1938 in the case of Czechoslovakia) and before the cessation of hostilities, been recruited by or on behalf of an agency of an Axis or associated country (hereinafter called "recruiting country") for employment in its own or in another territory occupied by it, and who in virtue of such employment has been liable to compulsory social insurance as a manual worker, salaried employee or miner, as the case may be, under the laws or regulations of the recruiting country or would have been so liable if a national of such country. Similar arrangements should also apply to workers subjected to forced labour in their country of residence.

Pension Insurance

3. A recruited worker shall be deemed to have been affiliated to the pension insurance institution of the recruiting country appropriate to the nature of his employment as from the date of his departure from his country of residence—

(1) until the date of his return there-to; or

(2) until the date of his death or his becoming an invalid, according as (1) or (2) is the earlier.

4. During the whole period for which he is deemed to have been affiliated to an insurance institution of the recruiting country, contributions shall be deemed to have been paid in respect of him. Such contributions shall be based on the normal wage of a worker of the recruiting country performing similar work and shall comprise such part of the total of the joint contribution of employed persons and employers, payable in virtue of the social insurance laws or regulations of the recruiting country, as is applied to the financing of the pension insurance scheme administered by the insurance institution to which the recruited worker concerned is deemed to have been affiliated.

5. Where the last employment of a recruited worker in his country of residence was in work of a higher grade than that in which he was employed in the recruiting country, the contributions deemed to have been paid in respect of him shall be based on the earnings corresponding to the work of higher grade and shall be deemed to have been paid to the pension insurance institution of the recruiting country appropriate to the nature of this employment.

6. The total of the contributions deemed to have been paid in respect of a recruited

¹ See Proceedings, p. 219, and Appendix VII.
worker, together with a proportionate share of any State subsidy to the revenue or expenditure of the pension insurance scheme, shall constitute a debt due to the country of residence. The recruiting country accepts full responsibility for the discharge of this debt: Provided that such acceptance of responsibility shall not be interpreted as altering the nature of the debt, which remains primarily a joint liability of all the social insurance institutions of the recruiting country. The discharge of the above-mentioned responsibility by the recruiting country shall be effected independently of all other financial obligations which may be incurred as the result of the war by the recruiting country to the country of residence.

Provided that the total of any instalments of a pension or any lump sum in commutation of a pension which have been paid by an insurance institution of the recruiting country to a recruited worker or his survivors up to the date when the arrangements came into force shall be deducted from the total of the contribution debts due by the recruiting country, and, in such proportion as the country of residence may determine, from the proceeds of each debt individually.

7. The debt shall fall due on the date on which its amount is notified to the recruiting country and shall be increased by compound interest at the rate of per cent. annually from the date at which the recruited worker is deemed to have ceased to be affiliated to an insurance institution of the recruiting country, until the debt is discharged.

8. Any rules adopted for the conversion, with a view to payment, of the amount of any debts expressed in the currency of the recruiting country into the currency of the country of residence, shall provide equitably for protecting the creditor from the effects of the depreciation of the currency of the recruiting country.

9. On the payment of the debt, the liabilities of the recruiting country in respect of the rights in course of acquisition and rights acquired by a recruited worker while he was deemed to be affiliated to an insurance institution of the recruiting country shall be considered as discharged:

Provided that, where, in the course of five years from the date when these arrangements came into force, the frequency of invalidity and death among recruited workers while in the recruiting country and while insured in their country of residence after their return is found to be significantly greater than that assumed in the actuarial estimates of the scheme under which they are insured, the resultant increase in the pension expenditure shall constitute a debt due by the recruiting country, to be discharged in accordance with the provisions of paragraphs 6 to 8.

10. The country of residence shall use the proceeds of the debt paid in respect of each recruited worker in order to credit him with rights under its pension insurance laws and regulations, and for this purpose shall affiliate him to an insurance institute appropriate for him in view of the nature of his occupation. If there is no such institution the country of residence shall apply the proceeds for the benefit of the worker concerned in such way as it may deem fit.

11. Where the recruited worker died or became disabled before the date when these arrangements came into force, a pension shall be awarded if the qualifying conditions can be deemed to have been fulfilled, having regard to the period during which he is deemed to have been affiliated to an insurance institution of the recruiting country.

Accident Insurance

12. Where a recruited worker became permanently incapacitated or died in consequence of an occupational accident or disease occurring in the recruiting country in respect of which compensation was payable under the laws or regulations of the recruiting country concerning accident insurance, or would have been so payable if he had been a national of the recruiting country, such compensation shall be commuted for a lump sum representing its capital value, calculated in accordance with actuarial tables applied under the accident insurance laws or regulations of the country of residence. Where necessary the rate of the pension shall be recalculated on the basis of the normal wage of a worker of the recruiting country performing similar work, and the provisions of paragraph 5 shall apply correspondingly.

13. Such lump sum shall constitute a debt due by the recruiting country to the country of residence, and paragraph 6 shall apply correspondingly.

14. The debt shall fall due at the date at which its amount is notified to the recruiting country and shall be increased by compound interest at the rate of per cent. annually from the date when the first instalment, due but not yet paid, became payable, until the debt is discharged; paragraph 8 shall apply correspondingly.

15. The country of residence shall use the proceeds of the debt paid in respect of the recruited worker in order to provide him or his survivors with a pension under its accident insurance laws or regulations.

Unemployment Insurance

16. The provisions of these arrangements shall apply correspondingly to the unemployment insurance contributions...
paid in respect of workers recruited by
the recruiting country:

17. Provided that the country of resi-
dence shall apply the proceeds of the debts
in respect of such contributions on behalf
of recruited workers who are unemployed
after their return.

**General Provisions**

18. For the purpose of assisting the
countries of residence concerned in apply-
ing these arrangements, there shall be
established in connection with the Inter-
national Labour Office a commission con-
sisting of one delegate from each such
country, together with three persons ap-
pointed respectively by the Government,
workers' and employers' representatives
upon the Governing Body of the Interna-
tional Labour Office.

19. The commission shall be empowered
to make regulations for the purpose of
giving effect to these arrangements and
resolving any difficulties which may arise
in connection with the application thereof;
it shall establish its own procedure.

20. Without prejudice to the generality
of the powers conferred by paragraph 19,
the commission is entitled to make regula-
tions designed to:

(a) substitute more summary methods
than those specified in paragraphs
4 to 6 for the calculation of debts;

(b) substitute for the present arrange-
ments the general provisions of the
Maintenance of Migrants' Pension
Rights Convention, 1935, as be-
tween certain countries or certain
categories of recruited workers;

(c) resolve any doubt whether workers
are to be regarded as having been
recruited;

(d) determine the rate of the contribu-
tion to be deemed to have been paid
in respect of a recruited worker;

(e) determine one wage on which the
contribution is to be deemed to have
been based, taking into considera-
tional groups and the necessity of
ignoring all discrimination based
on race, nationality and religion;

(f) determine the propriety of classify-
ing as recruited workers nationals
of members of the United Nations
recruit while residing in the ter-
ritory of an Axis or associated
country and certain other groups
such as deported persons, and, for
the purposes of workmen's compen-
sation, prisoners of war.

21. The commission shall accord just
consideration to representations and com-
plaints from recruiting countries arising
out of the application of these arrange-
ments.

22. Any expenses properly incurred by
the commission shall be borne by the re-
cruiting countries.

**ANNEX II**

**PRINCIPLES CONCERNING INDEMNITIES
FOR SOCIAL CLAIMS**

1. In the peace settlement which will
impose financial obligations on the Axis
and associated countries, provision should
be made for full indemnities in respect of
legitimate claims of a social character
which result from the events of the pres-
ent war and from the occupation of the
territories of certain members of the
United Nations.

2. The above provision relates:

(a) on the one hand, to the satisfac-
tion of claims for indemnity made by
social security institutions (social
insurance or autonomous welfare
funds) of members of the United
Nations in respect of all loss and
damage which they have suffered
as the result of the events men-
tioned in paragraph 1; the in-
demnity should include the recon-
stitution of the reserves of social
insurance institutions which are
necessary to cover their liabilities
as affected by the said events, in-
cluding the increase of those lia-
BILITIES resulting from the aggra-
vation of the risks in consequence of
the said events;

(b) on the other hand, to the satisfac-
tion of the claims of individual
nationals of members of the United
Nations in respect of treatment
contrary to international law or
other inequitable treatment im-
posed on them by Axis or associated
countries in the matter of condi-
tions of employment (including re-
muneration), loss of social insur-
ance rights not covered by the
provisions of Annex I to the pres-
ent resolution, and of any other
claims connected with working con-
ditions and social protection and
the like which are the direct or in-
direct consequence of the events
mentioned in paragraph 1 and in-
volve the liability either of Govern-
ments and public institutions of the
Axis and associated countries or of
physical or legal persons belonging
to such countries;

(c) in the peace settlement which will
impose financial obligations on the
Axis and associated countries, pro-
vision should be made for priority
in favour of the payment of indem-
nities in respect of the claims men-
tioned under paragraphs 1 and 2
over all other claims.
ANNEX III

PRINCIPLES CONCERNING THE SETTLEMENT OF THE SOCIAL PROBLEMS RESULTING FROM THE TRANSFER OF TERRITORIES AND THE EXCHANGE OF POPULATIONS

1. Any provisions in the peace settlement on the subject of the transfer of territories should provide for—
(a) the transfer of a clearly defined part of the social insurance liabilities pertaining to the ceded territories from the countries previously competent to the countries subsequently competent, corresponding to the ceded territories;
(b) the immediate transfer by the previously competent countries to the subsequently competent countries of the reserves necessary, according to actuarial calculations, to cover the liabilities which will be assumed and discharged by the latter; this transfer should be effected independently of any payments from the Axis or associated countries to the United Nations on account of war reparations or any other account;
(c) the resumption by the successor countries of the payment of the social insurance benefit for which they become liable, so as to secure the uninterrupted continuation of the payment of current benefits and the award of benefits in respect of rights in course of acquisition which have been assumed;
(d) the application of the principles set out under subparagraphs (a) to (c), not only to social insurance but to all similar social security institutions, such as pension funds, unemployment funds, autonomous provident or welfare funds, etc.

2. All arrangements entered into among members of the United Nations for the exchange of populations between different countries should include suitable provisions for the protection of the social rights of workers, including regulations similar to those provided for under paragraph 1.

ANNEX IV

PRINCIPLES RELATING TO THE REVIVAL OF BILATERAL SOCIAL TREATIES AND TO THE JURIDICAL STATUS OF NATIONALS OF MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS UNDER SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN AXIS AND ASSOCIATED COUNTRIES

1. The peace settlement should, at the request of members of the United Nations concerned, provide for the revival of treaties and bilateral agreements on the subjects of social insurance, labour, unemployment, public assistance and other related subjects in force on 31 August 1939 (or at any earlier date at which the territory of a member was occupied) between Axis and associated countries on the one hand and these members of the United Nations on the other; it should provide that such treaties and agreements may not thereafter be denounced unilaterally by Axis or associated countries within five years from the date of the peace settlement.

2. The peace settlement should guarantee the nationals of the United Nations the same treatment as Axis and associated countries grant to their own nationals in the application of all branches of social legislation.

ANNEX V

COMPOSITION OF THE PROPOSED COMMISSION

A. Three representatives of the Governing Body appointed from members of the three groups, being nationals of countries other than those directly represented on the committee, in accordance with paragraph B below;
B. Ten experts on social insurance and the international regulation of social questions, appointed in particular by countries directly concerned in this matter;
C. Duly qualified representatives of the international bodies which are competent for related questions.

XIII

Resolution concerning international administrative co-operation to promote social security.

Whereas mutual assistance in social security administration is one of the forms of collaboration between nations calculated to promote the progressive development in all countries of comprehensive social security schemes providing for income security and medical care; and

Whereas the International Labour Office has co-operated with Members of the Organisation in an advisory capacity in the planning and development of social security schemes by means of expert missions, and it is now desirable to take further measures to make the experience of social security administration gained by Mem-

1 See Proceedings, p. 220, and Appendix VII.
bers individually available through the International Labour Office to other Members about to introduce social security schemes or to amend their existing schemes; and

Whereas the Inter-American Conference on Social Security adopted at its first session, held at Santiago de Chile in 1942, resolutions favouring co-operation among social security administrations and institutions with a view to the unification of statistics of medical care and the encouragement of research and technical studies;

The Conference requests the International Labour Office:

(a) to take the necessary measures to facilitate the interchange of qualified technicians and experts by means of agreements between Members of the Organisation;

(b) to continue efforts to promote, on an international or regional basis, systematic and direct collaboration among social security administrations or institutions with a view to the regular interchange of information which will facilitate their work and the study of common problems in the application of social security; among these problems the following are enumerated without implying any order of preference—

(i) the comparability of statistics on the working of social security services, and their possible standardisation;
(ii) long-term investment of the reserves of social security institutions;
(iii) simplification of social security administration;
(iv) relations between social security institutions based on assistance and those based on insurance;
(v) the prevention of the risks covered;
(vi) the training and technical improvement of the personnel of social security administration through the organisation of courses of higher study in the actuarial and accounting fields and others related to the application of social security systems;

(c) to study the possibility and appropriateness of international or multilateral agreements which would establish bodies responsible for performing common functions, in the field either of finances or of administration.

XIV

Resolution concerning the definition of terms used in international Conventions and Recommendations concerning social security.¹

Whereas it would greatly contribute to the clarification of the terms used in Conventions and Recommendations concerning social security to establish an international nomenclature of social security terms in order to avoid misinterpretation due to differences in the terminology employed in various countries;

The Conference requests the International Labour Office to prepare, in consultation with experts on social security, on sociology, and on economic and legal questions, a list containing definitions of terms occurring in international Conventions or Recommendations on social security, with a view to arriving at international agreement.

XV

Resolution concerning social security in Asiatic countries.²

Whereas the proposals for the promotion of social security before the Conference are for the most part inapplicable to Asiatic countries such as India in their present stage of industrial development; and

Whereas the Asiatic Member States constitute a large part of the world with vast populations which should not be excluded from the benefits of the proposed measures for the promotion of social security, having regard to the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation;

The Conference recommends that an Asiatic regional conference be held at as early a date as possible and that the question of the organisation of social security be included in the agenda of that conference.

XVI

Resolution including the question of minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories (supplementary provisions) in the agenda of the next general session of the Conference.³

In accordance with the provisions of paragraph 3 of Article 16 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation, the Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labour Conference decides to include in the agenda of the next gen-

¹ See Proceedings, p. 223, and Appendix VII.
² See Proceedings, p. 216, and Appendix VII.
³ See Proceedings, p. 271, and Appendix VIII.
eral session of the International Labour Conference the question of—

Minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories (supplementary provisions).

XVII
Resolution requesting the Governing Body to set up a committee to advise the International Labour Office on standards of social policy in dependent territories.1

The Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labour Conference,

Recognising the value of the work of the Committee of Experts on Native Labour and the necessity of providing the Office with all possible technical advice on social problems in dependent territories,

Requests the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to set up as soon as possible a committee to advise the Office on standards of social policy in dependent territories.

The following are among the questions which the Governing Body may consider should appropriately be laid before the committee, the creation of which is suggested:

1. The status of women in dependent territories;
2. Migratory labour and its protection;
3. Housing standards in dependent territories, including methods to facilitate the interchange of information on progress realised.

XVIII
Resolution to confirm the readmission of Costa Rica to the International Labour Organisation.2

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Taking note of the decision of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office that the Republic of Costa Rica should be entitled to the full rights of membership of the Organisation from 12 November 1942, pending formal confirmation of her readmission to the Organisation by the Conference,

Hereby confirms the readmission of Costa Rica to the International Labour Organisation with the same rights and obligations as the other Members of the Organisation.

XIX
Resolution concerning the membership of Austria in the International Labour Organisation.1

The Conference takes note with satisfaction of the Moscow Declaration expressing the wish of the signatories to see re-established a free and independent Austria, recalls the active participation of Austria in the International Labour Organisation from 1919 to 1938 and expresses the hope that a free, independent and democratic Austria will soon resume her participation in the International Labour Organisation.

XX
Resolution concerning the membership of certain American States in the International Labour Organisation.2

The International Labour Conference,

Expresses its great satisfaction that Nicaragua and Paraguay are represented at the Twenty-sixth Session of the Conference by observers;

Requests the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to consider, in consultation with those States, as well as other States of the American continent which are not at present Members of the Organisation, how the resumption of active membership of the Organisation by all of the States of the American continent could best be achieved; and

Expresses the earnest hope that all the States of the American continent will be represented at the next session of the International Labour Conference as Members of the Organisation.

XXI
Resolution concerning complete delegations to the Conference.3

In view of the growing volume and importance of the work of the International Labour Organisation, and in order to enable the Conference of the Organisation to have full and fruitful discussion of the questions on the agenda of the Conference and also to enable each delegation to participate effectively in the deliberations of the Conference and the several committees this session of the International Labour Conference earnestly invites the Members of the International Labour Organisation to send complete delegations, including an adequate number of advisers, to each session without regard to cost or distance.

1 See Proceedings, p. 240, and Appendix VIII.
2 See Proceedings, p. 276, and Appendix III.
3 See Proceedings, p. 277, and Appendix III.
XXII

Resolution concerning the use of Spanish and Portuguese as official languages.\(^1\)

Considering that the nations of Latin America have made a substantial contribution to the development and universalisation of the International Labour Organisation;

Considering that the nations of Latin America have unanimously developed, spontaneously and with exceptional rapidity, a social policy based on the international Conventions and on the generous conceptions of the protection of labour and collective welfare;

Considering that the prominent position attained by the American republics and the special social conditions of the Western hemisphere have been demonstrated at the labour conferences of the American States which were held in 1936 and 1939, at Santiago de Chile and Havana respectively, and which had far-reaching results;

Considering that the nations of Latin America constitute the great majority of the States of America and number twenty independent Republics, of which thirteen are Members of the International Labour Organisation;

Considering that the ethnical unity, historic traditions and ideals characteristic of the peoples of Latin America demonstrate the existence of an authentic culture, the value of which is all the greater in as much as it extends over the whole of the South American continent and Central America;

Considering that the social development of Latin America springs from the Iberian civilisation, which is both Spanish and Portuguese and is two-fold in its nature, and still maintains this diversity, which so far from being a cause of division, rather serves to bind them more closely together for the preservation of the characteristics they derive from a common historic source;

Considering that the Spanish and Portuguese languages spoken by the nations of Latin America are also the languages of the countries of the Iberian Peninsula, of the peoples of a large part of the continent of Africa, and of various regions of Asia;

Considering also that the Spanish and Portuguese languages are regional transformations and progressive adaptations of Latin and at the same time modern, living languages, with a classical etymology, which can be readily understood and acquired;

Considering that the original root and the manner of development of the Portuguese and Spanish idioms, which development has taken place in geo-political conditions presenting substantial similarities, have rendered impossible wide divergences between the two tongues, so that today the peoples who speak them can readily understand one another;

Considering that the Havana Conference of 1939, in resolution XXV, expressed itself unanimously in favour of the publication of legal decisions by the International Labour Organisation in Spanish and Portuguese;

Considering finally that the use of the Spanish language has become an established practice of the International Labour Organisation and that Portuguese has been used for several official publications of the Organisation;

The Conference requests the Governing Body to consider the possibility of making Spanish and Portuguese official languages of the International Labour Organisation and to submit to the next general session of the Conference any necessary amendments of the Standing Orders of the Conference and of its committees.

XXIII

Resolution concerning atrocities in the occupied countries of Europe.\(^1\)

 Whereas the Declaration concerning the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation, adopted by the Twenty-sixth Session of the International Labour Conference, includes the reaffirmation of the following fundamental principle on which the Organisation is based:

"that all human beings irrespective of race, creed or sex have the right to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development under conditions of freedom and dignity";

Whereas Nazi Germany and its satellites are continuing the criminal persecutions of all Axis-occupied countries, aiming particularly at annihilation of the Jews of Europe;

Whereas especially in occupied Poland mass murder of populations is being committed on a scale hitherto unknown in modern history;

The International Labour Conference adopts the following resolution:

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation, convened in its Twenty-sixth Session at Philadelphia, on 12 May 1944,

1. Protests against Nazi crimes which violate the fundamental principles of humanity and of international law;

\(^1\) See Proceedings, p. 275, and Appendix III.
2. Welcomes the statement on atrocities signed by President Roosevelt, Prime Min­
ister Churchill and Premier Stalin, an­
nounced on 1 November 1943, following
the Three-Power Conference in Moscow,
and the Joint Declaration against extermi­
nation of the Jewish people announced on
17 December 1942, in London, Moscow and
Washington by the Governments of Bel­
gium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Luxemburg,
the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, the
United States of America, the United
Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern
Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Re­
públicas and Yugoslavia, and the French
National Committee; and expresses its
firm conviction that all guilty of such
crimes must be tried and punished;

3. Requests that the United Nations
take immediately all possible steps to stop
mass slaughter of the population of the
occupied countries of Europe;

4. Expresses its deepest sympathy for
all victims of Nazi terror and its great
admiration for the underground fighters
of all occupied countries, including the de­
fenders of the Ghettos of Warsaw and
other cities, who have been fighting and
dying together for the common cause of
the United Nations.
APPENDIX XII

Recommendations adopted by the Conference
(Authentic texts)

RECOMMENDATION [No. 67] CONCERNING INCOME SECURITY.

RECOMMANDATION [N° 67] CONCERNANT LA GARANTIE DES MOYENS D'EXISTENCE.

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Having been convened at Philadelphia by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Twenty-sixth Session on 20 April 1944, and

Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to income security, which is included in the fourth item on the agenda of the Session, and

Having determined that these proposals shall take the form of a Recommendation,

adopts, this twelfth day of May of the year one thousand nine hundred and forty-four, the following Recommendation which may be cited as the Income Security Recommendation, 1944:

Whereas the Atlantic Charter contemplates "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

Whereas the Conference of the International Labour Organisation, by a resolution adopted on 5 November 1941, endorsed this principle of the Atlantic Charter and pledged the full co-operation of the International Labour Organisation in its implementation; and

Considérant que la Charte de l'Atlantique envisage "la collaboration la plus complète entre toutes les nations dans le domaine économique en vue de procurer à tous de meilleures conditions de travail, le progrès économique et la sécurité sociale";

Considérant que la Conférence de l'Organisation internationale du Travail a, par une résolution adoptée le 5 novembre 1941, appuyé ce principe de la Charte de l'Atlantique et promis la pleine collaboration de l'Organisation internationale du Travail pour le traduire en actes;

La Conférence générale de l'Organisation internationale du Travail,

Convoquée à Philadelphie par le Conseil d'administration du Bureau international du Travail, et s'y étant réunie le 20 avril 1944 en sa vingtième session,

Après avoir décidé d'adopter diverses propositions relatives à la garantie des moyens d'existence, question qui est comprise dans le quatrième point à l'ordre du jour de la session,

Après avoir décidé que ces propositions prendraient la forme d'une recommandation,

adopte, ce douzième jour de mai mil neuf cent quarante-quatre, la recommandation ci-après, qui sera dénommée Recommendation sur la garantie des moyens d'existence, 1944:
 Whereas income security is an essential element in social security; and

 Whereas the International Labour Organisation has promoted the development of income security—

 by the adoption by the International Labour Conference of Conventions and Recommendations relating to workmen’s compensation for accidents and occupational diseases, sickness insurance, provision for maternity, old-age, invalidity, and widows’ and orphans’ pensions, and provision for unemployment,

 by the adoption by the First and Second Labour Conferences of American States of the resolutions constituting the Inter-American Social Insurance Code, by the participation of a delegation of the Governing Body in the First Inter-American Conference on Social Security which adopted the Declaration of Santiago de Chile, and by the approval by the Governing Body of the Statute of the Inter-American Conference on Social Security established as a permanent agency of co-operation between social security administrations and institutions acting in concert with the International Labour Office, and

 by the participation of the International Labour Office in an advisory capacity in the framing of social insurance schemes in a number of countries and by other measures; and

 Whereas some Members have not taken such steps as are within their competence to promote the well-being and development of their people although their need for improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security is greatest; and

 Whereas it is now highly desirable that such Members take all necessary steps as soon as possible to reach the accepted international minimum standards and develop those standards; and

 Whereas it is now desirable to take further steps towards the attainment of income security by the unification or co-ordination of social insurance schemes, the extension of such schemes to all workers and their families, including rural populations and the self-employed, and the elimination of inequitable anomalies; and

 Whereas the formulation of certain general principles which should be followed by Members of the Organisation in developing their income security schemes along these lines on the foundation of the existing Conventions and Recommendations, pending the unification and amplification of the provisions of the said Conventions and Recommendations, will contribute to this end;

 Considérant que la garantie des moyens d’existence est un élément essentiel de la sécurité sociale;

 Considérant que l’Organisation internationale du Travail a encouragé le développement de la garantie des moyens d’existence—

 par l’adoption, par la Conférence internationale du Travail, de conventions et recommandations traitant de la réparation des accidents du travail et des maladies professionnelles, de l’assurance-maladie, des prestations de maternité, de pensions de vieillesse, d’invalidité et de décès, et des prestations de chômage,

 par l’adoption par les première et deuxième Conférences du Travail des États d’Amérique, de résolutions constituant le code interaméricain d’assurance sociale, la participation d’une délégation du Conseil d’administration à la première Conférence interaméricaine de sécurité sociale, qui a adopté la Déclaration de Santiago du Chili, et l’approbation, par le Conseil d’administration, des statuts de la Conférence interaméricaine de sécurité sociale instituée en qualité d’organe permanent de collaboration entre les administrations et institutions de sécurité sociale, agissant de concert avec le Bureau international du Travail, et

 par la participation du Bureau international du Travail, à titre de conseiller, à l’élaboration de régimes d’assurance sociale dans nombre de pays et par d’autres mesures;

 Considérant que certains Membres n’ont pas pris les mesures qui sont de leur compétence pour promouvoir le bien-être et le développement de leur peuple bien que leur besoin de normes plus avancées de travail, d’avancement économique et de sécurité sociale soient des plus grands;

 Considérant qu’il est hautement désir-able que ces Membres prennent aussitôt que possible les mesures nécessaires pour arriver aux normes minima internationales et pour développer ces normes;

 Considérant qu’il est d’ores et déjà désir-able d’adopter de nouvelles mesures pour réaliser la garantie des moyens d’existence par l’unification ou la coordination des régimes d’assurance sociale, par l’extension de ces régimes à tous les travailleurs et à leurs familles, y compris la population rurale et les travailleurs indépendants, et par l’élimination d’injustes anomalies;

 Considérant que la formulation de cer-tains principes généraux que devraient observer les Membres de l’Organisation en mettant en œuvre leur régime de garantie des moyens d’existence dans cet esprit sur la base des conventions et recommandations existantes, en attendant l’unification et l’amélioration des dispositions desdites conventions et recommandations, contribuera à cette fin;
The Conference:

(a) recommends the Members of the Organisation to apply progressively the following general guiding principles, as rapidly as national conditions allow, in developing their income security schemes with a view to the implementation of the fifth principle of the Atlantic Charter, and to report to the International Labour Office from time to time as requested by the Governing Body, concerning the measures taken to give effect to the said general guiding principles;

(b) calls the attention of the Members of the Organisation to the suggestions for the application of these general guiding principles submitted to the Conference and contained in the Annex to this Recommendation.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES

GENERAL

1. Income security schemes should relieve want and prevent destitution by restoring, up to a reasonable level, income which is lost by reason of inability to work (including old age) or to obtain remunerative work or by reason of the death of a breadwinner.

2. Income security should be organised as far as possible on the basis of compulsory social insurance, whereby insured persons fulfilling prescribed qualifying conditions are entitled, in consideration of the contributions they have paid to an insurance institution, to benefits payable at rates, and in contingencies, defined by law.

3. Provision for needs not covered by compulsory social insurance should be made by social assistance; certain categories of persons, particularly dependent children and needy invalids, aged persons and widows, should be entitled to allowances at reasonable rates according to a prescribed scale.

4. Social assistance appropriate to the needs of the case should be provided for other persons in want.

SOCIAL INSURANCE

5. The range of contingencies to be covered by compulsory social insurance should embrace all contingencies in which an insured person is prevented from earning his living, whether by inability to work or inability to obtain remunerative work, or in which he dies leaving a dependent family, and should include certain associated emergencies, generally experienced, which involve extraordinary strain on limited incomes, in so far as they are not otherwise covered.

6. Compensation should be provided in cases of incapacity for work and of death resulting from employment.

La Conférence:

a) recommande aux Membres de l'Organisation d'appliquer progressivement les principes directeurs de caractère général, autant que leurs conditions nationales le permettront, en mettant en œuvre leurs régimes de garantie des moyens d'existence afin d'appliquer le cinquième principe de la Charte de l'Atlantique, et de présenter au Bureau international du Travail, selon ce que décidera le Conseil d'administration, des rapports sur les mesures prises pour donner effet auxdits principes directeurs;

b) attire l'attention des Membres de l'Organisation sur les suggestions pour l'application de ces principes directeurs soumises à la Conférence, contenues dans l'annexe à la présente recommandation.

PRINCIPES DIRECTEURS

BASES

1. Tout régime de garantie des moyens d'existence devrait soulager le besoin et prévenir l'indigence, en rétablissant jusqu'à un niveau raisonnable, les moyens d'existence perdus en raison de l'incapacité de travailler (y compris la vieillesse) ou d'obtenir un emploi rémunérateur ou en raison du décès du soutien de famille.

2. La garantie des moyens d'existence devrait être établie, autant que possible, sur la base de l'assurance sociale obligatoire, les assurés remplissant les conditions exigées ayant droit, en considération des cotisations payées à une institution d'assurance, à des prestations payables selon des taux et dans les éventualités fixés par la loi.

3. Il devrait être satisfait par l'assistance sociale aux besoins non couverts par l'assurance sociale obligatoire; certaines catégories de personnes, notamment les enfants à charge et les invalides, vieillards et veuves indigents, devraient avoir droit à des allocations d'un montant raisonnable selon un barème établi.

4. Une assistance sociale appropriée aux nécessités de chaque cas devrait être fournie à toutes autres personnes dans le besoin.

ASSURANCE SOCIALE

5. Les éventualités couvertes par l'assurance sociale obligatoire devraient embrasser toutes les éventualités dans lesquelles un assuré est empêché de gagner sa subsistance en raison d'incapacité de travailler ou d'obtenir un emploi rémunéré, ou décède, laissant une famille à charge, et comprendre certaines éventualités connexes qui se produisent couramment et constituent une charge excessive pour les revenus limités, en tant qu'elles ne sont pas couvertes d'une autre manière.

6. Une réparation devrait être fournie en cas d'incapacité de travail et en cas de décès résultant de l'emploi.
7. In order that the benefits provided by social insurance may be closely adapted to the variety of needs, the contingencies covered should be classified as follows:

(a) sickness;
(b) maternity;
(c) invalidity;
(d) old age;
(e) death of breadwinner;
(f) unemployment;
(g) emergency expenses; and
(h) employment injuries.

Provided that benefits should not be payable at the same time for more than one of the following contingencies: invalidity, old age and unemployment.

8. Supplements for each of the first two children should be added to all benefits payable for loss of earnings, provision for further children being left to be made by means of children’s allowances payable out of public funds or under contributory schemes.

9. The contingency for which sickness benefit should be paid is loss of earnings due to abstention from work necessitated on medical grounds by an acute condition, due to disease or injury, requiring medical treatment or supervision.

10. The contingency for which maternity benefit should be paid is loss of earnings due to abstention from work during prescribed periods before and after childbirth.

11. The contingency for which invalidity benefit should be paid is inability to engage in any substantially gainful work by reason of a chronic condition, due to disease or injury, or by reason of the loss of a member or function.

12. The contingency for which old-age benefit should be paid is the attainment of a prescribed age, which should be that at which persons commonly become incapable of efficient work, the incidence of sickness and invalidity becomes heavy, and unemployment, if present, is likely to be permanent.

13. The contingency for which survivors’ benefits should be paid is the loss of support presumably suffered by the dependants as the result of the death of the head of the family.

14. The contingency for which unemployment benefit should be paid is loss of earnings due to the unemployment of an insured person who is ordinarily employed, capable of regular employment in some occupation, and seeking suitable employment, or due to part-time unemployment.

15. Benefits should be provided in re-

7. Afin que les prestations fournies par l’assurance sociale soient étroitement adaptées à la diversité des besoins, les éventualités couvertes devraient être classées comme suit:

(a) maladie;
(b) maternité;
(c) invalidité;
(d) vieillesse;
(e) décès du soutien de famille;
(f) chômage;
(g) dépenses exceptionnelles;
(h) lésions (blessures ou maladies) résultant de l’emploi.

Toutefois, il ne peut y avoir cumul entre les prestations d’invalidité, de vieillesse et de chômage.


9. L’éventualité qui devrait donner lieu à prestations de maladie est la perte du gain en raison d’abstention de travail, nécessaire pour des raisons médicales, ou de la maladie ou blessure à l’état aigu, exigeant un traitement médical ou une surveillance médicale.

10. L’éventualité qui devrait donner lieu à prestations de maternité est la perte de gain en raison d’abstention de travail pendant des périodes fixées, avant et après les couches.

11. L’éventualité qui devrait donner lieu à prestations d’invalidité est l’incapacité d’exercer une occupation comportant une rémunération appréciable en raison d’un état chronique, d’une maladie ou à une blessure, ou de la perte d’un membre ou d’une fonction.

12. L’éventualité qui devrait donner lieu à prestations de vieillesse est l’accompagnement d’un âge déterminé, qui serait l’âge auquel les individus deviennent normalement inaptes à un travail efficace, l’incidence de la maladie et de l’invalidité se fait lourdement sentir et le chômage éventuel menace de devenir permanent.

13. L’éventualité qui devrait donner lieu à prestations de décès est la perte de moyens d’existence qui est présumée avoir été subie par les personnes à charge à la suite du décès du chef de famille.

14. L’éventualité qui devrait donner lieu à des prestations de chômage est la perte de gain résultant soit du chômage d’un assuré qui est ordinairement employé, est apte à un emploi régulier dans quelque occupation et est en quête d’un emploi convenable, soit d’un chômage partiel.

15. Des prestations devraient être four-
spect of extraordinary expenses, not otherwise covered, incurred in cases of sickness, maternity, invalidity and death.

16. The contingency for which compensation for an employment injury should be paid is traumatic injury or disease resulting from employment and not brought about deliberately or by the serious and wilful misconduct of the victim, which results in temporary or permanent incapacity or death.

17. Social insurance should afford protection, in the contingencies to which they are exposed, to all employed and self-employed persons, together with their dependants, in respect of whom it is practicable:

(a) to collect contributions without incurring disproportionate administrative expenditure; and

(b) to pay benefits with the necessary co-operation of medical and employment services and with due precautions against abuse.

18. The employer should be made responsible for collecting contributions in respect of all persons employed by him, and should be entitled to deduct the sums due by them from their remuneration at the time when it is paid.

19. In order to facilitate the efficient administration of benefits, arrangements should be made for the keeping of records of contributions, for ready means of verifying the presence of the contingencies which give rise to benefits, and for a parallel organisation of medical and employment services with preventive and remedial functions.

20. Persons employed for remuneration should be insured against the whole range of contingencies covered by social insurance as soon as the collection of contributions in respect of them can be organised and the necessary arrangements can be made for the administration of benefit.

21. Self-employed persons should be insured against the contingencies of invalidity, old age and death, under the same conditions as employed persons as soon as the collection of their contributions can be organised. Consideration should be given to the possibility of insuring them also against sickness and maternity necessitating hospitalisation, sickness which has lasted for several months, and extraordinary expenses incurred in cases of sickness, maternity, invalidity and death.

22. Benefits should replace lost earnings, with due regard to family responsibilities, up to as high a level as is practicable without impairing the will to resume work where resumption is a possibility, and without levying charges on the pro-
nies for pay face to des dépenses exceptionnelles nécessitées dans les cas de maladie, de maternité, d'invalidité et de décès, à moins qu'il n'y soit pourvu autrement.

16. L'éventualité qui devrait donner lieu à réparation d'une lésion résultant de l'emploi est le traumatisme ou la maladie résultant de l'emploi, non provoqués délibérément ou par une faute grave et intentionnelle de la victime, et entraînant une incapacité temporaire ou permanente ou le décès.

17. L'assurance sociale devrait accorder sa protection, dans les éventualités aux- quelles ils sont exposés, à tous les salariés et travailleurs indépendants, ainsi qu'aux personnes à leur charge, à l'égard desquelles il est possible:

a) de percevoir des cotisations sans frais d'administration disproportionnés, et

b) de payer des prestations avec la coopération nécessaire des services médicaux et services de l'emploi et en prenant toutes précautions contre les abus.

18. L'employeur devrait être chargé de la perception des cotisations pour toutes les personnes qu'il emploie et autorisé à déduire de leurs salaires, à l'occasion de la paye, les montants dont ils sont redevables.

19. En vue de faciliter la bonne administration des prestations, des mesures devraient être prises pour la tenue de pièces justificatives du paiement des cotisations, pour l'adoption de moyens aisés de constater l'existence des éventualités ouvrant droit aux prestations et pour une organisation parallèle des services médicaux et services de l'emploi exerçant des fonctions préventives et curatives.

20. Les salariés devraient être assurés contre l'ensemble des éventualités couvertes par l'assurance sociale, aussitôt que la perception de cotisations à leur égard pourra être organisée et que les arrangements nécessaires pourront être pris pour l'administration des prestations.

21. Les travailleurs indépendants devraient être assurés contre les éventualités d'invalidité, de vieillesse et de décès dans les mêmes conditions que les salariés, aussitôt que la perception de cotisations à leur égard pourra être organisée. Il conviendrait d'envisager la possibilité de les assurer aussi pour les cas de maladie et de maternité nécessitant l'hospitalisation, de maladie ayant duré plusieurs mois et pour les cas de dépenses extraordinaires entrainées par la maladie, la maternité, l'invalidité ou le décès.

22. Les prestations devraient remplacer les gains perdus, les charges familiales étant dûment prises en considération, jusqu'au niveau le plus élevé qu'il soit possible d'atteindre sans affaiblir la volonté de reprendre le travail, si cette reprise est
ductive groups so heavy that output and employment are checked.

23. Benefits should be related to the previous earnings of the insured person on the basis of which he has contributed: Provided that any excess of earnings over those prevalent among skilled workers may be ignored for the purpose of determining the rate of benefits, or portions thereof, financed from sources other than the contributions of the insured person.

24. Benefits at flat rates may be appropriate for countries where adequate and economical facilities exist for the population to procure additional protection by voluntary insurance. Such benefits should be commensurate with the earnings of unskilled workers.

25. The right to benefits other than compensation for employment injuries should be subject to contribution conditions designed to prove that the normal status of the claimant is that of an employed or self-employed person and to maintain reasonable regularity in the payment of contributions: Provided that a person should not be disqualified for benefits by reason of the failure of his employer duly to collect the contributions payable in respect of him.

26. The cost of benefits, including the cost of administration, should be distributed among insured persons, employers and taxpayers in such a way as to be equitable to insured persons and to avoid hardship to insured persons of small means or any disturbance to production.

27. The administration of social insurance should be unified or co-ordinated within a general system of social security services, and contributors should, through their organisations, be represented on the bodies which determine or advise upon administrative policy and propose legislation or frame regulations.

Social Assistance

28. Society should normally co-operate with parents through general measures of assistance designed to secure the well-being of dependent children.

29. Invalids, aged persons and widows who are not receiving social insurance benefits because they or their husbands, as the case may be, were not compulsorily insured, and whose incomes do not exceed a prescribed level, should be entitled to special maintenance allowances at prescribed rates.

30. Appropriate allowances in cash or partly in cash and partly in kind should be provided for all persons who are in want and do not require internment for corrective care.

Appendix XII: Authentic texts—Recommendations

23. Les prestations devraient être proportionnées aux gains antérieurs sur la base desquels l'assuré a cotisé. Toutefois, la fraction du gain en excédent du gain usuel des travailleurs qualifiés pourrait être négligée dans la détermination des taux de prestations ou de fractions de ces prestations imputées sur des ressources autres que les cotisations de l'assuré.

24. Des prestations à taux fixe peuvent convenir aux pays où la population peut se procurer de manière satisfaisante et économique une protection supplémentaire au moyen de l'assurance facultative. Ces prestations devraient être proportionnées aux gains des travailleurs non qualifiés.

25. Le droit aux prestations autres que la réparation des lésions résultant de l'emploi devrait être subordonné à des conditions de cotisation permettant de vérifier que le statut normal du requérant est bien celui de salarié ou de travailleur indépendant et de maintenir une régularité satisfaisante dans le paiement des cotisations; toutefois, l'assuré ne pourra être déchu du droit aux prestations en raison du fait que l'employeur a négligé de percevoir régulièrement les cotisations payables pour lui.

26. Les frais de prestations, y compris les frais d'administration, devraient être répartis entre les assurés, les employeurs et les contribuables dans des conditions équitables pour les assurés et propres à épargner des charges trop lourdes aux assurés de ressources modestes et à éviter toute perturbation à la production.

27. La gestion des assurances sociales devrait être unifiée ou coordonnée dans un système général de services de sécurité sociale et les cotisants devraient être représentés par l'entremise de leurs organisations aux organes qui arrêtent ou conseillent les lignes générales de la gestion et qui présentent des projets législatifs ou établissent les règlements.

Assistance sociale

28. La société devrait normalement coopérer avec les parents par des mesures générales d'assistance destinées à assurer le bien-être des enfants à charge.

29. Les invalides, les vieillards et les veuves qui ne bénéficient d'aucune prestation d'assurance sociale parce qu'eux-mêmes ou leurs conjoints, selon le cas, n'étaient pas obligatoirement assurés, et dont les revenus ne dépassent pas un niveau fixé devraient bénéficier d'allocations spéciales de subsistance à des taux prescrits.

30. Des allocations suffisantes en espèces, ou partie en espèces et partie en nature, devraient être fournies à toutes personnes dans le besoin, lorsqu'il n'y a pas lieu à internement en vue de soins correctifs.
ANNEX
GUIDING PRINCIPLES
ACCOMPANIED BY SUGGESTIONS
FOR APPLICATION
(The paragraphs in bold type are the general guiding principles and the sub­paragraphs are the suggestions for application.)

GENERAL

1. Income security schemes should relieve want and prevent destitution by re­storing, up to a reasonable level, income which is lost by reason of inability to work (including old age) or to obtain remunerative work or by reason of the death of a breadwinner.

2. Income security should be organised as far as possible on the basis of com­pulsory social insurance, whereby insured persons fulfilling prescribed qualifying conditions are entitled, in consideration of the contributions they have paid to an insurance institution, to benefits payable at rates, and in contingencies, defined by law.

3. Provision for needs not covered by compulsory social insurance should be made by social assistance; certain categories of persons, particularly dependent children and needy invalids, aged persons and widows, should be entitled to allow­ances at reasonable rates according to a prescribed scale.

4. Social assistance appropriate to the needs of the case should be provided for other persons in want.

I. SOCIAL INSURANCE

A. CONTINGENCIES COVERED

Range of Contingencies to be Covered

5. The range of contingencies to be covered by compulsory social insurance should embrace all contingencies in which an insured person is prevented from earning his living, whether by inability to work or inability to obtain remunerative work, or in which he dies leaving a dependent family, and should include certain associated emergencies, generally experienced, which involve extraordinary strain on limited incomes, in so far as they are not otherwise covered.

6. Compensation should be provided in cases of incapacity for work and of death resulting from employment.

7. In order that the benefits provided by social insurance may be closely adapted to the variety of needs, the contingencies covered should be classified as follows:

(a) sickness;
(b) maternity;
(c) invalidity;
(d) old age;
(e) death of breadwinner;
(f) unemployment;

ANNEXE
PRINCIPES DIRECTEURS
ACCOMPAGNÉS DE SUGGESTIONS
POUR LEUR APPLICATION
(Le paragraphes en caractères gras constituent les principes directeurs d'un caractère général et les alinéas constituent les suggestions d'application.)

BASES

1. Tout régime de garantie des moyens d'existence devrait soulager le besoin et prévenir l'indigence, en rétablissant jusqu'à un niveau raisonnable les moyens d'existence perdus en raison de l'incapacité de travailler (y compris la vieillesse) ou d'obtenir un emploi rémunérateur ou en raison du décès du soutien de famille.

2. La garantie des moyens d'existence devrait être établie, autant que possible, sur la base de l'assurance sociale obligatoire, les assurés remplissant les conditions exigées ayant droit, en considération des cotisations payées à une institution d'assurance, à des prestations payables selon des taux et dans les éventualités fixées par la loi.

3. Il devrait être satisfait par l'assistance sociale aux besoins non couverts par l'assurance sociale obligatoire et certaines catégories de personnes, notamment les enfants à charge et les invalides, vieillards et veuves indigents, devraient avoir droit à des allocations d'un montant raisonnable selon un barème établi.

4. Une assistance sociale appropriée aux nécessités de chaque cas devrait être fournie à toutes autres personnes dans le besoin.

I. ASSURANCE SOCIALE

A. ÉVENTUALITÉS COUVERTES

Champ des éventualités couvertes

5. Les éventualités couvertes par l'assurance sociale obligatoire devraient embrasser toutes les éventualités dans lesquelles un assuré est empêché de gagner sa subsistance en raison d'incapacité de travailler ou d'obtenir un emploi rémunérateur, ou décède, laissant une famille à charge, et comprendre certaines éventualités connexes qui se produisent couramment et constituent une charge excessive pour les revenus limités, en tant qu'elles ne sont pas couvertes d'une autre manière.

6. Une réparation devrait être fournie en cas d'incapacité de travail et en cas de décès résultant de l'emploi.

7. Afin que les prestations fournies par l'assurance sociale soient étroitement adaptées à la diversité des besoins, les éventualités couvertes devraient être classées comme suit:

(a) maladie;
(b) maternité;
(c) invalidité;
(d) vieillesse;
(e) décès du soutien de famille;
(f) chômage;
(g) emergency expenses; and
(h) employment injuries.

Provided that benefits should not be payable at the same time for more than one of the following contingencies: invalidity, old age and unemployment.

8. Supplements for each of the first two children should be added to all benefits payable for loss of earnings, provision for further children being left to be made by means of children's allowances payable out of public funds or under contributory schemes.

Sickness

9. The contingency for which sickness benefit should be paid is loss of earnings due to abstention from work necessitated on medical grounds by an acute condition, due to disease or injury, requiring medical treatment or supervision.

1) The necessity for abstention from work should be judged, as a rule, with reference to the previous occupation of the insured person, which he may be expected to resume.

2) Benefit need not be paid for the first few days of a period of sickness, but if sickness recurs within a few months, a fresh waiting period should not be imposed.

3) Benefit should preferably be continued until the beneficiary is fit to return to work, dies or becomes an invalid. If, however, it is considered necessary to limit the duration of benefit, the maximum period should not be less than 26 weeks for a single case, and provision should be made for extending the duration of benefit in the case of specified diseases, such as tuberculosis, which often involve lengthy, though curable, sickness: Provided that at the outset of the operation of an insurance scheme it may be necessary to provide for a shorter period than 26 weeks.

Maternity

10. The contingency for which maternity benefit should be paid is loss of earnings due to abstention from work during prescribed periods before and after childbirth.

1) A woman should have the right to leave her work if she produces a medical certificate stating that her confinement will probably take place within six weeks, and no woman should be permitted to work during the six weeks following her confinement.

2) During these periods maternity benefit should be payable.
(3) Absence from work for longer periods or on other occasions may be desirable on medical grounds, having regard to the physical condition of the beneficiary and the exigencies of her work; during any such periods sickness benefits should be payable.

(4) The payment of maternity benefit may be made conditional on the utilisation by the beneficiary of health services provided for her and her child.

Invalidity
11. The contingency for which invalidity benefit should be paid is inability to engage in any substantially gainful work by reason of a chronic condition, due to disease or injury, or by reason of the loss of a member or function.

(1) A handicapped person should be expected to engage in any occupation which may reasonably be indicated for him, having regard for his remaining strength and ability, his previous experience, and any facilities for training available to him.

(2) A person for whom such an occupation can be indicated but is not yet available, and a person following a training course, should receive provisional invalidity benefit, training benefit or unemployment benefit, if he is otherwise qualified for it.

(3) A person for whom no such occupation can be indicated should receive invalidity benefit.

(4) Beneficiaries whose permanent inability to engage regularly in any gainful occupation has been confirmed should be allowed to supplement their invalidity benefit by casual earnings of small amount.

(5) Where the rate of invalidity benefit is related to the rate of the previous earnings of the insured person, the right to benefit should be admitted if the handicapped person is not able to earn by ordinary effort as much as one third of the normal earnings in his previous occupation of able-bodied persons having the same training.

(6) Invalidity benefit should be paid from the date when sickness benefit ceases, for the whole duration of invalidity, provided that when the beneficiary reaches the age at which old-age benefit may be claimed the latter may be substituted for invalidity benefit.

Old Age
12. The contingency for which old-age benefit should be paid is the attainment

Vieillesse
12. L'éventualité qui devrait donner lieu à prestations de vieillesse est l'accom-
of a prescribed age, which should be that at which persons commonly become incapable of efficient work, the incidence of sickness and invalidity becomes heavy, and unemployment, if present, is likely to be permanent.

(1) The minimum age at which old-age benefit may be claimed should be fixed at not more than 65 in the case of men and 60 in the case of women: Provided that a lower age may be fixed for persons who have worked for many years in arduous or unhealthy occupations.

(2) Payment of old-age benefit may, if the basic benefit can be considered sufficient for subsistence, be made conditional on retirement from regular work in any gainful occupation; where such retirement is required, the receipt of casual earnings of relatively small amounts should not disqualify for old-age benefit.

Death of Breadwinner
13. The contingency for which survivors' benefits should be paid is the loss of support presumably suffered by the dependants as the result of the death of the head of the family.

(1) Survivors' benefits should be paid: (a) to the widow of an insured man; (b) for the children, stepchildren, adopted children and, subject to their previous registration as dependants, illegitimate children of an insured man or of an insured woman who supported the children; and, (c) under conditions to be defined by national laws, to an unmarried woman with whom the deceased cohabited.

(2) Widow's benefit should be paid to a widow who has in her care a child for whom child's benefit is payable or who, at her husband's death or later, is an invalid or has attained the minimum age at which old-age benefit may be claimed; a widow who does not fulfil one of these conditions should be paid widow's benefit for a minimum period of several months, and thereafter if she is unemployed until suitable employment can be offered to her, after training if necessary.

(3) Child's benefit should be paid for a child who is under the school-leaving age, or who is under the age of 18 and is continuing his general or vocational education.

Unemployment
14. The contingency for which unemployment benefit should be paid is loss of earnings due to the unemployment of an insured person who is ordinarily employed,

plissement d'un âge déterminé, qui serait l'âge auquel les individus deviennent normalement inaptes à un travail efficace, l'incidence de la maladie et de l'invalidité se fait lourdement sentir et le chômage éventuel menace de devenir permanent.

1) L'âge minimum auquel le bénéfice des prestations de vieillesse peut être invoqué devrait être fixé à soixante-cinq ans pour les hommes et à soixante ans pour les femmes, au plus tard. Toutefois l'âge de la retraite peut être avancé pour certaines personnes qui auraient été occupées pendant de longues années à des travaux pénibles et insalubres.

2) Le paiement des prestations de vieillesse pourra, si la prestation de base peut être considérée comme suffisante pour assurer la subsistance, être subordonné à l'abandon de tout travail régulier dans une occupation lucrative; si cet abandon est exigé, la jouissance de gains occasionnels d'un montant relativement faible ne devrait pas entraîner l'exclusion du droit aux prestations de vieillesse.

Décès du soutien de famille
13. L'éventualité qui devrait donner lieu à prestations de décès est la perte de moyens d'existence qui est présumée avoir été subie par les personnes à charge à la suite du décès du chef de famille.

1) Les prestations de décès devraient être payées: a) à la veuve de l'assuré; b) pour les enfants, enfants du conjoint, enfants adoptifs et (sous la réserve qu'ils aient été inscrits antérieurement comme personnes à charge) enfants illégitimes d'un assuré ou d'une assurée qui les entretenait, et c) dans les conditions déterminées par la législation nationale à une femme non mariée avec laquelle le décédé cohabitait.

2) Les prestations pour veuve devraient être payées à la veuve qui a la charge d'un enfant au titre duquel sont dues des prestations pour enfants ou qui, au décès de son conjoint ou postérieurement, est invalide ou a atteint l'âge minimum auquel le bénéfice des prestations de vieillesse peut être invoqué: la veuve qui ne remplit aucune de ces conditions devrait bénéficier de prestations pour veuve pendant une période minimum de quelques mois, et ensuite si elle n'a pas d'emploi, jusqu'à ce qu'un emploi convenable puisse lui être offert, après formation lorsqu'il y aura lieu.

3) Les prestations pour enfant devraient être payées au titre d'un enfant qui n'a pas dépassé l'âge de fin de scolarité, ou, s'il poursuit ses études générales ou professionnelles, de moins de dix-huit ans.
capable of regular employment in some occupation, and seeking suitable employment, or due to part-time unemployment.

(1) Benefit need not be paid for the first few days of a period of unemployment reckoned from the date on which the claim is registered, but if unemployment recurs within a few months, a fresh waiting period should not be imposed.

(2) Benefit should continue to be paid until suitable employment is offered to the insured person.

(3) During an initial period reasonable in the circumstances of the case, only the following should be deemed to be suitable employment:

(a) employment in the usual occupation of the insured person in a place not involving a change of residence and at the current rate of wages, as fixed by collective agreements where applicable; or

(b) another employment acceptable to the insured person.

(4) After the expiration of the initial period:

(a) employment involving a change of occupation may be deemed to be suitable if the employment offered is one which may reasonably be offered to the insured person, having regard to his strength, ability, previous experience and any facilities for training available to him;

(b) employment involving a change of residence may be deemed to be suitable if suitable accommodation is available in the new place of residence;

(c) employment under conditions less favourable than the insured person habitually obtained in his usual occupation and district may be deemed to be suitable if the conditions offered conform to the standard generally observed in the occupation and district in which the employment is offered.

Emergency Expenses

15. Benefits should be provided in respect of extraordinary expenses, not otherwise covered, incurred in cases of sickness, maternity, invalidity and death.

(1) Necessary domestic help should be provided, or benefit paid for hiring it, during the hospitalisation of the mother of dependent children, if she is an insured woman or the wife of an insured man and is not receiving any benefit in lieu of earnings.

(2) A lump sum should be paid at childbirth to insured women and the wives of insured men.

Dépenses exceptionnelles

15. Des prestations devraient être fournies pour faire face à des dépenses extraordinaires nécessitantes des cas de maladie, de maternité, d'invalidité et de décès, à moins qu'il n'y soit pourvu autrement.

1) L'assistance ménagère nécessaire devrait être fournie ou une prestation payée pour la louer, durant l'hospitalisation d'une mère d'enfants à charge, si elle est assurée ou épouse d'un assuré et ne reçoit pas de prestation en remplacement de son gain.

2) Il devrait être payé une somme globale en cas d'accouchement aux femmes
of insured men towards the cost of a layette and similar expenses.

(3) A special supplement should be paid to recipients of invalidity or old-age benefit who need constant attendance.

(4) A lump sum should be paid on the death of an insured person, or of the wife, husband or dependent child of an insured person, towards the cost of burial.

Employment Injuries

16. The contingency for which compensation for an employment injury should be paid is traumatic injury or disease resulting from employment and not brought about deliberately or by the serious and willful misconduct of the victim which results in temporary or permanent incapacity or death.

(1) Injuries resulting from employment should be deemed to include accidents occurring on the way to or from the place of employment.

(2) Where compensation for an employment injury is payable, the foregoing provisions should be subject to appropriate modifications as indicated in the following paragraphs.

(3) Any disease which occurs frequently only to persons employed in certain occupations or is a poisoning caused by a substance used in certain occupations, should, if the person suffering from such a disease was engaged in such an occupation, be presumed to be of occupational origin and give rise to compensation.

(4) A list of diseases presumed to be of occupational origin should be established and should be revised from time to time by a simple procedure.

(5) In fixing any minimum period of employment in the occupation required to establish the presumption of occupational origin and any maximum period during which the presumption of occupational origin will remain valid after leaving the employment, regard should be had to the length of time required for the contraction and manifestation of the disease.

(6) Temporary incapacity compensation should be payable under conditions similar to those applicable to the payment of sickness benefit.

(7) Consideration should be given to the possibility of paying compensation from the first day of temporary incapacity if the incapacity lasts longer than the waiting period.

(8) Permanent incapacity compensation should be payable in respect of the loss or reduction of earning capacity by reason of the loss of a member or function or by reason of a chronic condition due to injury or disease.

Assurées et aux épouses des assurés pour les frais de layette et dépenses similaires.

3) Il devrait être payé un supplément spécial aux bénéficiaires de prestations d'invalidité ou de vieillesse auxquels une assistance constante est nécessaire.

4) Il devrait être payé une somme globale au décès d'un assuré, du conjoint ou d'un enfant à charge de l'assuré, pour les frais funéraires.

Lésions résultant de l'emploi

16. L'éventualité qui devrait donner lieu à réparation d'une lésion résultant de l'emploi est le traumatisme ou la maladie résultant de l'emploi non provoqués délibérément ou par une faute grave et intentionnelle de la victime, et entrainant une incapacité temporaire ou permanente ou le décès.

1) Les lésions résultant de l'emploi doivent être interprétées de manière à comprendre les accidents survenant lorsque l'assuré se rend au lieu de son travail ou en revient.

2) Lorsqu'il sera dû une réparation pour lésion résultant de l'emploi, les dispositions précédentes devraient être sujettes à des modifications appropriées selon les indications des paragraphes suivants.

3) Toute maladie dont seules les personnes employées dans certaines branches d'occupation sont fréquemment atteintes ou qui consiste en une intoxication causée par des substances utilisées dans certaines branches d'occupation devrait, si la personne atteinte d'une telle maladie était employée dans une de ces branches d'occupation, être présumée d'origine professionnelle et donner lieu à réparation.

4) Une liste des maladies présumées d'origine professionnelle devrait être établie et, en certaines occasions, soumise à revision par une procédure simple.

5) En fixant la période minimum d'emploi, dans une branche d'occupation déterminée, qui sera exigée pour établir la présomption d'une maladie d'origine professionnelle et la période maximum pendant laquelle la présomption d'origine professionnelle restera valide après la cessation de l'emploi, il y aurait lieu de prendre en considération la durée nécessaire pour que la maladie se contracte et se manifeste.

6) Une réparation d'incapacité temporaire devrait être accordée dans des conditions semblables à celles qui régissent le paiement des prestations de maladie.

7) Il conviendrait d'envisager la possibilité de payer une réparation dès le premier jour d'une incapacité temporaire si celle-ci se prolonge au delà du délai de carence.

8) Une réparation d'incapacité permanente devrait être accordée pour la perte ou la réduction de la capacité de gain, due à la perte d'un membre ou d'une fonction ou à un état chronique résultant d'une lésion ou d'une maladie.
Appendix XII: Authentic texts—Recommendations

(9) A person who becomes permanently incapacitated should be expected to resume employment in any occupation which may reasonably be indicated for him, having regard to his remaining strength and ability, his previous experience, and any facilities for training available to him.

(10) If no such employment can be offered, the person should receive compensation for total incapacity on a definitive or provisional basis.

(11) If such employment can be offered, but the sum which the person is able to earn by ordinary effort in the employment is significantly less than that which he would probably have earned had he not suffered the injury or disease, he should receive compensation for partial incapacity proportionate to the difference in earning capacity.

(12) Consideration should be given to the possibility of paying suitable compensation in every case of loss of a member or function or disfigurement, even where no reduction of capacity can be proved.

(13) Persons exposed to the risk of an occupational disease of gradual development should be examined periodically, and those for whom a change of occupation is indicated, should be eligible for compensation.

(14) Compensation for permanent incapacity, total or partial, should be paid from the time when temporary incapacity compensation ceases for the whole duration of permanent incapacity.

(15) Persons receiving compensation for permanent partial incapacity should be able to qualify for other benefits under the same conditions as able-bodied persons, where the rates of such benefits are related to the previous earnings of the insured person.

(16) Where the rates of such benefits are not related to the previous earnings of the insured person, a maximum may be fixed for the combined rate of compensation and other benefit.

(17) Survivors' compensation should, subject to the provisions of the following sub-paragraphs, be paid to the same dependants as could otherwise qualify for survivors' benefits.

(18) A widow should receive compensation for the whole duration of her widowhood.

(19) A child should receive compensation until the age of 18, or 21 if he is continuing his general or vocational education.

(20) Provision should be made for compensating other members of the family of the deceased who were dependent upon him, without prejudice to the claims of the widow and children.

9) L'assuré atteint d'incapacité permanente devrait être tenu de reprendre un emploi dans une branche d'occupation qui serait indiquée pour lui, en tenant compte des forces et aptitudes qui lui restent, de son expérience antérieure et des possibilités de rééducation à sa portée.

10) S'il ne peut lui être offert aucun emploi de cette nature, il devrait recevoir une réparation d'incapacité absolue sur une base définitive ou provisoire.

11) S'il peut lui être offert un emploi de cette nature, mais que le montant qu'il est capable de gagner par un effort ordinaire dans l'emploi soit sensiblement inférieur à celui qu'il aurait vraisemblablement gagné s'il n'avait été atteint de la blessure ou de la maladie, il devrait recevoir une réparation d'incapacité partielle proportionnelle à la différence de la capacité de gain.

12) Il conviendrait d'envisager la possibilité de payer une réparation convenable dans tout cas de perte d'un membre ou d'une fonction ou de défiguration, même lorsqu'aucune réduction de capacité de travail ne peut être prouvée.

13) Les travailleurs exposés au risque d'une maladie professionnelle à évolution lente devraient être examinés périodiquement et ceux pour lesquels un changement d'occupation paraîtrait indiqué devraient être admis à bénéficier d'une réparation.

14) La réparation de l'incapacité permanente, soit absolue, soit partielle, devrait être payée à partir de la date à laquelle cesse la réparation de l'incapacité temporaire pour toute la durée de l'incapacité permanente.

15) Les bénéficiaires d'une réparation d'incapacité permanente et partielle devraient être admis au bénéfice d'autres prestations sous les mêmes conditions que les travailleurs physiquement sains, dans les cas où les taux de ces prestations sont fonction des gains antérieurs de l'assuré.

16) Dans les cas où les taux de ces prestations ne seraient pas fonction des gains antérieurs de l'assuré, il pourrait être fixé un maximum pour le taux combiné de la réparation et des autres prestations.

17) La réparation en cas de décès devrait, sous réserve des dispositions des alinéas suivants, être payée aux ayants droit qui seraient par ailleurs qualifiés pour bénéficier des prestations de décès.

18) La veuve devrait bénéficier de la réparation pour toute la durée de son veuvage.

19) Les enfants devraient bénéficier de la réparation jusqu'à l'âge de dix-huit ans, ou vingt-et-un ans s'ils poursuivent leurs études générales ou professionnelles.

20) Il y aurait lieu de prévoir l'admission d'autres membres de la famille du décédé, qui étaient à sa charge, au bénéfice de la réparation, sans qu'il soit porté atteinte aux droits de la veuve et des enfants.
(21) The survivors of a person permanently incapacitated in the degree of two thirds or more who dies otherwise than from the effects of an employment injury should be entitled to basic survivors' benefits, whether or not the deceased fulfilled the contribution conditions for such benefit at the time of his death.

B. PERSONS COVERED

Range of Persons to Be Covered

17. Social insurance should afford protection, in the contingencies to which they are exposed, to all employed and self-employed persons, together with their dependants, in respect of whom it is practicable:

(a) to collect contributions without incurring disproportionate administrative expenditure; and
(b) to pay benefits with the necessary co-operation of medical and employment services and with due precautions against abuse.

(1) Dependent wives (that is to say, wives who are not employed or self-employed) and dependent children (that is to say, persons who are under the school-leaving age, or who are under the age of 18 and are continuing their general or vocational education) should be protected in virtue of the insurance of their breadwinners.

Collection of Contributions

18. The employer should be made responsible for collecting contributions in respect of all persons employed by him, and should be entitled to deduct the sums due by them from their remuneration at the time when it is paid.

(1) Where membership of an occupational association or the possession of a licence is compulsory for any class of self-employed persons, the association or the licensing authority may be made responsible for collecting contributions from the persons concerned.

(2) The national or local authority may be made responsible for collecting contributions from self-employed persons registered for the purpose of taxation.

(3) Pending the development of agencies to enforce payment of contributions, provision should be made for enabling self-employed persons to contribute voluntarily, either as individuals or as members of associations.

Administration of Benefits

19. In order to facilitate the efficient administration of benefits, arrangements should be made for the keeping of records of contributions, for ready means of veri-

21) Les ayants droit d'un assuré atteint d'une incapacité permanente des deux tiers ou plus, qui décède pour des causes autres que l'effet de la lésion résultant de l'emploi, devraient avoir droit aux prestations de décès de base, que l'assuré ait ou non, à la date de son décès, rempli les conditions de cotisation aux quelles est subordonné le bénéfice de ces prestations.

B. ADMISSION A L'ASSURANCE

Catégories de personnes à admettre

17. L'assurance sociale devrait accorder sa protection, dans les éventualités aux quelles ils sont exposés, à tous les salariés et travailleurs indépendants, ainsi qu'aux personnes à leur charge, à l'égard desquelles il est possible:

a) de percevoir des cotisations sans frais d'administration disproportionate, et
b) de payer des prestations avec la coopération nécessaire des services médicaux et services de l'emploi et en prenant toutes précautions contre les abus.

1) Les épouses à charge (c'est-à-dire, les épouses qui n'appartiennent pas à la catégorie des salariés ou à celles des travailleurs indépendants) et les enfants à charge (c'est-à-dire les personnes qui n'ont pas dépassé l'âge de fin de scolarité, ou les personnes de moins de dix-huit ans poursuivant des études générales ou professionnelles) devraient être protégées en vertu de l'assurance du soutien de famille.

Perception des cotisations

18. L'employeur devrait être chargé de la perception des cotisations pour toutes les personnes qu'il emploie et autorisé à déduire de leurs salaires, à l'occasion de la paye, les montants dont ils sont redevables.

1) Lorsque, pour une classe quelconque de travailleurs indépendants, l'affiliation à une association professionnelle ou l'obtention d'un permis est obligatoire, l'association, ou l'autorité qui établit le permis, pourra être chargée de la perception des cotisations de ces travailleurs.

2) L'autorité nationale ou locale pourra être chargée de la perception des cotisations des travailleurs indépendants inscrits à des fins fiscales.

3) Jusqu'à ce que des organismes soient créés pour assurer le recouvrement des cotisations, des mesures devraient être prises pour permettre aux travailleurs indépendants de cotiser facultativement, soit à titre individuel, soit comme membres d'associations.

Administration des prestations

19. En vue de faciliter la bonne administration des prestations des mesures devraient être prises pour la tenue de pièces justificatives du paiement des cotisations,
fying the presence of the contingencies which give rise to benefits, and for a parallel organisation of medical and employment services with preventive and remedial functions.

**Employed Persons**

20. Persons employed for remuneration should be insured against the whole range of contingencies covered by social insurance as soon as the collection of contributions in respect of them can be organised and the necessary arrangements can be made for the administration of benefit.

(1) Persons whose employment is so irregular, or likely to be so short in its total duration, that they are unlikely to qualify for benefit confined to employed persons, may be excluded from insurance for such benefits. Special provision should be made on behalf of persons who ordinarily work for a very short period for the same employer.

(2) Apprentices who receive no remuneration should be insured against employment injuries, and, as from the date at which they would have completed their apprenticeship for their trade, compensation based on the wages current for workers in that trade should become payable.

**Self-Employed Persons**

21. Self-employed persons should be insured against the contingencies of invalidity, old age and death under the same conditions as employed persons as soon as the collection of their contributions can be organised. Consideration should be given to the possibility of insuring them also against sickness and maternity necessitating hospitalisation, sickness which has lasted for several months, and extraordinary expenses incurred in cases of sickness, maternity, invalidity and death.

(1) Members of the employer’s family living in his house, other than his dependent wife or dependent children, should be insured against the said contingencies on the basis of either their actual wages or, if these cannot be ascertained, the market value of their services; the employer should be responsible for the payment of contributions in respect of such persons.

(2) Self-employed persons whose earnings are ordinarily so low that they can be presumed to be a merely subsidiary or casual source of income, or that payment of the minimum contribution would be a hardship for them, should be excluded provisionally from insurance and referred for counsel to the employment service or to any special service that may exist for promoting the welfare of the occupational group to which they may belong.

**Salariés**

20. Les salariés devraient être assurés contre l'ensemble des éventualités couvertes par l'assurance sociale, aussitôt que la perception des cotisations à leur égard pourra être organisée et que les arrangements nécessaires pourront être pris pour l'administration des prestations.

1) Les personnes dont l’emploi est si irrégulier ou semble devoir être d’une durée totale si courte qu’elles ne pourraient guère acquérir le droit aux prestations réservées aux salariés pourront être exclues de l’assurance en vue de ces prestations. Des dispositions spéciales devraient être prises en faveur des personnes qui ordinairement travaillent pendant un temps très court pour le même employeur.

2) Les apprentis qui ne reçoivent aucune rémunération devraient être assurés contre les lésions résultant de l’emploi et, à partir de la date à laquelle ils auraient terminé l’apprentissage de leur profession, la réparation devrait être fondée sur les salaires en vigueur dans la profession.

**Travailleurs indépendants**

21. Les travailleurs indépendants devraient être assurés contre les éventualités d’invalidité, de vieillesse et de décès dans les mêmes conditions que les salariés, aussitôt que la perception de leurs cotisations pourra être organisée. Il conviendrait d’envisager la possibilité de les assurer en outre pour les cas de maladies et de maternité nécessitant l’hospitalisation, de maladies ayant duré plusieurs mois et pour les cas de dépenses extraordinaires entraînées par la maladie, la maternité, l’invalidité ou le décès.

1) Les membres de la famille de l’employeur vivant en communauté domestique avec lui, autres que son épouse à charge et ses enfants à charge, devraient être assurés contre les mêmes éventualités sur la base soit de leurs salaires effectifs, soit, si ceux-ci ne peuvent être déterminés, de la valeur marchande de leurs services; l’employeur devrait être chargé du paiement des cotisations dues pour eux.

2) Les travailleurs indépendants dont les gains sont ordinairement si bas qu’ils peuvent être considérés seulement comme une source accessoire ou occasionnelle de revenu, ou que le paiement de la cotisation minimum constituerait pour ces travailleurs une lourde charge, devraient être exclus provisoirement de l’assurance et invités à consulter le service de l’emploi ou tout autre service institué pour développer le bien-être du groupe professionnel auquel ils appartiennent.
C. BENEFIT RATES AND CONTRIBUTION CONDITIONS

Benefit Rates

22. Benefits should replace lost earnings, with due regard to family responsibilities, up to as high a level as is practicable without impairing the will to resume work where resumption is a possibility, and without levying charges on the productive groups so heavy that output and employment are checked.

23. Benefits should be related to the previous earnings of the insured person on the basis of which he has contributed: Provided that any excess of earnings over those prevalent among skilled workers may be ignored for the purpose of determining the rate of benefits, or portions thereof, financed from sources other than the contributions of the insured person.

24. Benefits at flat rates may be appropriate for countries where adequate and economical facilities exist for the population to procure additional protection by voluntary insurance. Such benefits should be commensurate with the earnings of unskilled workers.

(1) Sickness and unemployment benefits should, in the case of unskilled workers, be not less than 40 per cent. of the previous net earnings of the insured person if he has no dependants, or 60 per cent. thereof if he has a dependent wife or housekeeper for his children; for each of not more than two dependent children, an additional 10 per cent. of such earnings, less the amount of any children's allowances for these children, should be payable.

(2) In the case of workers with high earnings, the foregoing proportions of benefit to previous earnings may be somewhat reduced.

(3) Maternity benefit should in all cases be sufficient for the full and healthy maintenance of the mother and her child: it should be not less than 100 per cent. of the current net wage for female unskilled workers or 75 per cent. of the previous net earnings of the beneficiary, whichever is the greater, but may be reduced by the amount of any child's allow-

C. TAUX DES PRESTATIONS ET CONDITIONS DE COTISATION

Taux des prestations

22. Les prestations devraient remplacer les gains perdus, les charges familiales étant dûment prises en considération, jusqu'au niveau le plus élevé qu'il soit possible d'atteindre sans affaiblir la volonté de reprendre le travail, si cette reprise est possible, et sans imposer aux groupes producteurs des charges si lourdes que le rendement et l'emploi s'en trouvent entravés.

23. Les prestations devraient être proportionnées aux gains antérieurs sur la base desquels l'assuré a cotisé. Toutefois, la fraction du gain en excédent du gain usuel des travailleurs qualifiés pourrait être négligée dans la détermination des taux de prestations ou de fractions de ces prestations imputées sur des ressources autres que les cotisations de l'assuré.

24. Des prestations à taux fixe peuvent convenir aux pays où la population peut se procurer de manière satisfaisante et économique une protection supplémentaire au moyen de l'assurance facultative. Ces prestations devraient être proportionnées aux gains des travailleurs non qualifiés.

1) Dans le cas de travailleurs non qualifiés, les prestations de maladie et de chômage ne devraient pas être inférieures à 40 pour cent du gain net antérieur de l'assuré s'il n'a pas de personnes à sa charge, et à 60 pour cent de ce gain antérieur s'il a une épouse ou une femme tenant le ménage pour ses enfants; il devrait être payé pour le premier enfant à charge, ainsi que pour le deuxième, un supplément égal à 10 pour cent de son gain antérieur, diminué du montant des allocations familiales payables éventuellement du chef de ces enfants.

2) Dans le cas de travailleurs qui réalisent des gains élevés, les pourcentages du gain antérieur fixés ci-dessus pourraient être légèrement réduits.

3) La prestation de maternité devrait en tous cas être suffisante pour permettre l'entretien complet de la mère et de l'enfant dans de bonnes conditions d'hygiène; elle ne devrait pas être inférieure à 100 pour cent du salaire net courant des travailleuses non qualifiées ou à 75 pour cent du gain net antérieur de la bénéficiaire, suivant que l'un ou l'autre des deux montants sera le plus élevé, mais pourra être réduite du montant de l'allocation fami-
Appendix XII: Authentic texts—Recommendations

(4) Basic invalidity and old-age benefits should be not less than 30 per cent. of the current wage commonly recognised for male unskilled workers in the district in which the beneficiary resides. If the beneficiary has no dependents, or 45 per cent. thereof if he has a dependent wife who would be qualified for widow’s benefit or a housekeeper for his children; for each of not more than two dependent children, an additional 10 per cent. of such wage, less the amount of any children’s allowances for these children, should be payable.

(5) Basic widow’s benefit should be not less than 30 per cent. of the current minimum wage commonly recognised for male unskilled workers in the district in which the beneficiary resides; for each of not more than three dependent children, child’s benefit at the rate of 10 per cent. of such wage, less the amount of any children’s allowances for these children, should be payable.

(6) In the case of an orphan, basic child’s benefit should be not less than 20 per cent. of the current minimum wage commonly recognised for male unskilled workers, less the amount of any child’s allowance payable in respect of the orphan.

(7) A portion of every contribution additional to those paid as a qualification for basic invalidity, old-age and survivors’ benefits may be credited to the insured person for the purpose of increasing the benefits provided for in sub-paragraphs (4), (5) and (6).

(8) In every case in which retirement is deferred beyond the minimum age at which old-age benefit could have been claimed, basic old-age benefit should be equitably increased.

(9) Compensation for employment injuries should not be less than two thirds of the wages lost, or estimated to have been lost, as the result of the injury.

(10) Such compensation should take the form of periodical payments, except in cases in which the competent authority is satisfied that the payment of a lump sum will be more advantageous to the beneficiary.

(11) Periodical payments in respect of permanent incapacity and death should be adjusted currently to significant changes in the wage level in the insured person’s previous occupation.

(12) The amount payable in respect of the child.

(13) Basic invalidity and old-age benefits should be not less than 30 per cent. of the current wage commonly recognised for male unskilled workers in the district in which the beneficiary resides. If the beneficiary has no dependents, or 45 per cent. thereof if he has a dependent wife who would be qualified for widow’s benefit or a housekeeper for his children; for each of not more than two dependent children, an additional 10 per cent. of such wage, less the amount of any children’s allowances for these children, should be payable.

(14) Basic widow’s benefit should be not less than 30 per cent. of the current minimum wage commonly recognised for male unskilled workers in the district in which the beneficiary resides; for each of not more than three dependent children, child’s benefit at the rate of 10 per cent. of such wage, less the amount of any children’s allowances for these children, should be payable.

(15) In the case of an orphan, basic child’s benefit should be not less than 20 per cent. of the current minimum wage commonly recognised for male unskilled workers, less the amount of any child’s allowance payable in respect of the orphan.

(16) A portion of every contribution additional to those paid as a qualification for basic invalidity, old-age and survivors’ benefits may be credited to the insured person for the purpose of increasing the benefits provided for in sub-paragraphs (4), (5) and (6).

(17) In every case in which retirement is deferred beyond the minimum age at which old-age benefit could have been claimed, basic old-age benefit should be equitably increased.

(18) Compensation for employment injuries should not be less than two thirds of the wages lost, or estimated to have been lost, as the result of the injury.

(19) Such compensation should take the form of periodical payments, except in cases in which the competent authority is satisfied that the payment of a lump sum will be more advantageous to the beneficiary.

(20) Periodical payments in respect of permanent incapacity and death should be adjusted currently to significant changes in the wage level in the insured person’s previous occupation.

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(24) In the case of an orphan, basic child’s benefit should be not less than 20 per cent. of the current minimum wage commonly recognised for male unskilled workers, less the amount of any child’s allowance payable in respect of the orphan.

(25) A portion of every contribution additional to those paid as a qualification for basic invalidity, old-age and survivors’ benefits may be credited to the insured person for the purpose of increasing the benefits provided for in sub-paragraphs (4), (5) and (6).

(26) In every case in which retirement is deferred beyond the minimum age at which old-age benefit could have been claimed, basic old-age benefit should be equitably increased.

(27) Compensation for employment injuries should not be less than two thirds of the wages lost, or estimated to have been lost, as the result of the injury.

(28) Such compensation should take the form of periodical payments, except in cases in which the competent authority is satisfied that the payment of a lump sum will be more advantageous to the beneficiary.

(29) Periodical payments in respect of permanent incapacity and death should be adjusted currently to significant changes in the wage level in the insured person’s previous occupation.

(30) The amount payable in respect of the child.

(31) Basic invalidity and old-age benefits should be not less than 30 per cent. of the current wage commonly recognised for male unskilled workers in the district in which the beneficiary resides. If the beneficiary has no dependents, or 45 per cent. thereof if he has a dependent wife who would be qualified for widow’s benefit or a housekeeper for his children; for each of not more than two dependent children, an additional 10 per cent. of such wage, less the amount of any children’s allowances for these children, should be payable.

(32) Basic widow’s benefit should be not less than 30 per cent. of the current minimum wage commonly recognised for male unskilled workers in the district in which the beneficiary resides; for each of not more than three dependent children, child’s benefit at the rate of 10 per cent. of such wage, less the amount of any children’s allowances for these children, should be payable.

(33) In the case of an orphan, basic child’s benefit should be not less than 20 per cent. of the current minimum wage commonly recognised for male unskilled workers, less the amount of any child’s allowance payable in respect of the orphan.

(34) A portion of every contribution additional to those paid as a qualification for basic invalidity, old-age and survivors’ benefits may be credited to the insured person for the purpose of increasing the benefits provided for in sub-paragraphs (4), (5) and (6).

(35) In every case in which retirement is deferred beyond the minimum age at which old-age benefit could have been claimed, basic old-age benefit should be equitably increased.

(36) Compensation for employment injuries should not be less than two thirds of the wages lost, or estimated to have been lost, as the result of the injury.

(37) Such compensation should take the form of periodical payments, except in cases in which the competent authority is satisfied that the payment of a lump sum will be more advantageous to the beneficiary.

(38) Periodical payments in respect of permanent incapacity and death should be adjusted currently to significant changes in the wage level in the insured person’s previous occupation.

(39) The amount payable in respect of the child.

(40) Basic invalidity and old-age benefits should be not less than 30 per cent. of the current wage commonly recognised for male unskilled workers in the district in which the beneficiary resides. If the beneficiary has no dependents, or 45 per cent. thereof if he has a dependent wife who would be qualified for widow’s benefit or a housekeeper for his children; for each of not more than two dependent children, an additional 10 per cent. of such wage, less the amount of any children’s allowances for these children, should be payable.

(41) Basic widow’s benefit should be not less than 30 per cent. of the current minimum wage commonly recognised for male unskilled workers in the district in which the beneficiary resides; for each of not more than three dependent children, child’s benefit at the rate of 10 per cent. of such wage, less the amount of any children’s allowances for these children, should be payable.

(42) In the case of an orphan, basic child’s benefit should be not less than 20 per cent. of the current minimum wage commonly recognised for male unskilled workers, less the amount of any child’s allowance payable in respect of the orphan.

(43) A portion of every contribution additional to those paid as a qualification for basic invalidity, old-age and survivors’ benefits may be credited to the insured person for the purpose of increasing the benefits provided for in sub-paragraphs (4), (5) and (6).

(44) In every case in which retirement is deferred beyond the minimum age at which old-age benefit could have been claimed, basic old-age benefit should be equitably increased.

(45) Compensation for employment injuries should not be less than two thirds of the wages lost, or estimated to have been lost, as the result of the injury.

(46) Such compensation should take the form of periodical payments, except in cases in which the competent authority is satisfied that the payment of a lump sum will be more advantageous to the beneficiary.

(47) Periodical payments in respect of permanent incapacity and death should be adjusted currently to significant changes in the wage level in the insured person’s previous occupation.
Contribution Conditions

25. The right to benefits other than compensation for employment injuries should be subject to contribution conditions designed to prove that the normal status of the claimant is that of an employed or self-employed person and to maintain reasonable regularity in the payment of contributions: Provided that a person shall not be disqualified for benefits by reason of the failure of his employer duly to collect the contributions payable in respect of him.

(1) The contribution conditions for sickness, maternity and unemployment benefits may include the requirement that contributions shall have been paid in respect of at least a quarter of a prescribed period, such as two years, completed before the contingency occurs.

(2) The contribution conditions for maternity benefit may include the requirement that the first contribution shall have been paid at least ten months before the expected date of confinement, but even though the contribution conditions are not fulfilled, maternity benefit at the minimum rate should be paid during the period of compulsory abstinence from work after confinement, if the claimant's normal status appears, after consideration of the case, to be that of an employed person.

(3) The contribution conditions for basic invalidity, old-age and survivors' benefits may include the requirement that contributions shall have been paid in respect of at least two-fifths of a prescribed period, such as five years, completed before the contingency occurs; payment of contributions in respect of not less than three-quarters of a prescribed period, such as ten years, or of any longer period which has elapsed since entry into insurance, should be recognised as an alternative qualification for benefit.

(4) The contribution conditions for old-age benefit may include the requirement that the first contribution shall have been paid at least five years before the claim for benefit is made.

(5) The right to benefit may be suspended where an insured person wilfully fails to pay any contribution due by him in respect of any period of self-employment or to pay any penalty imposed for late payment of contributions.

(6) The insurance status of an insured person at the date when he becomes entitled to invalidity or old-age benefit should be maintained during the currency of such benefit for the purposes of ensuring, in the event of recovery from invalidity, as full protection under the

Conditions de cotisation

25. Le droit aux prestations autres que la réparation des lésions résultant de l'emploi devrait être subordonné à des conditions de cotisation permettant de vérifier que le statut normal du requérant est bien celui de salarié ou de travailleur indépendant et de maintenir une régularité satisfaisante dans le paiement des cotisations; toutefois, l'assuré ne pourra être déchu du droit aux prestations en raison du fait que l'employeur a négligé de percevoir régulièrement les cotisations payables pour lui.

1) Les conditions de cotisation pour les prestations de maladie, de maternité et de chômage pourront comprendre l'obligation d'avoir payé des cotisations pour le quart au moins d'une période déterminée, qui pourrait être fixée à deux ans, accomplie avant que l'éventualité se produise.

2) Les conditions de cotisation pour les prestations de maternité pourront comprendre la condition que la première cotisation ait été payée dix mois au moins avant la date probable de l'accouchement; toutefois, même si les conditions de cotisation ne sont pas remplies, les prestations de maternité devraient être fournies au taux minimum pour la période d'abstention obligatoire de travail après l'accouchement, si le statut normal de la requérante paraît, après examen du cas, être celui de salariée.

3) Les conditions de cotisation pour les prestations de base d'invalidité, de vieillesse et de décès pourront comprendre l'obligation d'avoir payé des cotisations pour les deux cinquièmes au moins d'une période déterminée, qui pourrait être fixée à cinq ans, accomplie avant que l'éventualité se produise; toutefois, le droit aux prestations serait également acquis par le paiement de cotisations pour les trois quarts au moins d'une période déterminée, qui pourrait être fixée à dix ans, ou de la période plus longue écoulée depuis l'admission à l'assurance.

4) Les conditions de cotisation pour les prestations de vieillesse pourront comprendre la condition que la première cotisation ait été payée cinq ans au moins avant que le bénéfice de la prestation soit invoqué.

5) Le droit aux prestations pourra être suspendu lorsque l'assuré négligera intentionnellement de payer des cotisations dues par lui pour une période d'activité indépendante ou de payer une amende infligée pour retard dans le paiement des cotisations.

6) Le statut d'assurance d'un assuré à la date de son admission au bénéfice des prestations d'invalidité ou de vieillesse devrait être maintenu tant qu'il reçoit ces prestations, afin que, au cas où il serait rétabli de son invalidité, la protection du régime lui soit assurée aussi complète-
scheme as he was entitled to on the occurrence of the invalidity, and of entitling his survivors to survivors' benefits.

D. DISTRIBUTION OF COST

26. The cost of benefits, including the cost of administration, should be distributed among insured persons, employers and tax-payers, in such a way as to be equitable to insured persons and to avoid hardship to insured persons of small means or any disturbance to production.

(1) The contribution of an insured person should not exceed such proportion of his earnings taken into account for reckoning benefits as, applied to the estimated average earnings of all persons insured against the same contingencies, would yield a contribution income the probable present value of which would equal the probable present value of the benefits to which they may become entitled (excluding compensation for employment injuries).

(2) In accordance with this principle the contributions of employed persons and self-employed persons for the same benefits may, as a rule, represent the same proportion of their respective earnings.

(3) A minimum absolute rate, based on the minimum rate of earnings which may be deemed to be indicative of substantial gainful work, may be prescribed for the insured person's contribution with respect to benefits the whole or part of which does not vary with the rate of previous earnings.

(4) Employers should be required to contribute, particularly by subsidising the insurance of low-wage earners, not less than half the total cost of benefits confined to employed persons, excluding compensation for employment injuries.

(5) The entire cost of compensation for employment injuries should be contributed by employers.

(6) Consideration should be given to the possibility of applying some method of merit rating in the calculation of contributions in respect of compensation for employment injuries.

(7) The rates of contribution of insured persons and employers should be kept as stable as possible, and for this purpose a stabilisation fund should be constituted.

(8) The cost of benefits which cannot properly be met by contributions should be covered by the community.

(9) Among the elements of cost which may be charged to the community may be mentioned:

D. RÉPARTITION DES FRAIS

26. Les frais de prestations, y compris les frais d'administration, devraient être répartis entre les assurés, les employeurs et les contribuables dans des conditions équitables pour les assurés et propres à éparger des charges trop lourdes aux assurés de ressources modestes et à éviter toute perturbation à la production.

1) La cotisation de l'assuré ne devrait pas excéder une proportion de ses gains pris en compte pour le calcul des prestations, fixée de telle sorte que, appliquée aux gains moyens évalués de toutes les personnes assurées contre les mêmes éventualités, elle fournirait un revenu de cotisations dont la valeur actuelle probable égalerait la valeur actuelle probable des prestations auxquelles elles pourraient acquérir droit (à l'exclusion de la réparation des lésions résultant de l'emploi).

2) Conformément à ce principe, les cotisations payées par les salariés et par les travailleurs indépendants en vue des mêmes prestations pourront, en règle générale, représenter la même proportion de leurs gains respectifs.

3) Un taux minimum absolu, fondé sur le taux minimum de gains qui peut être considéré comme correspondant à une occupation comportant une rémunération appréciable, pourra être prescrit pour la cotisation de l'assuré en ce qui concerne les prestations entièrement ou partiellement indépendantes du taux des gains antérieurs.

4) Les employeurs devraient être astreints à fournir, notamment en subventionnant l'assurance des travailleurs à salaires bas, la moitié au moins du coût total des prestations réservées aux salariés, à l'exception de la réparation des lésions résultant de l'emploi.

5) La totalité des frais de réparation des lésions résultant de l'emploi devrait être à la charge des employeurs.

6) Il conviendrait d'envisager la possibilité d'appliquer, dans le calcul des cotisations à payer en vue de la réparation des lésions résultant de l'emploi, quelque méthode de classification des entreprises d'après l'extension des mesures de protection.

7) Les taux de cotisation des assurés et des employeurs devraient être maintenus aussi stables que possible, et à cette fin un fonds de stabilisation devrait être constitué.

8) Les frais de prestations qui ne seraient pas couverts par les cotisations devraient être supportés par la communauté.

9) Parmi les éléments de frais à couvrir par la communauté peuvent figurer:
(a) the contribution deficit resulting from bringing persons into insurance when already elderly;
(b) the contingent liability involved in guaranteeing the payment of basic invalidity, old-age and survivors' benefits and the payment of adequate maternity benefit;
(c) the liability resulting from the continued payment of unemployment benefit when unemployment persists at an excessive level; and
(d) subsidies to the insurance of self-employed persons of small means.

E. Administration

27. The administration of social insurance should be unified or co-ordinated within a general system of social security services, and contributors should, through their organisations, be represented on the bodies which determine or advise upon administrative policy and propose legislation or frame regulations.

(1) Social insurance should be administered under the direction of a single authority, subject, in federal countries, to the distribution of legislative competence; this authority should be associated with the authorities administering social assistance, medical care services and employment services in a co-ordinating body for matters of common interest, such as the certification of inability to work or to obtain work.

(2) The unified administration of social insurance should be compatible with the operation of separate insurance schemes, compulsory or voluntary in character, providing supplementary, but not alternative, benefits for certain occupational groups, such as miners and seamen, public officials, the staffs of individual undertakings and members of mutual benefit societies.

(3) The law and regulations relating to social insurance should be drafted in such a way that beneficiaries and contributors can easily understand their rights and duties.

(4) In devising procedures to be followed by beneficiaries and contributors, simplicity should be a primary consideration.

(5) Central and regional advisory councils, representing such bodies as trade unions, employers' associations, chambers of commerce, farmers' associations, women's associations and child protection societies, should be established for the purpose of making recommendations for the amendment of the law and administrative methods, and generally of maintaining contact between the administration of social insurance and the contribution deficit resulting from the admission to the insurance of persons of an age already advanced;
(b) the charges consécutives qu'entraîne la garantie du paiement des prestations de base d'invalidité, de vieillesse et de décès et du paiement de prestations de maternité suffisantes;
(c) la charge résultant de la prolongation du paiement des prestations de chô mage, quand le chômage persiste à un niveau élevé;
(d) les subventions versées pour l'assurance des travailleurs indépendants de ressources modestes.

E. Gestion

27. La gestion des assurances sociales devrait être unifiée ou coordonnée dans un système général de services de sécurité sociale et les cotisants devraient être représentés par l'entremise de leurs organisations aux organes qui arrêtent ou conseillent les lignes générales de la gestion et qui présentent des projets législatifs ou établissent les règlements.

1) Les assurances sociales devraient être gérées sous la direction d'une seule autorité, sous réserve, dans les pays fédératifs, de la répartition des pouvoirs législatifs; cette autorité devrait être associée avec les autorités qui gèrent l'assistance sociale, les services de soins médicaux et les services d'emploi en un organe de coordination pour les questions d'intérêt commun, telles que l'attestation de l'incapacité de travailler ou d'obtenir un emploi.

2) La gestion unifiée des assurances sociales devrait être compatible avec le fonctionnement de régimes spéciaux d'assurance, de caractère soit obligatoire, soit facultatif, ayant pour objet de fournir des prestations complétant, sans pouvoir s'y substituer, les prestations versées à certains groupes professionnels, tels que les mineurs et marins, les fonctionnaires, le personnel d'entreprises déterminées, et les membres de sociétés de secours mutuels.

3) La législation d'assurance sociale devrait être conçue de telle sorte que les bénéficiaires et les cotisants puissent aisément acquérir la compréhension de leurs droits et devoirs.

4) Pour l'établissement des procédures que doivent suivre les bénéficiaires et les cotisants, la simplicité devrait être l'un des principaux objets à considérer.

5) Il devrait être institué des conseils consultatifs centraux et régionaux, représentant des organes tels que les syndicats, associations d'employeurs, chambres de commerce, associations d'agriculteurs, associations féminines et sociétés pour la protection de l'enfance, en vue de présenter des recommandations pour la modification des lois et des méthodes administratives et, en général, de maintenir le con-
cial insurance and groups of contributors and beneficiaries.

(6) Employers and workers should be closely associated with the administration of compensation for employment injuries, particularly in connection with the prevention of accidents and occupational diseases and with merit rating.

(7) Claimants should have a right of appeal in case of dispute with the administrative authority concerning such questions as the right to benefit and the rate thereof.

(8) Appeals should preferably be referred to special tribunals, which should include referees who are experts in social insurance law, assisted by assessors, representative of the group to which the claimant belongs, and, where employed persons are concerned, by representatives of employers also.

(9) In any dispute concerning liability to insurance or the rate of contribution, for an employed or self-employed person, and where an employer’s contribution is in question, an employer should have a right of appeal.

(10) Provision for uniformity of interpretation should be assured by a superior appeal tribunal.

II. SOCIAL ASSISTANCE

A. MAINTENANCE OF CHILDREN

28. Society should normally co-operate with parents through general measures of assistance designed to secure the well-being of dependent children.

(1) Public subsidies in kind or in cash or in both should be established in order to assure the healthy nurture of children, help to maintain large families, and complete the provision made for children through social insurance.

(2) Where the purpose in view is to assure the healthy nurture of children, subsidies should take the form of such advantages as free or below-cost infants’ food and school meals and below-cost dwellings for families with several children.

(3) Where the purpose in view is to help to maintain large families or to complete the provision made for children by subsidies in kind and through social insurance, subsidies should take the form of children’s allowances.

(4) Such allowances should be payable, irrespective of the parents’ income, ac-
tact entre la gestion de l'assurance sociale et les groupes de cotisants et de bénéficiaires.

6) Les employeurs et les salariés devraient être étroitement associés à la gestion de la réparation des lésions résultant de l'emploi, notamment dans le domaine de la prévention des accidents et des maladies professionnelles et dans celui de la classification des entreprises d’après l'extension des mesures de protection.

7) Les requérants devraient avoir un droit d’appel en cas de litige avec l’autorité de gestion au sujet de questions telles que le droit aux prestations et le taux de celles-ci.

8) Les appels devraient de préférence être portés devant des tribunaux spéciaux, comprenant des juges experts en législation d’assurances sociales, assistés par des assesseurs, représentant le groupe auquel appartient l’appelant et, s’il s’agit de salariés, également par des représentants des employeurs.

9) Dans tout litige concernant l’assujettissement à l’assurance ou le taux de cotisation, le salarié ou le travailleur indépendant devrait avoir un droit d’appel, ainsi que l’employeur dans le cas où il s’agirait d’une cotisation d’employeur.

10) L’uniformité de l’interprétation devrait être assurée par un tribunal supérieur d’appel.

II. ASSISTANCE SOCIALE

A. ENTRETIEN DES ENFANTS

28. La société devrait normalement co-opérer avec les parents par des mesures générales d’assistance destinées à assurer le bien-être des enfants à charge.

1) Il devrait être institué des subventions publiques en nature ou en espèces ou sous les deux formes, pour permettre d’élever les enfants dans des conditions saines, aider à l’entretien des familles nombreuses et compléter les dispositions en faveur des enfants établies sous le régime de l’assurance sociale.

2) Lorsque l’objet visé est de permettre d’élever les enfants dans des conditions saines, les subventions devraient prendre la forme d’avantages tels qu’aliments gratuits ou au-dessous du prix de revient pour les enfants en bas âge, cantines scolaires et habitations au-dessous du loyer normal, pour les familles ayant plusieurs enfants.

3) Lorsque l’objet visé est d’aider à l’entretien des familles nombreuses ou de compléter les dispositions en faveur des enfants, soit prévoyant des avantages en nature, soit établies sous le régime de l’assurance sociale, les subventions devraient prendre la forme d’allocations familiales.

4) Ces allocations devraient être payées, quel que soit le revenu des parents,
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(c)ording to a prescribed scale, which should represent a substantial contribution to the cost of maintaining a child, should allow for the higher cost of maintaining older children, and should, as a minimum, be granted to all children for whom no provision is made through social insurance.

(5) Society as a whole should accept responsibility for the maintenance of dependent children in so far as parental responsibility for maintaining them cannot be enforced.

B. MAINTENANCE OF NEEDY INVALIDS, AGED PERSONS AND WIDOWS

29. Invalids, aged persons and widows who are not receiving social insurance benefits because they or their husbands, as the case may be, were not compulsorily insured, and whose incomes do not exceed a prescribed level, should be entitled to special maintenance allowances at prescribed rates.

(1) The persons who should be entitled to maintenance allowances should include:

(a) persons belonging to occupational groups, or residing in districts to which social insurance does not yet apply, or has not yet applied for as long as the qualifying period for basic invalidity, old-age or survivors' benefits, as the case may be, and the widows and dependent children of such person; and

(b) persons who are already invalids at the time when they would normally enter insurance.

(2) Maintenance allowances should be sufficient for full, long-term maintenance; they should vary with the current cost of living, and may vary as between urban and rural areas.

(3) Maintenance allowances should be paid at the full rate to persons whose other income does not exceed a prescribed level and at reduced rates in other cases.

(b) The provisions of the present Recommendation defining the contingencies in which invalidity, old-age and survivors' benefits should be paid should be applied, in so far as they are relevant, to maintenance allowances.

C. GENERAL ASSISTANCE

30. Appropriate allowances in cash or partly in cash and partly in kind should be provided for all persons who are in want and do not require interment for corrective care.
(1) The range of cases in which the amount of the allowance is entirely discretionary should be gradually narrowed as the result of the improved classification of cases of want, and the establishment of budgets corresponding to the cost of maintenance in short-term and long-term indigency.

(2) The grant of allowance may be subject to compliance by the recipient with directions given by the authorities administering medical or employment services in order that the assistance may yield its greatest constructive effect.

RECOMMENDATION [No. 68] CONCERNING INCOME SECURITY AND MEDICAL CARE FOR PERSONS DISCHARGED FROM THE ARMED FORCES AND ASSIMILATED SERVICES AND FROM WAR EMPLOYMENT.

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,
Having been convened at Philadelphia by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Twenty-sixth Session on 20 April 1944, and
Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to income security and medical care for persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services and from war employment, which is included in the third item on the agenda of the Session, and
Having determined that these proposals shall take the form of a Recommendation,
adopts, this twelfth day of May, of the year one thousand nine hundred and forty-four, the following Recommendation which may be cited as the Social Security (Armed Forces) Recommendation, 1944:

Whereas persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services have been obliged to interrupt their careers and will be faced with initial expenditure in re-establishing themselves in civil life; and
 Whereas persons discharged from the armed forces or assimilated services or from war employment may in certain cases remain unemployed for a time before obtaining suitable employment; and

1) Le champ des cas dans lesquels le montant de l'allocation est fixé de manière entièrement discrétionnaire devrait être graduellement rétréci en conséquence de la classification améliorée des cas de besoin ainsi que de l'établissement de budgets afférents aux frais de subsistance pour l'indigence de courte ou de longue durée.

2) L'attribution d'allocations pourra être subordonnée à l'exécution par le bénéficiaire d'instructions données par les autorités qui gèrent les services médicaux et les services de l'emploi, afin que l'assistance produise le maximum d'effet constructif.

La Conférence générale de l'Organisation internationale du Travail,
Convoquée à Philadelphie par le Conseil d'administration du Bureau international du Travail, et s'y étant réunie le 20 avril 1944 en sa vingt-sixième session,
Après avoir décidé d'adopter diverses propositions relatives à la garantie des moyens d'existence et aux soins médicaux pour les personnes congédiées des forces armées et services assimilés et des emplois de guerre, question qui est comprise dans le troisième point à l'ordre du jour de la session,
Après avoir décidé que ces propositions prendraient la forme d'une recommandation,
adopte, ce douzième jour de mai mil neuf cent quarante-quatre, la recommandation ci-après, qui sera dnommée Recommandation sur la sécurité sociale (forces armées), 1944:

Considérant que les personnes congédiées des forces armées et services assimilés ont été obligées d'interrompre leur carrière et auront à faire face à une dépense initiale pour s'établir à nouveau dans la vie civile;

Considérant que les personnes congédiées des forces armées et services assimilés et des emplois de guerre risquent, dans certains cas, de rester en chômage pendant quelque temps avant d'obtenir un emploi convenable;
Whereas it is undesirable that persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services should find themselves at a disadvantage in respect of pension insurance as compared with persons who have remained in civil employment, and the Invalidity, Old-Age and Survivors' Insurance Recommendation, 1933, while providing for the maintenance of the rights under pension insurance schemes of persons engaged in military service who were insured before beginning such service, does not provide for the attribution of any rights under such schemes to persons not insured before entering military service; and

Whereas it is desirable that persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services should be protected by insurance in respect of sickness occurring between their discharge and their re-establishment in civil life by entry into insurable employment or otherwise; and

Whereas it is necessary to make equitable provision in regard to these matters, without prejudice to the satisfaction of other essential needs, such as those of military and civilian war victims, which must also be a charge on the national income:

The Conference recommends the Members of the Organisation to apply the following principles and to communicate information to the International Labour Office, as requested by the Governing Body, concerning the measures taken to give effect to these principles:

I. MUSTERING-OUT GRANT

1. Persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services should, except in cases in which they have, in virtue of national laws or regulations, continued to receive a substantial part of their remuneration, receive on their discharge a special grant, which may be related to their length of service and should be paid in the form of a lump sum, in the form of periodical payments, or partly in the form of a lump sum and partly in the form of periodical payments.

II. UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE AND ASSISTANCE

2. Persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services should, so far as is administratively practicable, be treated under unemployment insurance schemes as insured contributors in respect of whom contributions have been paid for a period equal to their period of service. The resulting financial liability should be borne by the State.

Considérant qu'il n'est pas désirable que les personnes congédiées des forces armées et services assimilés se trouvent désavantagées dans les régimes d'assurance-pension par rapport aux personnes qui sont restées dans un emploi civil, et que la Recommandation sur l'assurance-invalidité-vieillesse-décès, 1933, tout en prévoyant le maintien, pendant les périodes de service militaire, des droits à pension des personnes qui étaient assurées avant l'entrée en service, ne prévoit l'attribution d'aucun droit, en vertu de ces régimes, aux personnes qui n'étaient pas assurées avant leur entrée au service militaire;

Considérant qu'il est désirable que les personnes congédiées des forces armées et services assimilés soient protégées par l'assurance en ce qui concerne les maladies dont elles peuvent être atteintes entre leur mise en congé et leur réinstallation dans la vie civile à la suite de leur entrée dans un emploi assujetti à l'assurance ou de toute autre manière;

Considérant qu'il est nécessaire de prévoir des mesures équitables pour faire face à ces diverses éventualités sans préjudice de la satisfaction d'autres besoins essentiels, tels que ceux des victimes de la guerre militaire et civile, qui doit aussi être à la charge du revenu national;

La Conférence recommande aux Membres de l'Organisation d'appliquer les principes suivants et de communiquer au Bureau international du Travail les informations que le Conseil d'administration décidera de demander sur les mesures prises pour mettre ces principes en application:

I. ALLOCATION DE DÉMobilisation

1. Les personnes congédiées des forces armées et services assimilés, devraient à moins qu'elles n'aient continué à recevoir, en vertu de la législation nationale, une fraction importante de leur salaire, recevoir, au moment de leur mise en congé, une allocation spéciale dont le montant pourrait être proportionné à la durée de leur service et dont le paiement devrait prendre la forme soit d'un versement global, soit de versements périodiques, soit d'un versement global combiné avec des versements périodiques.

II. ASSURANCE ET ASSISTANCE CHÔMAGE

2. Les personnes congédiées des forces armées et services assimilés devraient, pour autant que cela est administrativement possible, être traitées, pour l'application des systèmes d'assurance-chômage, comme des travailleurs assurés pour le compte desquels des cotisations auraient été payées pendant une période égale à la durée de leur service. Les charges financières qui en résultent devraient être assumées par l'État.
III. Pension and Sickness Insurance

4. (1) Where a compulsory insurance scheme providing pensions in case of invalidity, old age or death and covering a substantial part of the working population is in force, periods of service in the armed forces and assimilated services should be reckoned as contribution periods for the purpose of determining whether any requirement in regard to a minimum qualifying period has been fulfilled.

(2) Where the rate of pension varies with the number of contributions credited to the insured person, the period of service should be taken into account for the purpose of increasing the rate of pension.

(3) Where contributions are graduated according to remuneration, contributions should be credited in respect of periods of service on the basis of a uniform hypothetical remuneration of reasonable amount: Provided that contributions credited to persons insured immediately before the beginning of their service may be based on the remuneration which they were receiving at the time if such remuneration was higher than the hypothetical remuneration.

(4) Persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services should retain, during the period between their discharge and the time at which they can be considered to be re-established in civil life, their rights in respect of the contributions credited to their account; these rights should be maintained for a period of not less than twelve months.

5. (1) Where a compulsory insurance scheme providing sickness, maternity and medical benefits and covering a substantial part of the working population is in force, persons discharged from the armed forces and assimilated services should be entitled to such benefits in respect of sickness or childbirth occurring during the period between their discharge and the time at which they can be considered to be re-established in civil life; these rights

III. Assurance-Pension et assurance-maladie

4. 1) Lorsqu’un système d’assurance obligatoire, prévoyant des pensions en cas d’invalidité, de vieillesse ou de décès et couvrant une partie importante de la population active, est en vigueur, la durée de service accomplie dans les forces armées et services assimilés devrait être considérée comme période de cotisation pour déterminer si les conditions relatives à l’accomplissement d’un stage d’assurance sont remplies.

2) Lorsque le taux de pension varie en fonction du nombre des cotisations portées au compte de l’assuré, la durée de service devrait être prise en compte pour la majoration du taux de pension.

3) Lorsque les cotisations sont graduées d’après la rémunération, des cotisations devraient être portées au compte de l’intéressé, au titre de la durée de son service, sur la base d’une rémunération fictive uniforme d’un montant raisonnable. Toutefois, les cotisations portées au compte d’une personne qui était assimilée immédiatement avant le début de son service pourront être basées sur la rémunération qu’elle recevait alors, si cette rémunération était plus élevée que la rémunération fictive.

4) Les personnes congédiées des forces armées et services assimilés devraient conserver, durant la période comprise entre leur mise en congé et la date à laquelle elles peuvent être considérées comme réinstallées dans la vie civile, les droits découlant des cotisations portées à leur compte; ces droits devraient être maintenus pour une période non inférieure à douze mois.

5. 1) Lorsqu’un système d’assurance obligatoire, prévoyant des indemités de maladie, de maternité et une assistance médicale et couvrant une partie importante de la population active, est en vigueur, les personnes congédiées des forces armées et services assimilés devraient avoir droit à ces prestations en cas de maladie ou d’accouchement survenant au cours de la période comprise entre leur mise en congé et la date à laquelle elles
should be maintained for a period of not less than twelve months.

(2) Where the compulsory insurance scheme provides maternity and medical benefits for the dependants of insured persons, discharged persons protected by the scheme should be entitled to such benefits for their dependants.

(3) Where the rate of sickness benefits is proportional to the remuneration of the insured person, the rate of benefit payable to discharged persons should be based on a uniform hypothetical remuneration of reasonable amount.

6. (1) The State should bear the liability created by crediting persons serving in the armed forces or assimilated services with pension insurance contributions and insure them against sickness pending their re-establishment in civil life: Provided that, where the pay of any class of such persons may, having regard to the value of their subsistence and of dependants' allowances, be considered at least equivalent on the whole to the wages prevailing in industry, a portion of the pension insurance contribution may be deducted from their service pay.

(2) The provisions of sub-paragraph (1) shall not apply in cases where, in virtue of national laws or regulations, such persons continue to receive, during their service, a substantial part of their remuneration, and the normal contributions required by law continue to be payable in respect of them.

RECOMMENDATION [No. 69] CONCERNING MEDICAL CARE.

La Conférence générale de l'Organisation internationale du Travail,

Convoquée à Philadelphie par le Conseil d'administration du Bureau international du Travail, et s'y étant réunie le 20 avril 1944 en sa vingt-sixième session,

Après avoir décidé d'adopter diverses propositions relatives à la question des services de soins médicaux, question qui est comprise dans le quatrième point à l'ordre du jour de la session,
Having determined that these proposals shall take the form of a Recommendation,

adopts, this twelfth day of May of the year one thousand nine hundred and forty-four, the following Recommendation which may be cited as the Medical Care Recommendation, 1944:

Whereas the Atlantic Charter contemplates "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

Whereas the Conference of the International Labour Organisation, by a resolution adopted on 5 November 1941, endorsed this principle of the Atlantic Charter and pledged the full co-operation of the International Labour Organisation in its implementation; and

Whereas the availability of adequate medical care is an essential element in social security; and

Whereas the International Labour Organisation has promoted the development of medical care services—

by the inclusion of requirements relating to medical care in the Workmen's Compensation (Accidents) Convention, 1925, and the Sickness Insurance (Industry, etc.) and (Agriculture) Conventions, 1927,

by the communication to the Members of the Organisation by the Governing Body of the conclusions of meetings of experts relating to public health and health insurance in periods of economic depression, the economical administration of medical and pharmaceutical benefits under sickness insurance schemes, and guiding principles for curative and preventive action by invalidity, old-age and widows' and orphans' insurance,

by the adoption by the First and Second Labour Conferences of American States of the resolutions constituting the Inter-American Social Insurance Code, by the participation of a delegation of the Governing Body in the First Inter-American Conference on Social Security which adopted the Declaration of Santiago de Chile, and by the approval by the Governing Body of the Statute of the Inter-American Conference on Social Security, established as a permanent agency of co-operation between social security administrations and institutions acting in concert with the International Labour Office, and

Considérant que la Charte de l'Atlantique envisage "la collaboration la plus complète entre toutes les nations dans le domaine économique en vue de procurer à tous de meilleures conditions de travail, le progrès économique et la sécurité sociale";

Considérant que la Conférence de l'Organisation internationale du Travail a, par une résolution adoptée le 5 novembre 1941, appuyé ce principe de la Charte de l'Atlantique et promis la pleine collaboration de l'Organisation internationale du Travail pour le traduire en actes;

Considérant que la possibilité de bénéficier de soins médicaux adéquats est un élément essentiel de la sécurité sociale;

Considérant que l'Organisation internationale du Travail a encouragé le développement des services de soins médicaux—

par l'insertion de prescriptions relatives aux soins médicaux dans la convention concernant la réparation des accidents du travail, 1925, et dans les conventions concernant l'assurance-maladie (industrie, etc.) et l'assurance-maladie (agriculture), 1927,

par la communication aux Membres de l'Organisation par le Conseil d'administration des conclusions de réunions d'experts relatives à la santé publique et à l'assurance-maladie en période de dépression économique, à l'organisation économique des prestations médicales et pharmaceutiques dans l'assurance-maladie ainsi qu'à des principes directeurs pour l'action préventive et curative dans les domaines de l'assurance-invalidité—vieillesse-décès,

par l'adoption par les première et deuxième Conférences du Travail des Etats d'Amérique de résolutions constituant le Code interaméricain d'assurance sociale, la participation d'une délégation du Conseil d'administration à la première Conférence interaméricaine de sécurité sociale, qui a adopté la Déclaration de Santiago du Chili, et l'approbation par le Conseil d'administration du Statut de la Conférence interaméricaine de sécurité sociale instituée en qualité d'organe permanent de collaboration entre les administrations et institutions de sécurité sociale, agissant de concert avec le Bureau international du Travail, et
by the participation of the International Labour Office in an advisory capacity in the framing of social insurance schemes in a number of countries and by other measures; and

Whereas some Members have not taken such steps as are within their competence to improve the health of the people by the extension of medical facilities, the development of public health programmes, the spread of health education, and the improvement of nutrition and housing, although their need in that respect is greatest, and it is highly desirable that such Members take all steps as soon as possible to reach the international minimum standards and to develop these standards; and

Whereas it is now desirable to take further steps for the improvement and unification of medical care services, the extension of such services to all workers and their families, including rural populations and the self-employed, and the elimination of inequitable anomalies, without prejudice to the right of any beneficiary of the medical care service who so desires to arrange privately at his own expense for medical care; and

Whereas the formulation of certain general principles which should be followed by Members of the Organisation in developing their medical care services along these lines will contribute to this end:

The Conference recommends the Members of the Organisation to apply the following principles, as rapidly as national conditions allow, in developing their medical care services with a view to the implementation of the fifth principle of the Atlantic Charter, and to report to the International Labour Office, as requested by the Governing Body, concerning the measures taken to give effect to these principles.

I. GENERAL

Essential Features of a Medical Care Service

1. A medical care service should meet the need of the individual for care by members of the medical and allied professions and for such other facilities as are provided at medical institutions:

(a) with a view to restoring the individual's health, preventing the further development of disease and alleviating suffering, when he is afflicted by ill health (curative care); and

par la participation du Bureau international du Travail, à titre de conseiller, à l'élaboration de régimes d'assurance sociale dans nombre de pays, ainsi que par d'autres mesures;

Considérant que certains Membres n'ont pas pris les mesures qui sont de leur compétence pour améliorer la santé de la population par l'extension des possibilités d'obtenir des soins médicaux, l'élaboration de programmes de santé publique, l'extension de l'enseignement de l'hygiène et l'amélioration de l'alimentation et du logement, bien que leurs besoins sous ces rapports soient les plus grands, et qu'il est hautement désiré que ces Membres prennent toutes les mesures nécessaires aussitôt que possible pour atteindre aux normes minima internationales et pour développer ces normes;

Considérant qu'il est d'ores et déjà désirable d'adopter de nouvelles mesures pour l'amélioration et l'unification des services de soins médicaux, l'extension de ces services à tous les travailleurs et à leurs familles, y compris la population rurale et les travailleurs indépendants, et l'élimination d'injustes anomalies, sans préjudice du droit de tout bénéficiaire du service de soins médicaux qui le désire de se procurer des soins à ses propres frais par voie privée;

Considérant que la formulation de certains principes généraux que devraient observer les Membres de l'Organisation en développant leurs services de soins médicaux dans cet esprit contribuera à cette fin:

La Conférence recommande aux Membres de l'Organisation d'appliquer les principes ci-après, aussi rapidement que les conditions nationales le permettront, en développant leurs services de soins médicaux afin de traduire en actes le cinquième principe de la Charte de l'Atlantique, et de présenter au Bureau international du Travail, conformément à ce que décidera le Conseil d'administration, des rapports exposant les mesures prises pour mettre ces principes en application.

I. PRINCIPES GÉNÉRAUX

Caractère essentiel d'un service de soins médicaux

1. Tout service de soins médicaux devrait assurer à l'individu les soins que peuvent fournir les membres de la profession médicale et des professions connexes, ainsi que tous autres services que fournissent les institutions médicales:

a) en vue de rétablir la santé, de prévenir l'évolution de la maladie et d'alléger les souffrances, quand la santé de l'individu en est atteinte (soins curatifs), et
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(b) with a view to protecting and improving his health (preventive care).

2. The nature and extent of the care provided by the service should be defined by law.

3. The authorities or bodies responsible for the administration of the service should provide medical care for its beneficiaries by securing the services of members of the medical and allied professions and by arranging for hospital and other institutional services.

4. The cost of the service should be met collectively by regular periodical payments which may take the form of social insurance contributions or of taxes, or of both.

Forms of Medical Care Service

5. Medical care should be provided either through a social insurance medical care service with supplementary provision by way of social assistance to meet the requirements of needy persons not yet covered by social insurance, or through a public medical care service.

6. Where medical care is provided through a social insurance medical care service:

(a) every insured contributor, the dependent wife or husband and dependent children of every such contributor, such other dependants as may be prescribed by national laws or regulations, and every other person insured by virtue of contributions paid on his behalf, should be entitled to all care provided by the service;

(b) care for persons not yet insured should be provided by way of social assistance if they are unable to obtain it at their own expense; and

(c) the service should be financed by contributions from insured persons, from their employers, and by subsidies from public funds.

7. Where medical care is provided through a public medical care service:

(a) every member of the community should be entitled to all care provided by the service;

(b) the service should be financed out of funds raised either by a progressive tax specifically imposed for the purpose of financing the medical care service or of financing all health services, or from general revenue.

Formes du service de soins médicaux

5. Les soins médicaux devraient être fournis soit par un service de soins médicaux relevant de l'assurance sociale, complété par l'assistance sociale en ce qui concerne les besoins de personnes nécessiteuses qui ne bénéficient pas encore de l'assurance sociale, soit par un service public de soins médicaux.

6. Lorsque les soins médicaux sont fournis par un service d'assurance sociale:

(a) tout assuré cotisant, son conjoint à charge et ses enfants à charge, et toutes autres personnes à sa charge déterminées par la législation nationale, ainsi que toute autre personne assurée en vertu de cotisations payées pour son compte, devraient avoir droit à tous les soins fournis par le service;

(b) les personnes non encore assurées, si elles ne sont pas en état de se procurer des soins médicaux à leurs propres frais, devraient en recevoir par voie d'assistance sociale;

(c) le service devrait être financé par les cotisations des assurés et de leurs employeurs, ainsi que par des subventions provenant de fonds publics.

7. Lorsque les soins médicaux sont fournis par un service public de soins médicaux:

(a) chaque membre de la communauté devrait avoir droit à tous les soins fournis par le service;

(b) le service devrait être financé au moyen de fonds provenant soit d'une taxe progressive prélevée spécialement en vue d'entretenir le service des soins médicaux ou tous les services de santé, soit des revenus généraux.
II. PERSONS COVERED

Complete Coverage

8. The medical care service should cover all members of the community, whether or not they are gainfully occupied.

9. Where the service is limited to a section of the population or to a specified area, or where the contributory mechanism already exists for other branches of social insurance and it is possible ultimately to bring under the insurance scheme the whole or the majority of the population, social insurance may be appropriate.

10. Where the whole of the population is to be covered by the service and it is desired to integrate medical care with general health services, a public service may be appropriate.

Coverage through a Social Insurance Medical Care Service

11. Where medical care is provided through a social insurance medical care service, all members of the community should have the right to care as insured persons or, pending their inclusion in the scope of insurance, should have the right to receive care at the expense of the competent authority when unable to provide it for themselves.

12. All adult members of the community (that is to say, all persons other than children as defined in paragraph 15) should be required to pay insurance contributions if their income is not below the subsistence level. The dependent wife or husband of a contributor should be insured in virtue of the contribution of her or his breadwinner, without any addition on that account.

13. Other adults who prove that their income is below the subsistence level, including indigents, should be entitled to care as insured persons, the contribution being paid on their behalf by the competent authority. Rules defining the subsistence level in each country should be laid down by the competent authority.

14. If and so long as adults unable to pay a contribution are not insured as provided for in paragraph 13, they should receive care at the expense of the competent authority.

15. All children (that is to say, all persons who are under the age of 16 years, or such higher age as may be prescribed, or who are dependent on others for regular support while continuing their general or vocational education) should be insured in virtue of the contributions paid by or on behalf of adult insured persons in general.

II. CHAMP D'APPLICATION

Extension du service à la population entière

8. Le service des soins médicaux devrait englober tous les membres de la communauté, qu'ils exercent ou non une occupation lucrative.

9. Lorsque le service est limité à une catégorie de la population ou à une région déterminée, ou lorsqu'un régime contributif est déjà en vigueur pour d'autres branches d'assurance sociale et qu'il est possible d'étendre l'assurance ultérieurement à l'ensemble ou à la majorité de la population, l'assurance sociale serait indiquée.

10. Lorsque la population entière doit être englobée dans le service de soins médicaux, et si l'on désire amalgamer ce service avec les services généraux de santé, un service public serait indiqué.

Administration de soins médicaux par un service relevant de l'assurance sociale

11. Lorsque les soins médicaux sont fournis par un service d'assurance sociale, tous les membres de la communauté devraient avoir droit aux soins fournis en qualité d'assurés, ou, en attendant qu'ils soient englobés dans le régime d'assurance, devraient avoir droit à recevoir des soins aux frais de l'autorité compétente s'ils ne sont pas à même de s'en procurer à leurs propres frais.

12. Tous les membres adultes de la communauté (c'est-à-dire toutes les personnes à l'exception des enfants, suivant la définition du paragraphe 15) dont le revenu n'est pas au-dessous du minimum d'existence, devraient être astreints à verser des cotisations d'assurance ; le conjoint à charge d'un cotisant devrait être assuré en vertu de la cotisation du soutien de famille sans que la cotisation soit augmentée à ce titre.

13. Les autres adultes qui justifient du fait que leur revenu est au-dessous du minimum d'existence, y compris les indigents, devraient avoir droit aux soins médicaux en qualité d'assuré, la cotisation d'assurance étant payée pour leur compte par l'autorité compétente. L'autorité compétente dans chaque pays devrait déterminer le minimum d'existence.

14. Aussi longtemps que des adultes qui ne sont pas à même de payer une cotisation ne sont pas assurés sous le régime prévu au paragraphe 13, ils devraient recevoir des soins aux frais de l'autorité compétente.

15. Tous les enfants (c'est-à-dire les personnes au-dessous de l'âge de seize ans ou d'un âge plus élevé qui pourrait être déterminé, ou qui sont à la charge d'autrui pour leur entretien normal tandis qu'ils poursuivent leurs études générales ou professionnelles) devraient être assurés en vertu des cotisations payées par des assu-
eral, and no additional contribution should be payable on their behalf by their parents or guardians.

16. If and so long as children are not insured as provided for in paragraph 15, because the service does not yet extend to the whole population, they should be insured in virtue of the contribution paid by or on behalf of their father or mother without any additional contribution being payable on their behalf. Children for whom medical care is not so provided should, in case of need, receive it at the expense of the competent authority.

17. Where any person is insured under a scheme of social insurance for cash benefits or is receiving benefit under such a scheme, he and his qualified dependants as defined in paragraph 6, should also be insured under the medical care service.

Coverage through a Public Medical Care Service

18. Where medical care is provided through a public medical care service, the provision of care should not depend on any qualifying conditions, such as payment of taxes or compliance with a means test and all beneficiaries should have an equal right to the care provided.

III. THE PROVISION OF MEDICAL CARE AND ITS CO-ORDINATION WITH GENERAL HEALTH SERVICES

Range of Service

19. Complete preventive and curative care should be constantly available, rationally organised and, so far as possible, co-ordinated with general health services.

Constant Availability of Complete Care

20. Complete preventive and curative care should be available at any time and place to all members of the community covered by the service, on the same conditions, without any hindrance or barrier of an administrative, financial or political nature, or otherwise unrelated to their health.

21. The care afforded should comprise both general-practitioner and specialist out- and in-patient care, including domiciliary visiting; dental care; nursing care at home or in hospital or other medical institutions; the care given by qualified midwives and other maternity services at home or in hospital; maintenance in hospitals, convalescent homes, sanatoria or other medical institutions; so far as possible, the requisite dental, pharmaceutical...
and other medical or surgical supplies, including artificial limbs; and the care furnished by such other professions as may at any time be legally recognised as belonging to the allied professions.

22. All care and supplies should be available at any time and without time limit, when and as long as they are needed, subject only to the doctor's judgment and to such reasonable limitations as may be imposed by the technical organisation of the service.

23. Beneficiaries should be able to obtain care at the centres or offices provided, wherever they happen to be when the need arises, whether at their place of residence or elsewhere within the total area in which the service is available, irrespective of their membership in any particular insurance institution, arrears in contributions or of other factors unrelated to health.

24. The administration of the medical care service should be unified for appropriate health areas sufficiently large for a self-contained and well-balanced service, and should be centrally supervised.

25. Where the medical care service covers only a section of the population or is at present administered by different types of insurance institutions and authorities, the institutions and authorities concerned should provide care for their beneficiaries by securing collectively the services of members of the medical and allied professions, and by the joint establishment or maintenance of health centres and other medical institutions, pending the regional and national unification of the services.

26. Arrangements should be made by the administration of the service for securing adequate hospital and other residential accommodation and care, either by contracts with existing public and approved private institutions, or by the establishment and maintenance of appropriate institutions.

Rational Organisation of Medical Care Service

27. The optimum of medical care should be made readily available through an organisation that ensures the greatest possible economy and efficiency by the pooling of knowledge, staff, equipment and other
tal, une maison de convalescence, un sanatorium ou autre institution médicale; dans toute la mesure du possible, toutes fournitures dentaires, pharmaceutiques et autres fournitures médicales ou chirurgicales qui seraient nécessaires (y compris les appareils de prothèse), et les soins fournis par toute autre personne qui aura été légalement reconnue comme appartenant aux professions connexes.

22. Tous soins et fournitures devraient être à la disposition des intéressés en tout temps et sans limite de durée aussi longtemps qu'ils sont nécessaires, et n'être subordonnés qu'au jugement du médecin et à telles restrictions raisonnables que peut imposer l'organisation technique du service.

23. Les bénéficiaires devraient être à même de recevoir les soins aux centres ou aux cabinets de consultation dont dispose le service, à chaque endroit que se trouvent lorsqu'ils en ont besoin, que ce soit au lieu de leur domicile ou à tout autre endroit dans la région où le service fonctionne sans qu'il soit tenu compte du fait qu'ils sont ou non affiliés à une institution d'assurance déterminée, des cotisations arriérées ou d'autres facteurs sans relation avec leur état de santé.

24. La gestion du service de soins médicaux devrait être unifiée pour des régions sanitaires judicieusement délimitées, suffisamment vastes pour permettre l'établissement d'un service formant un ensemble complet et bien équilibré, et surveillée par une autorité centrale.

25. Lorsque le service de soins médicaux ne s'applique qu'à une catégorie de la population, ou est actuellement géré par des institutions et autorités d'assurance de caractères divers, les soins devraient être assurés en ayant recours, par l'action collective de ces institutions et autorités, au service des membres de la profession médicale et des professions connexes ainsi qu'au moyen de l'établissement ou de l'entretien en commun de centres sanitaires et d'autres institutions médicales, en attendant que les divers services soient unifiés sur le plan régional et national.

26. Des dispositions devraient être prises par l'organe de gestion du service pour assurer aux bénéficiaires le logement et les soins dans un hôpital ou autre institution médicale, soit au moyen de contrats avec des institutions médicales publiques ou avec des institutions médicales privées agréées, soit par l'établissement et l'entretien d'institutions appropriées.

Organisation rationnelle du service de soins médicaux

27. L'optimum de soins médicaux devrait être mis à la portée des bénéficiaires du service au moyen d'une organisation assurant la plus grande économie et efficacité possible par la mise en commun des
resources and by close contact and collaboration among all participating members of the medical and allied professions and agencies.

28. The wholehearted participation of the greatest possible number of members of the medical and allied professions is essential for the success of any national medical care service. The numbers of general practitioners, specialists, dentists, nurses and members of other professions within the service should be adapted to the distribution and the needs of the beneficiaries.

29. Complete diagnostic and treatment facilities, including laboratory and X-ray services, should be available to the general practitioner, and all specialist advice and care, as well as nursing, maternity, pharmaceutical and other auxiliary services, and residential accommodation, should be at the disposal of the general practitioner for the use of his patients.

30. Complete and up-to-date technical equipment for all branches of specialist treatment, including dental care, should be available, and specialists should have at their disposal all necessary hospital and research facilities, and auxiliary out-patient services such as nursing, through the agency of the general practitioner.

31. To achieve these aims, care should preferably be furnished by group practice at centres of various kinds working in effective relation with hospitals.

32. Pending the establishment of, and experiments with, group practice at medical or health centres, it would be appropriate to obtain care for beneficiaries from members of the medical and allied professions practising at their own offices.

33. Where the medical care service covers the majority of the population, medical or health centres may appropriately be built, equipped and operated by the authority administering the service in the health area, in one of the forms indicated in paragraphs 34, 35 and 36.

34. Where no adequate facilities exist or where a system of hospitals with outpatient departments for general-practitioner and specialist treatment already obtains in the health area at the time

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37. Where no adequate facilities exist or where a system of hospitals with outpatient departments for general-practitioner and specialist treatment already obtains in the health area at the time

when the medical care service is introduced, hospitals may appropriately be established as, or developed into, centres providing all kinds of in- and out-patient care and complemented by local outposts for general-practitioner care and for auxiliary services.

35. Where general practice is well developed outside the hospital system while specialists are mainly consultants and working at hospitals, it may be appropriate to establish medical or health centres for non-residential general-practitioner care and auxiliary services, and to centralise specialist in-patient and out-patient care at hospitals.

36. Where general and specialist practice are well developed outside the hospital system, it may be appropriate to establish medical or health centres for all non-residential treatment, general-practitioner and specialist, and all auxiliary services, while cases needing residential care are directed from the centres to the hospitals.

37. Where the medical care service does not cover the majority of the population but has a substantial number of beneficiaries, and existing hospital and other medical facilities are inadequate, the insurance institution, or insurance institutions jointly, should establish a system of medical or health centres which affords all care, including hospital accommodation at the main centres, and, so far as possible, transport arrangements; such centres may be required more particularly in sparsely settled areas with a scattered insured population.

38. Where the medical care service covers too small a section for complete health centres to be an economical means of serving its beneficiaries, and existing facilities for specialist treatment in the area are inadequate, it may be appropriate for the insurance institution, or the institutions jointly, to maintain posts at which specialists attend beneficiaries as required.

39. Where the medical care service covers a relatively small section of the population concentrated in an area with extensive private practice, it may be appropriate for the members of the medical dispensaires pour médecine générale et soins de spécialistes, il serait indiqué que des hôpitaux soient établis comme centres fournissant tous les soins hospitaliers et non hospitaliers, ou que les hôpitaux existants soient transformés en de tels centres, et que, dans les deux cas, les hôpitaux soient complétés par des postes locaux pour médecine générale et services auxiliaires.

35. Si la pratique de la médecine générale est suffisamment développée en dehors du système hospitalier, tandis que les spécialistes sont établis surtout comme conseillers médicaux et travaillent pour les hôpitaux, il serait indiqué d'établir des centres médicaux ou sanitaires fournissant les soins de médecine générale et tous services auxiliaires aux malades non hospitalisés, et de centraliser dans les hôpitaux tous soins de spécialistes, administrés aux malades hospitalisés ou non hospitalisés.

36. Lorsque la pratique de la médecine générale et la pratique de spécialistes sont suffisamment développées en dehors du système hospitalier, il serait indiqué d'établir des centres médicaux ou sanitaires fournissant tous soins aux malades non hospitalisés, y compris les soins de praticiens de médecine générale et de spécialistes, et tous services auxiliaires, avec renvoi aux hôpitaux des cas qui exigent un traitement hospitalier.

37. Lorsque le service de soins médicaux ne couvre pas la majorité de la population, mais atteint un nombre considérable de personnes, et lorsque les possibilités d'obtenir l'hospitalisation et d'autres soins médicaux sont insuffisantes, l'institution d'assurance, ou les institutions d'assurance en commun, devraient établir un système de centres médicaux ou sanitaires fournissant tous soins, y compris l'hospitalisation, aux centres principaux, ainsi que dans toute la mesure du possible des moyens de transport; l'établissement de tels centres serait nécessaire surtout si les assurés sont dispersés dans des régions à population clairsemée.

38. Lorsque le champ d'application du service de soins médicaux est trop restreint pour que l'organisation de centres sanitaires complets destinés aux bénéficiaires du service constitue un moyen économique de pourvoir à leurs besoins et que les possibilités d'obtenir les soins de spécialistes sont insuffisantes dans le rayon du service, il serait indiqué que l'institution d'assurance, ou les institutions d'assurance en commun, entretiennent des postes où des spécialistes donneraient leurs soins aux bénéficiaires selon les besoins.

39. Lorsque le service de soins médicaux ne couvre qu'une fraction relativement faible de la population concentrée dans une région où la pratique privée a acquis une extension considérable, il se-
and allied professions participating in the service to collaborate at centres rented, equipped and administered by the members, at which both beneficiaries of the service and private patients receive care.

40. Where the medical care service covers only a small number of beneficiaries who are scattered over a populated area with adequate existing facilities, and voluntary group practice as provided for in paragraph 39 is not feasible, beneficiaries may appropriately receive care from members of the medical and allied professions practising at their own offices, and at public and approved private hospitals and other medical institutions.

41. Travelling clinics in motor vans or aircraft, equipped for first-aid, dental treatment, general examination and possibly other health services such as maternal and infant health services, should be provided for serving areas with a scattered population and remote from towns or cities, and arrangements should be made for the free conveyance of patients to centres and hospitals.

42. There should be available to the beneficiaries of the medical care service all general health services, being services providing means for the whole community and/or groups of individuals to promote and protect their health while it is not yet threatened or known to be threatened, whether such services be given by members of the medical and allied professions or otherwise.

43. The medical care service should be provided in close co-ordination with general health services, either by means of close collaboration of the social insurance institutions providing medical care and the authorities administering the general health services, or by combining medical care and general health services in one public service.

44. Local co-ordination of medical care and general health services should be aimed at either by establishing medical care centres in proximity to the headquarters for general health services, or by establishing common centres as headquarters for all or most health services.

45. The members of the medical and allied professions participating in the medical care service and working at

46. Paragraph 39 is not feasible, beneficiaries may appropriately receive care from members of the medical and allied professions practising at their own offices, and at public and approved private hospitals and other medical institutions.

47. Travelling clinics in motor vans or aircraft, equipped for first-aid, dental treatment, general examination and possibly other health services such as maternal and infant health services, should be provided for serving areas with a scattered population and remote from towns or cities, and arrangements should be made for the free conveyance of patients to centres and hospitals.

48. There should be available to the beneficiaries of the medical care service all general health services, being services providing means for the whole community and/or groups of individuals to promote and protect their health while it is not yet threatened or known to be threatened, whether such services be given by members of the medical and allied professions or otherwise.

49. The medical care service should be provided in close co-ordination with general health services, either by means of close collaboration of the social insurance institutions providing medical care and the authorities administering the general health services, or by combining medical care and general health services in one public service.

50. Local co-ordination of medical care and general health services should be aimed at either by establishing medical care centres in proximity to the headquar ters for general health services, or by establishing common centres as headquarters for all or most health services.

51. The members of the medical and allied professions participating in the medical care service and working at
health centres may appropriately under­
take such general health care as can with
advantage be given by the same staff, in­
cluding immunisation, examination of
school children and other groups, advice
to expectant mothers and mothers with
infants, and other care of a like nature.

IV. THE QUALITY OF SERVICE

Choice of Doctor and Continuity of Care

47. The beneficiary should have the
right to make an initial choice, among
the general practitioners at the disposal of
the service within a reasonable distance
from his home, of the doctor by whom he
wishes to be attended in a permanent ca­
pacity (family doctor) : he should have
the same right of choice for his children.
These principles should also apply to the
choice of a dentist as family dentist.

48. Where care is provided at or from
health centres, the beneficiary should have
the right to choose his centre within a rea­
sonable distance from his home and to
select for himself or his children a doctor
and a dentist among the general practi­
tioners and dentists working at this
centre.

49. Where there is no centre, the ben­
eficiary should have the right to select his
family doctor and dentist among the par­
ticipating general practitioners and den­
stists whose office is within a reasonable
distance from his home.

50. The beneficiary should have the
right subsequently to change his family
doctor or dentist, subject to giving notice
within a prescribed time, for good rea­
sons, such as lack of personal contact and
confidence.

51. The general practitioner or the den­
ist participating in the service should
have the right to accept or refuse a client,
but may not accept a number in excess of
a prescribed maximum nor refuse such
clients as have not made their own choice
and are assigned to him by the service
through impartial methods.

52. The care given by specialists and
members of allied professions, such as
vaillant aux centres médicaux pour­
raient utilement être appelés à fournir les
soins généraux de santé qui peuvent être
donnés avantageusement par le même
personnel, y compris l'immunisation, l'exa­
en de scolaires et d'autres groupes de per­
sonnes, les conseils donnés aux femmes
enceintes et aux mères avec nourrissons,
ainsi que d'autres soins de cette nature.

IV. QUALITÉ DU SERVICE

Choix du médecin et continuité des soins

47. Le bénéficiaire devrait avoir le droit
de choisir, parmi les praticiens de méde­
cine générale qui sont à la disposition du
service et à une distance raisonnable de
son domicile, le médecin par lequel il désire
être soigné d'une façon permanente (mé­
decin de famille) ; il devrait avoir le même
droit de choisir le médecin pour ses en­
fants. Ces principes devraient également
s'appliquer au choix d'un dentiste de fa­
mille.

48. Lorsque les soins sont fournis par
des centres sanitaires, le bénéficiaire de­
vrait avoir le droit de choisir son centre à
une distance raisonnable de son domicile
de choisir, pour lui-même, et pour ses
enfants, un médecin et un dentiste parmi
les praticiens de médecine générale et les
dentistes qui travaillent à ce centre.

49. À défaut de centre sanitaire, le bé­
néficiaire devrait avoir le droit de choisir
son médecin et son dentiste de famille
parmi les praticiens de médecine générale
et les dentistes collaborant au service, dont
les cabinets de consultation se trouvent à
une distance raisonnable de son domicile.

50. Le bénéficiaire devrait avoir le droit
de changer de médecin ou de dentiste de
famille à la condition de donner un préavis
dans le délai prévu à cet effet, pour des
raisons valables, telles que l'absence de
contact personnel et de confiance entre lui
et le médecin.

51. Le praticien de médecine générale
ou le dentiste collaborant au service de­
vrait avoir le droit d'accepter ou de re­
fuser un client, mais ne pourrait accepter
un nombre de clients dépassant un maxi­
mum prescrit, ni refuser des clients qui
n'auraient pas fait leur propre choix et
lui seraient assignés par le service selon
des méthodes impartiales.

52. Les soins donnés par des spécialistes
des membres de professions connexes.
Appendix XII: Authentic texts—Recommendations

nurses, midwives, masseurs and others, should be available on the recommendation, and through the agency, of the beneficiary's family doctor who should take reasonable account of the patient's wishes if several members of the specialty or other profession are available at the centre or within a reasonable distance of the patient's home. Special provision should be made for the availability of the specialist when requested by the patient though not recommended by the family doctor.

53. Residential care should be made available on the recommendation of the beneficiary's family doctor, or on the advice of the specialist, if any, who has been consulted.

54. If residential care is provided at the centre to which the family doctor or specialist is attached, the patient should preferably be attended in the hospital by his own family doctor or the specialist to whom he was referred.

55. Arrangements for the general practitioners or dentists at a centre to be consulted by appointment should be made whenever practicable.

Working Conditions and Status of Doctors and Members of Allied Professions

56. The working conditions of doctors and members of allied professions participating in the service should be designed to relieve the doctor or member from financial anxiety by providing adequate income during work, leave and illness and in retirement, and pensions to his survivors, without restricting his professional discretion otherwise than by professional supervision, and should not be such as to distract his attention from the maintenance and improvement of the health of the beneficiaries.

57. General practitioners, specialists and dentists, working for a medical care service covering the whole or a large majority of the population, may appropriately be employed whole time for a salary, with adequate provision for leave, sickness, old age and death, if the medical profession is adequately represented on the body employing them.

58. Where general practitioners or dentists, engaged in private practice, undertake part-time work for a medical care service with a sufficient number of beneficiaries, it may be appropriate to pay tels qu'infirmières, sages-femmes, masseurs et autres, devraient être fournis sur le conseil et par l'intermédiaire du médecin de famille, qui devrait tenir compte dans la mesure du possible des préférences du malade si plusieurs membres de la spécialité ou de la profession en question travaillent au centre sanitaire ou à une distance raisonnable du domicile du malade. Des dispositions spéciales devraient être prises en vue de fournir des soins de spécialistes réclamés par le malade, mais non conseillés par le médecin de famille.

53. Des soins hospitaliers devraient être fournis sur le conseil du médecin de famille du bénéficiaire, ou sur l'avis du spécialiste qui aurait été consulté.

54. Si les soins hospitaliers sont fournis au centre même auquel le médecin de famille ou le spécialiste est attaché, le malade devrait de préférence être soigné à l'hôpital par son propre médecin de famille ou par le spécialiste qui lui aurait été désigné.

55. Autant que possible, des dispositions devraient être prises pour permettre la consultation sur rendez-vous de praticiens de médecine générale et de dentistes travaillant au centre sanitaire.

Conditions de travail et statut des médecins et des membres des professions connexes

56. Les conditions de travail des médecins et membres de professions connexes collaborant au service devraient viser à écarter du médecin ou autre collaborateur tous soucis d'ordre financier, en lui assurant un revenu suffisant pendant les périodes d'activité, de congé, de maladie, ainsi que dans la retraite, et en garantissant des pensions à ses survivants, sans restreindre sa liberté de décision en matière professionnelle autrement que par une surveillance professionnelle ; les conditions ne devraient pas être telles que l'attention du médecin ou autre collaborateur soit détournée de sa tâche, consistant à maintenir et améliorer la santé des bénéficiaires.

57. Il serait indiqué que les praticiens de médecine générale, les spécialistes et les dentistes travaillant pour un service de soins médicaux qui englobe l'ensemble ou une large majorité de la population, soient employés à plein temps moyennant un traitement, avec garanties suffisantes en matière de congés, de maladie, de vieillesse et de décès, à condition que la profession médicale soit représentée de manière suffisante dans l'organe qui les empoile.

58. Lorsque des praticiens de médecine générale ou des dentistes soignant une clientèle privée travaillent à temps réduit pour un service de soins médicaux compitant un nombre suffisant de bénéficiaires,
them a fixed basic amount per year, including provision for leave, sickness, old age and death, and increased if desired by a capitation fee for each person or family in the doctor's or dentist's charge.

59. Specialists engaged in private practice who work part time for a medical care service with a considerable number of beneficiaries may appropriately be paid an amount proportionate to the time devoted to such service (part-time salary).

60. Doctors and dentists engaged in private practice who work part time for a medical care service with few beneficiaries only may appropriately be paid fees for services rendered.

61. Among the members of allied professions participating in the service, those rendering personal care may appropriately be employed whole time for salary, with adequate provision for leave, sickness, old age and death, while members furnishing supplies should be paid in accordance with adequate tariffs.

62. Working conditions for members of the medical and allied professions participating in the service should be uniform throughout the country or for all sections covered by the service, and agreed on with the representative bodies of the profession, subject only to such variations as may be necessitated by differences in the exigencies of the service.

63. Provision should be made for the submission of complaints by beneficiaries, concerning the care received and by members of the medical or allied professions concerning their relations with the administration of the service, to appropriate arbitration bodies under conditions affording adequate guarantees to all parties concerned.

64. The professional supervision of the members of the medical and allied professions working for the service should be entrusted to bodies predominantly composed of representatives of the professions participating with adequate provision for disciplinary measures.

65. Where, in the proceedings referred to in paragraph 63, a member of the medical or allied professions working for the service is deemed to have neglected his professional duties, the arbitration body should refer the matter to the supervisory body referred to in paragraph 64.

il serait indiqué de leur payer un montant de base fixe par an, en leur accordant des garanties suffisantes en matière de congés, de maladie, de vieillesse et de décès, ce montant étant augmenté, si cela est jugé désiroble, par un honoraire fixe pour chaque personne ou famille confiée aux soins du médecin ou dentiste.

59. Lorsque des spécialistes soignant une clientèle privée travaillent à temps réduit pour un service de soins médicaux comptant un nombre appréciable de bénéficiaires, il serait indiqué de les rémunérer par un montant proportionnel aux heures de travail consacrées au service (traitement à temps réduit).

60. Lorsque des médecins et dentistes soignant une clientèle privée travaillent à temps réduit pour un service de soins médicaux qui ne compte qu'un petit nombre de bénéficiaires, il serait indiqué de les rémunérer par acte médical.

61. Il serait indiqué que, parmi les membres des professions connexes collaborant au service, ceux qui fournissent des soins personnels soient employés à plein temps moyennant un traitement, avec des garanties suffisantes en matière de congés, de maladie, de vieillesse et de décès ; les membres de ces professions assurant un service de fournitures devraient être payés selon des tarifs suffisants.

62. Les conditions de travail des membres de la profession médicale et des professions connexes collaborant au service devraient être uniformes pour tout le pays ou pour toutes les catégories de la population englobées par le service, et devraient être fixées d'accord avec les organes représentatifs de la profession respective ; des variations ne pourraient être admises que lorsque la diversité des exigences du service le demanderait.

63. Une procédure devrait être prévue pour permettre aux bénéficiaires de présenter des réclamations concernant les soins reçus, et aux membres de la profession médicale et des professions connexes de présenter des réclamations concernant leurs relations avec la gestion du service, devant l'organe d'arbitrage approprié, dans des conditions présentant des garanties suffisantes pour tous les intéressés.

64. La surveillance professionnelle des membres de la profession médicale et des professions connexes travaillant pour le service devrait être confiée à des organes comprenant surtout des représentants des professions collaborant au service, et comporter des mesures disciplinaires.

65. Lorsque, au cours de la procédure visée au paragraphe 63, un membre de la profession médicale ou des professions connexes travaillant pour le service est accusé d'une faute dans l'accomplissement de ses devoirs professionnels, l'organe d'arbitrage devrait référer l'affaire à l'organe de surveillance visé au paragraphe 64.
Standard of Professional Skill and Knowledge

66. The highest possible standard of skill and knowledge should be achieved and maintained for the professions participating both by requiring high standards of education, training and licensing and by keeping up to date and developing the skill and knowledge of those engaged in the service.

67. Doctors participating in the service should be required to have an adequate training in social medicine.

68. Students of the medical and dental professions should, before being admitted as fully qualified doctors or dentists to the service, be required to work as assistants at health centres or offices, especially in rural areas, under the supervision and direction of more experienced practitioners.

69. A minimum period as hospital assistant should be prescribed among the qualifications for every doctor entering the service.

70. Doctors wishing to furnish specialist service should be required to have certificates of competence for their specialty.

71. Doctors and dentists participating should be required periodically to attend post-graduate courses organised or approved for this purpose.

72. Adequate periods of apprenticeship at hospitals or health centres should be prescribed for members of allied professions, and post-graduate courses should be organised and attendance periodically required for those participating in the service.

73. Adequate facilities for teaching and research should be made available at the hospitals administered by or working with the medical care service.

74. Professional education and research should be promoted with the financial and legal support of the State.

V. FINANCING OF MEDICAL CARE SERVICE

Raising of Funds under Social Insurance Service

75. The maximum contribution that may be charged to an insured person should not exceed such proportion of his income as, applied to the income of all insured persons, would yield an income equal to the probable total cost of the medical care service, including the cost of care given to qualified dependants as defined in paragraph 6.

Conditions d'habileté et de connaissances professionnelles

66. Il conviendrait d'atteindre et de maintenir le plus haut niveau possible d'habileté et de connaissances dans les professions collaborant au service, en exigeant des conditions rigoureuses de formation scientifique et pratique ainsi que d'admission à la profession et en veillant à ce que ceux qui collaborent au service entretiennent et développent leur habileté et leurs connaissances.

67. Les médecins participant au service devraient avoir une formation suffisante en matière de médecine sociale.

68. Les étudiants en médecine et en chirurgie dentaire devraient, avant d'être admis au service de soins médicaux en qualité de médecins ou dentistes pleinement qualifiés, être astreints à travailler en qualité d'assistants aux centres sanitaires ou cabinets de consultations, surtout dans des régions rurales, sous la surveillance et la direction de praticiens expérimentés.

69. Un stage minimum d'assistant dans un hôpital devrait être prescrit parmi les qualifications à exiger de tout médecin désirant collaborer au service.

70. Il devrait être exigé des médecins désirant être admis comme spécialistes dans le service un certificat de compétence dans la spécialité en cause.

71. Les médecins et dentistes collaborant au service devraient être tenus de participer périodiquement à des cours post-universitaires organisés ou approuvés à cet effet.

72. Il devrait être prescrit des stages suffisants d'apprentissage dans les hôpitaux ou aux centres sanitaires pour les membres des professions connexes et organisé des cours post-universitaires, avec obligation de participation périodique, pour ceux qui collaborent au service.

73. Les hôpitaux gérés par le service médical ou collaborant avec ce service devraient fournir des facilités pour permettre les recherches scientifiques et l'instruction médicale.

74. La formation professionnelle et les recherches scientifiques devraient être encouragées par une aide financière de l'État et par la législation.

V. FINANCEMENT DU SERVICE DE SOINS MÉDICAUX

Constitution de fonds pour financer un service d'assurance sociale

75. La cotisation maximum à percevoir d'un assuré ne devrait pas dépasser le pourcentage de son revenu qui, appliqué aux revenus de tous les assurés, fournirait un revenu égal au coût total présumé du service de soins médicaux, y compris le coût des soins donnés aux personnes à charge, telles que définies au paragraphe 6.
76. The contribution paid by an insured person should be such part of the maximum contribution as can be borne without hardship.

77. Employers should be required to pay part of the maximum contribution on behalf of persons employed by them.

78. Persons whose income does not exceed the subsistence level should not be required to pay an insurance contribution. Equitable contributions should be paid by the public authority on their behalf: Provided that in the case of employed persons, such contributions may be paid wholly or partly by their employers.

79. The cost of the medical care service not covered by contributions should be borne by taxpayers.

80. Contributions in respect of employed persons may appropriately be collected by their employers.

81. Where membership of an occupational association or the possession of a licence is compulsory for any class of self-employed persons, the association or the licensing authority may be made responsible for collecting contributions from the persons concerned.

82. The national or local authority may be made responsible for collecting contributions from self-employed persons registered for the purpose of taxation.

83. Where a scheme of social insurance for cash benefits is in operation, contributions both under such scheme and under the medical care service may appropriately be collected together.

Raising of Funds under Public Medical Care Service

84. The cost of the medical care service should be met out of public funds.

85. Where the whole population is covered by the medical care service and all health services are under unified central and area administration, the medical care service may appropriately be financed out of general revenue.

86. Where the administration of the medical care service is separate from that of general health services, it may be appropriate to finance the medical care service by a special tax.

87. The special tax should be paid into a separate fund reserved for the purpose of financing the medical care service.

88. The special tax should be progressively graded and should be designed to yield a return sufficient for financing the medical care service.
89. Persons whose income does not exceed the subsistence level should not be required to pay the tax.

90. The special tax may appropriately be collected by the national income tax authorities or, where there is no national income tax, by authorities responsible for collecting local taxes.

Raising of Capital Funds

91. In addition to providing the normal resources for financing the medical care service, measures should be taken to utilise the assets of social insurance institutions, or funds raised by other means, for financing the extraordinary expenditure necessitated by the extension and improvement of the service, more particularly by the building or equipment of hospitals and medical centres.

VI. SUPERVISION AND ADMINISTRATION OF MEDICAL CARE SERVICE

Unity of Health Services and Democratic Control

92. All medical care and general health services should be centrally supervised and should be administered by health areas as defined in paragraph 24, and the beneficiaries of the medical care service, as well as the medical and allied professions concerned, should have a voice in the administration of the service.

Unification of Central Administration

93. A central authority, representative of the community, should be responsible for formulating the health policy or policies and for supervising all medical care and general health services, subject to consultation of, and collaboration with, the medical and allied professions on all professional matters, and to consultation of the beneficiaries on matters of policy and administration affecting the medical care service.

94. Where the medical care service covers the whole or the majority of the population and a central government agency supervises or administers all medical care and general health services, beneficiaries may appropriately be deemed to be represented by the head of the agency.

95. The central government agency should keep in touch with the beneficiaries through advisory bodies comprising representatives of organisations of the different sections of the population, such as trade unions, employers' associations, chambers of commerce, farmers' associations, wom-
en's associations and child protection societies.

96. Where the medical care service covers only a section of the population, and a central government agency supervises all medical care and general health services, representatives of the insured persons should participate in the supervision, preferably through advisory committees, as regards all matters of policy affecting the medical care service.

97. The central government agency should consult the representatives of the medical and allied professions, preferably through advisory committees, on all questions relating to the working conditions of the members of the professions participating, and on all other matters primarily of a professional nature, more particularly on the preparation of laws and regulations concerning the nature, extent and provision of the care furnished under the service.

98. Where the medical care service covers the whole or the majority of the population and a representative body supervises or administers all medical care and general health services, beneficiaries should be represented on such body, either directly or indirectly.

99. In this event, the medical and allied professions should be represented on the representative body, preferably in numbers equal to those of the beneficiaries or the government as the case may be; the professional members should be elected by the profession concerned, or nominated by their representatives and appointed by the central government.

100. Where the medical care service covers the whole or the majority of the population and a corporate body of experts established by legislation or by charter supervises or administers all medical care and general health services, such body may appropriately consist of an equal number of members of the medical and allied professions and of qualified laymen.

101. The professional members of the expert body should be appointed by the central government from among candidates nominated by the representatives of the medical and allied professions.

102. The representative executive body or the expert body supervising or administering medical care and general health services should be responsible to the government for its general policy.

merce, associations d'agriculteurs, associations féminines et sociétés pour la protection de l'enfance.

96. Lorsque le service de soins médicaux n'englobe qu'une catégorie de la population et que tous les services de soins médicaux et services généraux de santé sont sous le contrôle d'un organisme du gouvernement, des représentants des assurés devraient participer au contrôle, de préférence par l'intermédiaire de comités consultatifs, à l'égard de toute question de principes généraux en relation avec le service de soins médicaux.

97. L'organisme du gouvernement devrait consulter les représentants de la profession médicale et des professions connexes, de préférence par l'intermédiaire de comités consultatifs, sur toute question en relation avec les conditions de travail des membres des professions collaborant au service, ainsi que sur toutes autres questions d'ordre essentiellement professionnel notamment sur l'élaboration de lois et règlements relatifs au caractère, à l'étendue et à l'administration des soins fournis par le service.

98. Lorsque le service de soins médicaux englobe l'ensemble ou la majorité de la population, et que tous les services de soins médicaux et services généraux de santé sont contrôlés ou gérés par un organisme représentatif, les bénéficiaires devraient être représentés directement ou indirectement dans un tel organe.

99. Dans ce cas, la profession médicale et les professions connexes devraient être représentées dans l'organe représentatif, de préférence sur une base paritaire avec les représentants des bénéficiaires ou du gouvernement; les membres professionnels de l'organe devraient être soit élus par leur profession respective, soit proposés par les représentants des professions et nommés par le gouvernement.

100. Lorsque le service de soins médicaux englobe l'ensemble ou la majorité de la population, et que tous les services de soins médicaux et services généraux de santé sont contrôlés ou gérés par une corporation d'experts instituée par la législation ou sous le régime d'une charte, il serait indiqué que cette corporation soit composée, sur une base paritaire, de membres de la profession médicale et des professions connexes, d'une part, et de personnes qualifiées n'appartenant pas à ces professions, d'autre part.

101. Les membres professionnels de la corporation d'experts devraient être nommés par le gouvernement parmi les candidats proposés par les représentants de la profession médicale et des professions connexes.

102. L'organe représentatif exécutif ou la corporation d'experts qui contrôle ou gère les services de soins médicaux et services généraux de santé devraient être responsables de leur programme d'action général devant le gouvernement.
103. In the case of a federal state, the central authority referred to in the preceding paragraphs may be either a federal or a state authority.

Local Administration

104. Local administration of medical care and general health services should be unified or co-ordinated within areas formed for the purpose as provided for in paragraph 24, and the medical care service in the area should be administered by or with the advice of bodies representative of the beneficiaries and partly composed of, or assisted by, representatives of the medical and allied professions, so as to safeguard the interests of the beneficiaries and the professions, and secure the technical efficiency of the service and the professional freedom of the participating doctors.

105. Where the medical care service covers the whole or the majority of the population in the health area, all medical care and general health services may appropriately be administered by one area authority.

106. Where, in this event, the area government administers the health services on behalf of the beneficiaries, the medical and allied professions should participate in the administration of the medical care service, preferably through technical committees elected by the professions or appointed by the area or central government from among nominees of the professions concerned.

107. Where a medical care service covering the whole or the majority of the population in the health area is administered by a representative body, the area government, on behalf of the beneficiaries, and the medical and allied professions in the area, should be represented on such body preferably in equal numbers.

108. Where the medical service is administered by area offices or officers of the central authority, the medical and allied professions in the area should participate in the administration, preferably through executive technical committees, elected or appointed in the manner provided for in paragraph 106.

109. Whatever the form of the area administration, the authority administering the medical care service should keep in constant touch with the beneficiaries in the area through advisory bodies, elected by representative organisations of the different sections of the population, in the manner provided for in paragraph 96.

110. Where the social insurance medi-
cal care service covers only a section of the population, administration of that service may appropriately be entrusted to a representative executive body responsible to the government, and comprising representatives of the beneficiaries, of the medical and allied professions participating in the service and of the employers.

Administration of Health Units

111. Health units owned and operated by the medical care service, such as medical or health centres or hospitals, should be administered under democratic control with adequate provisions for the participation of the medical profession, or wholly or predominantly by doctors elected by, or appointed after consultation of, the members of the medical and allied professions participating in the medical care service, in co-operation with all the doctors working at the unit.

Right of Appeal

112. Beneficiaries or members of the medical or allied professions who have submitted complaints to the arbitration body referred to in paragraph 63 should have a right of appeal from the decisions of such body to an independent tribunal.

113. Members of the medical and allied professions against whom disciplinary measures have been taken by the supervisory body referred to in paragraph 64 should have a right of appeal from the decisions of such body to an independent tribunal.

114. Where the supervisory body referred to in paragraph 64 takes no disciplinary action on a matter referred to it by the arbitration body, in accordance with paragraph 65, the interested parties should have a right of appeal to an independent tribunal.

RECOMMENDATION [No. 70] CONCERNING MINIMUM STANDARDS OF SOCIAL POLICY IN DEPENDENT TERRITORIES.

RECOMMANDATION [N° 70] CONCERNANT LES NORMES MINIMA POUR LA POLITIQUE SOCIALE DANS LES TERRITOIRES DEPENDANTS.
national Labour Office, and having met in its Twenty-sixth Session on 20 April 1944, and

Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories, which is the fifth item on the agenda of the Session, and

Having determined that these proposals shall take the form of a Recommendation,

adopts, this twelfth day of May of the year one thousand nine hundred and forty-four, the following Recommendation which may be cited as the Social Policy in Dependent Territories Recommendation, 1944:

Whereas the economic advancement and social progress of the peoples of dependent territories have become increasingly a matter of close and urgent concern to the States responsible for their administration; and

Whereas the International Labour Organisation has from its inception endeavoured to assist the efforts towards this end of governments, employers and workers; and

Whereas the Atlantic Charter has expressed the desire of the signatories “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”; and

Whereas the Conference of the International Labour Organisation, by a Resolution adopted on 5 November 1941, endorsed the principles of the Atlantic Charter and pledged the full co-operation of the International Labour Organisation in their implementation; and

Whereas the International Labour Organisation has from time to time adopted Conventions and Recommendations dealing with special aspects of the conditions of life and labour in dependent territories and has promoted the application to such territories, in accordance with Article 35 of the Constitution of the Organisation, of Conventions and Recommendations of general application; and

Whereas the progress of the well-being and development of dependent peoples is influenced by the economic relations between the dependent territories and the rest of the world, as well as by measures taken within the dependent territories; and

Whereas it is desirable to state the fundamental principles of social policy in dependent territories, and to provide for the extension of the application to such territories of accepted international minimum standards and for the improvement of tional du Travail, et s'y étant réunie le 20 avril 1944 en sa vingt-sixième session,

Après avoir décidé d'adopter diverses propositions relatives aux normes minima pour la politique sociale dans les territoires dépendants, question qui constitue le cinquième point à l'ordre du jour de la session, et

Après avoir décidé que ces propositions prendraient la forme d'une recommandation,

adopte, ce douzième jour de mai, mil neuf cent quarante-quatre, la recommandation ci-après, qui sera dénommée Recommandation sur la politique sociale dans les territoires dépendants, 1944:

Considérant que le développement économique et le progrès social des peuples des territoires dépendants ont été mis au premier plan des objectifs des États responsables de leur administration;

Considérant que, depuis ses débuts, l'Organisation internationale du Travail s'est proposé pour tâche d'aider les gouvernements, les employeurs et les travailleurs dans leurs efforts vers ces objectifs;

Considérant que la Charte de l'Atlantique a exprimé le vœu des signataires "d'établir la collaboration la plus complète entre toutes les nations dans le domaine économique en vue de procurer à tous de meilleures conditions de travail, le progrès économique et la sécurité sociale";

Considérant que la Conférence de l'Organisation internationale du Travail a, par une résolution adoptée le 5 novembre 1941, appuyé les principes de la Charte de l'Atlantique et promis la pleine collaboration de l'Organisation internationale du Travail pour les traduire en actes;

Considérant que l'Organisation internationale du Travail a adopté en différentes occasions des conventions et recommandations concernant certains aspects des conditions de vie et de travail dans les territoires dépendants et, conformément à l'article 85 de la Constitution de l'Organisation, encouragé l'application dans ces territoires de conventions et recommandations d'application générale;

Considérant que le progrès du bien-être et du développement des peuples dépendants est influencé par les relations économiques entre les territoires dépendants et le reste du monde, aussi bien que par les mesures d'ordre intérieur prises dans ces territoires;

Considérant qu'il est désirable d'énoncer les principes fondamentaux de politique sociale à observer dans les territoires dépendants et d'assurer l'extension à ces territoires de l'application de normes minimas acceptées internationalement, ainsi que
these standards, in order to promote the attainment of the aforesaid objects;

The Conference makes the following recommendations:

1. Each Member of the International Labour Organisation should take or continue to take such steps as are within its competence to promote the well-being and development of the peoples of dependent territories through the effective application of the general principles set forth in Part I of the Annex to this Recommendation.

2. Each Member of the Organisation which is responsible for any dependent territory should take all steps within its competence to secure the effective application in each such territory of the minimum standards set forth in Part II of the Annex to this Recommendation, and in particular should bring this Recommendation before the authority or authorities competent to make effective in each such territory the minimum standards set forth in Part II of the Annex.

3. Each Member of the Organisation should, if it approves this Recommendation, notify the Director of the International Labour Office of its acceptance of the general principles set forth in Part I of the Annex; should communicate to the Director at the earliest possible date particulars of the action taken to make effective the minimum standards set forth in Part II of the Annex in respect of each dependent territory for which the Member in question is responsible; and thereafter should report to the International Labour Office from time to time, as requested by the Governing Body, concerning the action taken to give effect to the Recommendation.

4. The standards set forth in Part II of the Annex to this Recommendation should be regarded as minimum standards, which do not qualify or impair any obligation to apply higher standards incumbent upon any Member of the Organisation under the Constitution of the Organisation or under any International Labour Convention which the Member may have ratified, and should in no case be so interpreted or applied as to lessen the protection afforded by existing legislation to the workers concerned.

ANNEX

PART I. GENERAL PRINCIPLES

Article 1

1. All policies designed to apply to dependent territories shall be primarily directed to the well-being and development of the peoples of such territories and to the amélioration de ces normes, en vue d’aidar à la réalisation des fins ci-dessus mentionnées;

La Conférence recommande ce qui suit:

1. Tout Membre de l’Organisation internationale du Travail devrait prendre ou continuer à prendre les mesures rentrant dans sa compétence pour assurer le bien-être et le développement des peuples des territoires dépendants par l’application effective des principes généraux énoncés dans la partie I de l’annexe à la présente recommandation.

2. Tout Membre de l’Organisation de qui relève un territoire dépendant devrait prendre toutes mesures utiles rentrant dans sa compétence pour assurer l’application effective dans ce territoire des normes minima énoncées dans la partie II de l’annexe à la présente recommandation, et notamment soumettre la présente recommandation à l’autorité ou aux autorités ayant compétence pour rendre effectives dans ce territoire les normes minima énoncées dans la partie II de l’annexe.

3. Tout Membre de l’Organisation devrait, s’il approuve la présente recommandation, notifier au Directeur du Bureau international du Travail son acceptation des principes généraux énoncés dans la partie I de l’annexe; il devrait lui communiquer, dans le plus bref délai possible, les détails des mesures prises en vue de rendre effectives les normes minima énoncées dans la partie II de l’annexe, à l’égard de chaque territoire dépendant relevant de lui, et devrait ultérieurement présenter au Bureau international du Travail, conformément à ce que décidera le Conseil d’administration, des rapports exposant les mesures prises pour mettre la recommandation en application.

4. Les normes énoncées dans la partie II de l’annexe à la présente recommandation devraient être considérées comme des normes minima, qui ne sauraient restreindre ni affecter toute obligation d’appliquer des normes plus élevées qui peut incomber à un Membre de l’Organisation, soit en vertu de la Constitution de l’Organisation, soit en vertu d’une convention internationale du travail ratifiée par lui, et ne pourraient en aucun cas être interprétées ni appliquées de manière à diminuer la protection déjà accordée par la législation aux travailleurs dont il s’agit.

ANNEXE

PARTIE I. PRINCIPES GENERAUX

Article 1

1. Toute politique destinée à être appliquée aux territoires dépendants doit tendre en premier lieu au bien-être et au développement des peuples de ces territoires
the promotion of the desire on their part for social progress.

2. Policies of more general application shall be formulated with due regard to their effect upon the well-being of dependent peoples.

Article 2

1. In order to promote economic advancement and thus to lay the foundations of social progress, every effort shall be made to secure, on an international, regional, national or territorial basis, financial and technical assistance in the economic development of dependent territories under the control of the local administrations, in such a way as to safeguard the interests of the peoples of dependent territories.

2. It shall be an aim of policy for all government authorities to ensure that adequate funds are made available to provide capital for development purposes on terms which secure to the peoples of the dependent territories the full benefits of such development.

3. In appropriate cases international, regional or national action shall be taken with a view to establishing conditions of trade sufficient for the maintenance of reasonable standards of living for producers efficiently producing the essential export products of dependent territories.

Article 3

All possible steps shall be taken by appropriate international, regional, national and territorial measures to promote improvement in such fields as public health, housing, nutrition, education, the welfare of children, the status of women, conditions of employment, the remuneration of wage earners and independent producers, migratory labour, social security, standards of public services and general production. These steps shall include the adoption of appropriate commercial and trading policies by countries on which dependent territories depend.

Article 4

All possible steps shall be taken effectively to associate the peoples of the dependent territories in the framing and execution of measures of social progress, preferably through their own elected representatives where appropriate and possible.

PART II. MINIMUM STANDARDS

SECTION 1. SLAVERY

Article 5

In pursuance of the objective of free labour in a free world, the principle is ainsi qu'à encourager leurs propres aspirations vers le progrès social.

2. Dans la définition de toutes politiques d'une portée plus générale, il doit être dûment tenu compte des répercussions de ces politiques sur le bien-être des peuples dépendants.

Article 2

1. En vue de favoriser l'avancement économique et de poser ainsi les bases du progrès social, tous efforts seront faits sur le plan international, régional, national ou territorial, pour donner au développement économique des territoires dépendants une assistance financière et technique placée sous le contrôle des autorités locales, de manière à sauvegarder les intérêts des populations des territoires dépendants.

2. Ce devra être l'un des buts de la politique sociale des autorités publiques d'assurer que des fonds suffisants seront disponibles pour fournir des capitaux pour le développement économique, à des conditions qui garantissent aux peuples des territoires dépendants le plein bénéfice de ce développement.

3. Le cas échéant, des mesures internationales, régionales ou nationales seront prises en vue d'établir des conditions de commerce suffisantes pour assurer un niveau de vie raisonnable aux producteurs compétents d'articles d'exportation essentiels de territoires dépendants.

Article 3

Toutes initiatives possibles seront prises au moyen de mesures appropriées sur le plan international, régional, national ou territorial pour encourager des améliorations dans des domaines tels que l'hygiène publique, le logement, l'alimentation, l'instruction publique, le bien-être des enfants, le statut des femmes, les conditions de travail, la rémunération des salariés et des producteurs indépendants, la protection des travailleurs migrants, la sécurité sociale, le fonctionnement des services publics et la production en général. Ces initiatives comprendront, de la part des pays dont relèvent les territoires dépendants, des mesures appropriées dans le domaine commercial.

Article 4

Toutes initiatives possibles seront prises pour associer d'une manière effective les peuples des territoires dépendants à l'élaboration et à l'exécution de mesures de progrès social, de préférence par leurs propres représentants élus, là où cette méthode est appropriée et possible.

PARTIE II. NORMES MINIMA

SECTION 1. ESPRIT DE LA COTONNÉE ALABOITONNAGE
affirmed that the slave trade and slavery in all its forms shall be prohibited and effectively suppressed in all dependent territories.

SECTION 2. OPIUM

Article 6

1. In recognition of the menace which the use of opium may represent to the health, productivity and general welfare of the peoples of dependent territories, the principle is affirmed that the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs shall be strictly regulated in such manner as to protect fully the interests of the workers.

2. Consideration shall be given to the prohibition of opium smoking and the abolition of government opium monopolies in all dependent territories where opium smoking is still authorised.

SECTION 3. FORCED OR COMPULSORY LABOUR

Article 7

1. The use of forced or compulsory labour in dependent territories, which may have been inaugurated during the present war emergency, shall be eliminated entirely within the shortest possible period. In the meantime measures shall be adopted in dependent territories to increase the spontaneous offer of labour.

2. The use of forced or compulsory labour in all its forms shall be suppressed within the shortest possible period.

3. Where forced or compulsory labour is used in dependent territories as a temporary and exceptional measure the conditions and guarantees provided for in the Forced Labour Convention, 1930, shall be respected. In no case shall the use of forced or compulsory labour by private employers be permitted, irrespective of whether or not the State contracts with the employers.

4. Consideration shall be given to the possibility of eliminating or withdrawing any exceptions to the application in dependent territories of all the provisions of the Forced Labour Convention, 1930.

5. Consideration shall be given to the application of the Forced Labour Convention, 1930, to those dependent territories where forced or compulsory labour may occur in respect of which the Convention is not already in force.

6. Consideration shall be given to the desirability of ratifying the Forced Labour Convention, 1930, by such states responsible for dependent territories where forced or compulsory labour may occur as have not already done so.
Article 8

With a view to avoiding the development of indirect compulsion to labour, consideration shall be given to the application of the principles set forth in the Forced Labour (Indirect Compulsion) Recommendation, 1930.

Section 4. Recruiting of Workers

Article 9

1. It shall be an aim of policy to eliminate the recruiting of workers and to replace such recruiting by arrangements which, though based upon the spontaneous offer of labour through free agencies controlled by government, provide for medical inspection, transport, food and shelter and all other benefits accruing to workers under existing systems.

2. Pending the formulation of any new proposals concerning the methods of obtaining labour and with a view to the more rapid promotion of a change over to the new methods contemplated, consideration shall be given to the application of the principles contained in the Elimination of Recruiting Recommendation, 1936.

Article 10

1. Consideration shall be given to the application of the Recruiting of Indigenous Workers Convention, 1936, to those dependent territories where recruiting may occur in respect of which the Convention is not already in force.

2. Consideration shall be given to the desirability of ratifying the Recruiting of Indigenous Workers Convention, 1936, by such states responsible for dependent territories where recruiting may occur as have not already done so.

Section 5. Special Types of Contract of Employment

Article 11

1. It shall be an aim of policy to regulate long-term employment by a system of written contracts in the cases required by and in accordance with the provisions of the Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939.

2. Consideration shall be given to the application of the Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939, to those dependent territories where employment under long-term contract may occur in respect of which the Convention is not already in force.

3. Consideration shall be given to the desirability of ratifying the Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939, in those territories to which the Convention is not yet applicable.

Article 8

En vue d'éviter l'extension des procédés de contrainte indirecte au travail, on envisagera l'application des principes énoncés dans la recommandation concernant la contrainte indirecte au travail, 1930.

Section 4. Recrutement de Travailleurs

Article 9

1. Ce devra être l'un des buts de la politique sociale d'éliminer le recrutement de travailleurs et de le remplacer par des dispositions qui, bien qu'établies sur la base de l'offre spontanée de la main d'œuvre, par des institutions libres sous le contrôle du gouvernement, comporteraient les visites médicales, le transport, l'alimentation et l'habitation et les autres avantages que reçoivent les travailleurs dans le système actuel.

2. En attendant que soient formulées d'autres propositions concernant les méthodes d'embauchage de la main d'œuvre et en vue de faciliter et de hâter le passage aux nouvelles méthodes envisagées, on examinera la possibilité d'appliquer les principes contenus dans la recommandation concernant l'élimination progressive du recrutement, 1936.

Article 10

1. Il conviendra d'examiner la possibilité d'appliquer la convention sur le recrutement des travailleurs indigènes, 1936, dans ceux des territoires dépendants où un tel recrutement pourrait exister et où cette convention n'est pas encore en vigueur.

2. Les États qui ont la responsabilité de territoires dépendants où le recrutement pourrait exister, et qui n'ont pas encore ratifié la convention sur le recrutement des travailleurs indigènes, 1936, examineront l'opportunité de le faire.

Section 5. Types Spéciaux de Contrat de Travail

Article 11

1. Ce devra être l'un des buts de la politique sociale de régler l'emploi à long terme par le moyen de contrats écrits dans les cas prévus par les dispositions de la convention sur les contrats de travail (travailleurs indigènes), 1939, et en accord avec elles.

2. Il conviendra d'examiner la possibilité d'appliquer la convention sur les contrats de travail (travailleurs indigènes), 1939, à ceux des territoires dépendants où peut se rencontrer l'emploi sous le régime de contrats à long terme, et auxquels ladite convention ne s'applique pas encore.

3. Les États qui ont la responsabilité de territoires dépendants où peut se rencon-
Appendix XII: Authentic texts—Recommendations

Employment (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939, by such states responsible for dependent territories where employment under long-term contract may occur as have not already done so.

Article 12

With a view to the definite limitation of periods of service under contract, consideration shall be given to the application of the principles set forth in the Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers) Recommendation, 1939.

Article 13

1. All practicable steps shall be taken to equate supply and demand in areas where some casual employment is inevitable and to guard against undesirable attraction of casual labour to centres of potential employment.

2. Measures, such as short-term labour agreements, shall be considered in order to secure the maximum employment for labour normally available at such centres.

Article 14

1. The practice of entering statements of a subjective nature on the worker's conduct or ability in work-cards or work-books required by law to be carried on the person of the worker shall be eliminated.

2. The use of work-cards or work-books shall be regulated to prevent their use as a device of intimidation or compulsion in employment.

Article 15

Where a married man is employed on contract within his own country but at a considerable distance from his home, the competent authority shall take all practical steps in appropriate cases to afford him full opportunity to be accompanied if he so desires by his wife and family.

SECTION 6. PENAL SANCTIONS

Article 16

1. It shall be an aim of policy to abolish penal sanctions for breach of contract of employment as defined in Article 1 of the Penal Sanctions (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939.

2. Consideration shall be given to the application of the Penal Sanctions (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939, to those dependent territories where the imposition of penal sanctions may occur in order to fix the limits precisely aux périodes de service qui peuvent être stipulées dans un contrat, on examinera la possibilité d'appliquer les principes établis dans la recommandation sur les contrats de travail (travailleurs indigènes), 1939.

Article 13

1. Toutes mesures pratiques et possibles seront prises pour équilibrer l'offre et la demande dans les régions où un certain emploi de main d'œuvre occasionnelle est inexistant et pour prévenir toute attraction non souhaitable de la main d'œuvre occasionnelle vers les centres d'emploi sporadique.

2. Afin d'assurer l'emploi maximum de la main d'œuvre normalement disponible dans ces centres, on étudiera des mesures appropriées comme, par exemple, les contrats de travail à court terme.

Article 14

1. Il conviendra de supprimer, là où elle peut exister, la pratique d'inscrire des appréciations d'une nature subjective concernant la conduite ou l'habileté professionnelle d'un travailleur, sur des cartes de travail ou livrets de travail que le travailleur est légalement tenu de porter sur soi.

2. L'emploi de cartes ou livrets de travail sera réglementé de manière à ne pouvoir pas constituer un moyen d'intimidation ou de pression dans le travail.

Article 15

Lorsqu'un homme marié est employé par contrat dans son pays, mais à une distance considérable de ses foyers, l'autorité compétente devra, dans les cas convenables, prendre toutes les mesures pratiques et possibles pour lui donner toutes les possibilités d'être accompagné, s'il le désire par sa femme et sa famille.

SECTION 6. SANCTIONS PÉNALES

Article 16

1. Ce devra être l'un des buts de la politique sociale d'abolir complètement les sanctions pénales frappant les manquements à un contrat de travail, tels qu'ils sont définis à l'article 1 de la convention sur les sanctions pénales (travailleurs indigènes), 1939.

2. Il conviendra d'examiner la possibilité d'appliquer la convention sur les sanctions pénales (travailleurs indigènes), 1939, dans ceux des territoires dépendants où des sanctions pénales pourraient être inapplicables.
respective of which the Convention is not already in force.

3. Consideration shall be given to the desirability of ratifying the Penal Sanctions (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939, by such states responsible for dependent territories where the imposition of penal sanctions may occur as have not already done so.

SECTION 7. EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PERSONS

Article 17

1. Adequate provision shall be made in dependent territories, to the maximum extent possible under local conditions, for the progressive development of broad systems of education, vocational training and apprenticeship, with a view to the elimination of illiteracy among children and young persons and to their effective preparation for a useful occupation.

2. In order that the child population may be able to profit by existing facilities for education and in order that the extension of these facilities may not be hindered by a demand for child labour, the employment of persons below the school-leaving age shall be prohibited in any area where educational facilities are provided on a scale adequate for the majority of the children of school age.

Article 18

1. Children under the age of twelve years shall not be employed in any employment, except on light work of an agricultural or domestic character in which only members of the employer’s family are employed or except on agricultural light work carried on collectively by the local community. This age shall be progressively raised along with the school-leaving age.

2. Where the transfer of children to the family of an employer is permitted by custom, the conditions of transfer and of employment shall be closely regulated and supervised, whether the children are above or below twelve years of age. The progressive abolition of all such transfers shall be an aim of policy for all dependent territories.

Article 19

Children under the age of fifteen years shall not be employed or work in any industrial undertaking, or in any branch thereof.

Article 20

Children under the age of fifteen years shall not be employed or work on vessels.
Article 21

1. Young persons under the age of sixteen years shall not be employed underground in mines.

2. The employment underground in mines of young persons who have attained the age of sixteen years but not that of eighteen years shall be conditional on the production of a medical certificate attesting fitness for such work, signed by a doctor who shall be approved by the competent authority.

Article 22

1. Young persons under the age of eighteen years shall not be employed or work on vessels as trimmers or stokers.

2. When a trimmer or stoker is required in a port where young persons of less than eighteen years of age only are available, such young persons may be employed and in that case it shall be necessary to engage two young persons in place of the trimmer or stoker required. Such young persons shall be at least sixteen years of age.

3. Provided that the provisions of this Article do not apply:
   (a) to the employment of young persons on vessels mainly propelled by other means than steam;
   (b) to young persons of not less than sixteen years of age who, if found physically fit after medical examination, may be employed as trimmers or stokers on vessels exclusively engaged in coastal trade.

Article 23

The provisions of Articles 18 (1), 19 and 20 do not apply to work, approved and supervised by the competent authority, done by children or young persons in bona-fide state or private technical schools or school ships or training ships having prescribed courses of study and reasonable limits on the length of time in which students may remain in training or apprenticeship.

Article 24

1. In the case of unhealthy, dangerous or onerous work, minimum ages higher than those required in virtue of Articles 18 (1) and 19 shall be fixed, or the hours of work of children between the minimum age of employment and an appropriate higher age shall be subject to special limitations, or other special protection shall be afforded.

2. Special protection shall be provided for children who are permitted to undertake employment away from their homes.
Article 25

1. Young persons under eighteen years of age shall not be employed during the night in any industrial undertaking, or in any branch thereof.

2. Provided that young persons over the age of sixteen years may be employed during the night in exceptional circumstances defined by the competent authority.

Article 26

1. The employment of any young person under eighteen years of age on any vessel shall be conditional on the production of a medical certificate attesting fitness for such work, signed by a doctor who shall be approved by the competent authority.

2. In urgent cases the competent authority may allow a young person below the age of eighteen years to embark without having undergone medical examination, always provided that such an examination shall be undergone, at the expense of the employer, at the first port at which the vessel calls, and that failing satisfactory medical attestation the young person shall be returned as a passenger to the port or place where he was engaged or to his home, whichever is the nearer, at the expense of the employer.

Article 27

In developing systems of education suited to the economic and social interests of the communities, consideration shall be given to the application of the principles set forth in the Vocational Training Recommendation, 1939, so far as this is practicable and appropriate to local circumstances.

Article 28

To assist in the application of the provisions of this Section, administrative bodies or officers shall be appointed. The appointment and establishment of these administrative bodies or officers shall be made in accordance with practices successfully adopted in metropolitan or independent countries.

Section 8. Employment of Women

Article 29

It shall be an aim of policy for all competent authorities to take such measures as, having due regard to local conditions, are appropriate and practicable to secure for women: adequate opportunities of general education, vocational training and employment; safeguards against physically harmful conditions of employment and economic exploitation, including safeguards for motherhood; protection against any special forms of exploitation; and fair and equal treatment between men and

Section 8. Emploi des femmes

Article 29

Ce devra être l'un des buts de la politique sociale de l'autorité compétente de prendre, en tenant dûment compte des conditions locales, les mesures appropriées et applicables pour assurer aux femmes la possibilité d'une instruction générale, d'une formation professionnelle et d'un emploi, des garanties contre les conditions de travail nuisibles à la santé et contre l'exploitation économique, y compris des garanties en faveur de la maternité, une protection contre toutes formes spéciales
Article 30

All practicable steps shall be taken to improve the social and economic status of women in any dependent territory where, whether by law or custom, arrangements survive which in effect maintain women in, or reduce women to, a condition of servitude.

Article 31

1. Provision shall be made as rapidly as possible for maternity protection for women employed in industrial and commercial undertakings.

2. In so doing the aim shall be to give effect, subject to such modifications as may be necessary in the light of local conditions, to the provisions of the Childbirth Convention, 1919, and in particular to the following principles:

(a) the right to be absent from employment before and after childbirth;

(b) the right to medical assistance and benefits during such absence.

Article 32

1. Women shall not be employed during the night in any industrial undertaking, or in any branch thereof.

2. Provided that women may be employed during the night:

(a) in cases where the work has to do with raw materials or materials in course of treatment which are subject to rapid deterioration; and

(b) when in any undertaking an emergency occurs which it was impossible to foresee and which is not of a recurring character.

3. Provided also that the prohibition of night work may be suspended, when in case of serious emergency the public interest demands it.

4. The provisions of this Article do not apply to women holding responsible positions of management who are not ordinarily engaged in manual work.

Article 33

1. Women shall not be employed on underground work in any mine.
2. Provided that the competent authority may grant exemptions from the above prohibition in respect of:

(a) women holding positions of management who do not perform manual work;
(b) women employed in health and welfare services;
(c) women who, in the course of their studies, spend a period of training in the underground parts of a mine; and
(d) any other woman who may occasionally have to enter the underground parts of a mine for the purpose of a non-manual occupation.

Article 34

In order to promote the application of measures relating to the employment and economic status of women and their welfare, use shall be made of women advisers where questions especially affecting women are to be considered. The women advisers shall, whenever possible, be drawn from the local population.

SECTION 9. REMUNERATION

Article 35

1. The improvement of standards of living shall be regarded as the principal objective in the planning of economic development.

2. All practicable measures appropriate to local conditions shall be taken to secure for independent producers and wage earners conditions which will ensure the maintenance of minimum standards of living as ascertained by means of official enquiries into living conditions and will give scope to independent producers and wage earners to improve those standards by their own efforts.

3. Forms of economic enterprise which require the labour of workers living away from their homes shall take account of the normal family needs of the workers.

4. Where the labour resources of other areas are used on a temporary basis for the benefit of one area, measures shall be taken to encourage the transfer of part of the workers' wages and savings from the area of labour utilisation to the areas of labour supply.

5. Where workers and their families move from low-cost to higher cost areas, account shall be taken of the increased cost of living resulting from the change.

2. Toutefois, l'autorité compétente peut accorder des exceptions de l'interdiction susmentionnée en ce qui concerne:

a) les femmes occupant un poste de direction, qui n'effectuent pas un travail manuel;

b) les femmes occupées dans les services sanitaires et sociaux;

c) les femmes en cours d'études admissibles à effectuer un stage dans les parties souterraines d'une mine en vue de leur formation professionnelle;

d) toutes autres femmes appelées occasionnellement à descendre dans les parties souterraines d'une mine pour l'exercice d'une profession de caractère non manuel.

Article 34

Afin de stimuler l'application des mesures relatives à l'emploi, au statut économique et au bien-être des femmes, on aura recours à des conseillers techniques féminins pour la discussion de questions intéressant spécialement les femmes. Les conseillers techniques féminins devront, là où c'est possible, provenir de la population locale.

SECTION 9. RÉMUNÉRATION

Article 35

1. L'amélioration du niveau de vie sera considérée comme l'objectif principal des plans de développement économique.

2. Toutes mesures pratiques et possibles adaptées aux conditions locales seront prises pour assurer aux producteurs indépendants et aux salariés le maintien d'un niveau de vie minimum déterminé au moyen d'enquêtes officielles sur les conditions d'existence et pour leur permettre d'améliorer ce niveau de vie par leurs propres efforts.

3. Les formes d'entreprise économique qui exigent l'emploi de travailleurs résidant hors de leurs foyers devront tenir compte des besoins familiaux normaux des travailleurs.

4. Lorsqu'il sera fait appel, à titre temporaire, en faveur d'une région, aux ressources en main d'œuvre d'autres régions, des mesures seront prises pour favoriser la participation des régions qui ont fourni la main d'œuvre aux salaires et épargnes réalisés que celle-ci aura obtenus dans la région où elle aura été utilisée.

5. Lorsque les travailleurs et leur famille se transportent d'une région où le coût de la vie est bas à une région où le coût de la vie est plus élevé, il doit être tenu compte de l'augmentation du coût de la vie qu'entraîne ce changement de résidence.
6. The substitution of alcohol or other spirituous beverages for all or any part of wages for services performed by the workers shall be prohibited.

Article 36

All public works, whether undertaken directly by a public authority or through a contract entered into between a public authority and an employer, shall be subject to the requirement that the rates of wages and the general conditions of employment shall be not less than the prevailing rates and conditions, and shall where practicable be fixed after consultation with any employers' and workers' organisations concerned.

Section 10. Health, Housing and Social Security

Article 37

1. All practicable measures shall be taken to improve the health of the people by the extension of medical facilities, by the development of public health programmes, by surveys of epidemic and endemic diseases prevalent in tropical dependent territories and by the introduction of appropriate measures of combating them, by the spread of health education and the improvement of nutrition and housing.

2. All practicable measures shall be taken to ascertain by nutritional surveys the food requirements of the people and the ways of improving nutrition and to give effect to the food policies which such surveys indicate. National nutritional organisations shall be set up and shall be provided with adequate funds, facilities and authority.

3. The competent authority shall be responsible for ensuring the establishment of satisfactory housing conditions. The general aim of policy shall be to provide workers normally dependent on wage earning with the opportunity of securing satisfactory housing accommodation on premises not the property of the employer.

4. Where an undertaking employing labour is situated in an area where satisfactory housing accommodation is not available, the provision of housing may be made an obligation on the undertaking on an equitable basis. In such cases the competent authority shall define the minimum standards of accommodation and shall exercise strict control over the enforcement of these standards. The competent authority shall also define the rights of the worker who may be required to vacate his house on leaving employment and shall take all necessary steps to secure the enforcement of these rights.

Section 10. Santé publique, logement et sécurité sociale

Article 37

1. Toutes mesures pratiques et possibles seront prises pour améliorer l'état de santé de la population par l'extension des services médicaux, le développement de programmes de santé publique, l'établissement d'enquêtes sur les maladies épidémiques et endémiques des territoires dépendants tropicaux et l'introduction de mesures propres à combattre ces maladies, comme aussi par la diffusion de l'enseignement de l'hygiène et l'amélioration de l'alimentation et du logement.

2. Toutes mesures pratiques et possibles seront prises pour déterminer par des enquêtes les besoins alimentaires de la population et les moyens d'améliorer le régime alimentaire et pour réaliser la politique alimentaire que suggèrent ces enquêtes. Des organisations nationales de l'alimentation seront créées et munies des budgets, des moyens et de l'autorité nécessaires.

3. L'autorité compétente sera responsable de l'établissement et du maintien de conditions de logement satisfaisantes. En règle générale, les travailleurs qui vivent normalement de leur salaire doivent avoir la possibilité de jouir de conditions de logement satisfaisantes, dans des locaux n'appartenant pas à l'employeur.

4. Lorsqu'une entreprise employant de la main-d'œuvre est située dans une région où il n'existe pas de logement convenable, l'entreprise pourra être astreinte à fournir le logement sur une base équitable; en de tels cas, l'autorité compétente définira les normes minima de logement et exercera un contrôle strict sur l'observance de ces normes. L'autorité compétente définira aussi les droits du travailleur qui peut avoir à évacuer son logement en quittant son emploi et toutes les mesures nécessaires devront être prises pour assurer le respect de ces droits.
**Article 38**

Such arrangements as are practicable, having due regard to local conditions, shall be made for the maintenance and treatment of the sick and for the care of the aged, of the incapacitated and of the dependent survivors of deceased persons.

**Article 39**

1. Provision shall be made by law for the payment of compensation to employed persons in case of incapacity for work caused by accidents arising out of and in the course of their employment, and to their dependent survivors in case of death caused by such accidents, and for the medical care of persons injured by such accidents.

2. The laws and regulations concerning workmen's compensation shall apply to all workers, employees and apprentices employed on vessels and by industrial, commercial, and agricultural undertakings.

3. Provided that exceptions may be made in respect of:
   
   (a) persons whose employment is of a casual nature and who are employed otherwise than for the purpose of the employer's trade or business;
   
   (b) out-workers;
   
   (c) members of the employer's family who work exclusively on his behalf and who live with him;
   
   (d) non-manual workers whose remuneration exceeds a limit to be determined by laws or regulations.

**Article 40**

1. Compensation shall be payable to workers incapacitated by occupational diseases, or, in case of death from any such disease to their dependants, in accordance with the general principles of workmen's compensation.

2. Provided that such compensation may be limited to the occupational diseases of chief importance in the territory concerned.

**Section 11. Prohibition of Colour and Religious Bars and Other Discriminatory Practices**

**Article 41**

1. The standards set by law in each ter-
ritory with respect to conditions of labour shall have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident or working therein.

2. Discrimination directed against workers for reason of race, colour, confession or tribal association, as regards their admission to public or private employment shall be prohibited.

3. All measures practicable under local conditions shall be taken to promote effective equality of treatment in employment by the provision of facilities for training, by the discouragement of discrimination in the negotiation of collective agreements or on grounds of trade union membership, and by other appropriate means.

SECTION 12. INSPECTION

Article 42

1. Labour inspection services shall be established in territories where such services do not already exist. Inspectors shall be required to inspect conditions of employment at frequent intervals.

2. The inspectors shall have no direct or indirect interest in undertakings subject to their supervision.

3. Workers and their representatives shall be afforded every facility for communicating freely with the inspectors.

SECTION 13. INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATION

Article 43

1. The rights of employers and employed alike to associate for all lawful purposes shall be guaranteed by appropriate measures.

2. All practicable measures shall be taken to consult and associate the representatives of organisations of employers and workers in the establishment and working of machinery for conciliation, arbitration, minimum wage fixing and labour inspection. Where representative organisations of workers have not developed, the competent authority shall appoint persons specially qualified to act on behalf of the workers and by advice and guidance to assist in the early development of workers' organisations.

3. All practicable measures shall be taken to assure to trade unions which are representative of the workers concerned the right to conclude collective agreements with employers or employers' organisations.

SECTION 12. INSPECTION

Article 42

1. Des services d'inspection du travail seront établis dans les territoires où il n'en existe pas encore. Les inspecteurs seront tenus de procéder à des inspections à des intervalles rapprochés.

2. Les inspecteurs ne devront être ni directement ni indirectement intéressés dans les entreprises assujetties à leur contrôle.

3. Les travailleurs et leurs représentants devront jouir de toutes facilités pour communiquer librement avec les inspecteurs.

SECTION 13. ORGANISATION PROFESSIONNELLE

Article 43

1. Le droit des employeurs et des salariés à s'associer en vue de tous objets non contraires aux lois sera garanti par des mesures appropriées.

2. Toutes mesures pratiques et possibles seront prises pour consulter et associer les représentants des organisations d'employeurs et de travailleurs dans l'établissement et au fonctionnement des organismes de conciliation, d'arbitrage, de fixation de salaires minima et d'inspection du travail. Là où les organisations représentatives des travailleurs ne se sont pas développées, l'autorité compétente désignera des personnes spécialement qualifiées pour agir au nom des travailleurs et pour aider, par leurs avis et conseils, au premier développement des organisations ouvrières.

3. Toutes mesures pratiques et possibles seront prises pour assurer aux syndicats professionnels représentant les travailleurs intéressés le droit de conclure des conventions collectives avec les employeurs ou avec les organisations d'employeurs.
Article 44

1. As rapidly as possible, machinery shall be created for the settlement of collective disputes between employers and workers.

2. Representatives of the employers and workers concerned, including representatives of their respective organisations, where such exist, shall where practicable, be associated in the operation of the machinery, in such manner and to such extent, but in any case in equal numbers and on equal terms, as may be determined by the competent authority.

SECTION 14. CO-OPERATIVE ORGANISATIONS

Article 45

1. The assistance and development of co-operative societies, including co-operative organisations of workers for the promotion of health, housing and education, shall be accepted as part of the economic programme of competent authorities in dependent territories, and the measures to be taken shall include financial assistance wherever this is appropriate.

2. To this end consideration shall be given to:
   (a) the adoption of adequate legislation, simple and inexpensive in application, covering all forms of co-operative organisations;
   (b) the creation of special services to promote and supervise the development of co-operative organisations and to encourage education in co-operation.

3. In appropriate cases co-operative organisations shall be effectively represented on public boards and agencies affecting their interests.

SECTION 15. DEFINITIONS AND SCOPE

Article 46

For the purposes of this Part of the present Annex:

(a) the term "agricultural undertaking" may be defined so as to include processes conducted on the undertaking for the preservation and despatch of the agricultural products of the undertaking, unless it is desired to classify these processes as parts of an industrial undertaking;

(b) the term "commercial undertaking" includes:
   (i) commercial establishments and

SECTION 14. ORGANISATIONS COOPÉRATIVES

Article 45

1. Les autorités compétentes devront inclure dans leur programme économique l’assistance aux sociétés coopératives et le développement des sociétés coopératives, y compris les organisations coopératives de travailleurs formées à des fins sanitaires, les coopératives d’habitation et les coopératives à fins éducatives; les mesures à prendre devront comprendre une aide financière, toutes les fois qu’il conviendra.

2. A cette fin, on envisagera:
   (a) l’adoption d’une législation appropriée, simple et peu coûteuse dans son application, couvrant toutes les formes d’organisations coopératives;
   (b) la création de services spécialisés chargés de promouvoir et de contrôler le développement des organisations coopératives et d’encourager l’éducation coopérative.

3. Dans les cas appropriés, les organisations coopératives seront représentées effectivement dans les offices et comités publics dont l’activité affecte leurs intérêts.

SECTION 15. DÉFINITIONS ET CHAMP D’APPLICATION

Article 46

Aux fins de la présente partie de la présente annexe:

(a) le terme “établissement agricole” peut être défini de manière à comprendre les opérations effectuées dans l’établissement pour la conservation et l’expédition des produits agricoles de l’établissement, à moins qu’on ne désire classer ces opérations comme faisant partie d’un établissement industriel;

(b) le terme “établissement commercial” comprend:
   (i) les établissements commerciaux
offices, including establishments 
engaging wholly or mainly in the 
sale, purchase, distribution, in¬
surance, negotiation, loan, or ad¬
ministration of goods or services 
of any kind;

(ii) establishments for the treat¬
ment or care particularly of the 
aged, infirm, sick, destitute, or 
mentally unfit;

(iii) hotels, restaurants, boarding 
houses, clubs, cafés and other 
refreshment houses;

(iv) theatres and places of public 
amusement; and

(v) any establishment similar in 
character to those enumerated in 
sub-paragraphs (i), (ii), (iii), 
and (iv) above;

c) the term “industrial undertaking” 
includes:

(i) undertakings in which articles 
are manufactured, altered, clean¬
ed, repaired, ornamented, fin¬
ished, adapted for sale, broken 
up or demolished, or in which 
materials are transformed, in¬
cluding undertakings engaged in 
shipbuilding, in the generation, 
transformation, or transmission 
of electricity, in the production 
or distribution of gas or motive 
power of any kind, in the purifi¬
cation or distribution of water, 
or in heating;

(ii) undertakings engaged in the 
construction, reconstruction, 
maintenance, repair, alteration, 
or demolition of any one or more 
of the following: buildings, rail¬
ways, tramways, airports, har¬
bours, docks, piers, works of pro¬
tection against floods or coast 
erosion, canals, works for the 
purpose of inland, maritime or 
aerial navigation, roads, tunnels, 
bridges, viaducts, sewers, drains, 
wells, irrigation or drainage 
works, telecommunication instal¬
lations, works for the production 
or distribution of electricity or 
gas, pipelines, waterworks, and 
undertakings engaged in other 
similar work or in the prepara¬
tion for or laying the founda¬
tions of any such work or struc¬
ture;

(iii) mines, quarries or other 
works for the extraction of min¬
erals from the earth; and

et les bureaux, comprenant les 
établissements dont l'activité 
consiste essentiellement ou prin¬
cipalement à vendre, acheter, dis¬
tribuer, assurer, négocier, prêter 
ou gérer des biens ou des services 
de toute nature;

ii) les établissements où sont hos¬
pitalisés, traités ou soignés, not¬
tamment, les vieillards, les mala¬
des, les infirmes, les indigents, 
or les aliénés;

iii) les hôtels, restaurants, pen¬
sions, cercles, cafés et autres 
établissements où sont servies des 
consommations;

iv) les établissements de spectacles 
et de divertissements;

v) tous les établissements de ca¬
ractères similaires à ceux des éta¬
blissements numérotés aux sous¬
alinéas i), ii), iii) et iv) ci-des¬
sus;

c) l'expression “établissement indus¬
trial” comprend:

i) les établissements dans lesquels 
des produits sont manufacturés, 
modifiés, nettoyés, réparés, dé¬
corés, achetés, préparés pour la 
vente, détruits ou démolis, ou 
daussi dans lesquels des matières subis¬
sent une transformation, y com¬
pris la construction des navires, 
ainsi que les entreprises de pro¬
duction, de transformation et de 
transmission de l'électricité, les 
entreprises de production et de 
distribution de gaz ou de force 
motrice en général, les entre¬
prises d'épuration et de distribu¬
bution d'eau, et les entreprises de 
chauffage;

ii) les entreprises de construction, 
reconstruction, entretien, répara¬
tion, modification ou démolition 
des ouvrages suivants: bâtiments 
et édifices, chemins de fer, tram¬
ways, aéroports, ports, docks, je¬
tées, ouvrages de protection con¬
tre l'action des cours d'eau et de 
la mer, canaux, installations pour 
la navigation intérieure, mari¬
time ou aérienne, routes, tunnels, 
ports, viaducs, égouts collecteurs, 
égouts ordinaires, puits, installa¬
tions pour l'irrigation et le drai¬
nage, installations pour télécom¬
munications, installations affé¬
rentes à la production ou à la dis¬
tribution de force électrique et de 
gaz, pipe-lines, installations de 
distribution d'eau, ainsi que les 
entreprises s'adonnant à d'autres 
travaux similaires et aux travaux 
de préparation ou de fondation 
pécedant les travaux ci-dessus;

iii) les mines, carrières et indus¬
tries extractives de toute nature;
(iv) undertakings engaged in the transport of passengers or goods, excluding transport by hand, unless such undertakings are regarded as parts of the operation of an agricultural or commercial undertaking;

(d) the terms "agricultural undertaking", "commercial undertaking" and "industrial undertaking" include both public and private undertakings;

(e) the term "vessel" includes all ships and boats, of any nature whatsoever, engaged in maritime navigation, whether publicly or privately owned, excluding ships of war; it may be interpreted as excluding vessels of less than a specified tonnage and carrying a crew of less than a specified number;

(f) the term "night" signifies a period of at least eleven consecutive hours. Provided that in those tropical countries in which work is suspended during the middle of the day, the night period may be shorter if compensatory rest is accorded during the day;

(g) provisions prescribing a minimum age may be interpreted as relating to an apparent minimum age where records of birth are inadequate.

Article 47

The competent authority may exclude from the application of the provisions of this Part of the present Annex undertakings or vessels in respect of which, from their nature and size, adequate supervision may be impracticable.

RECOMMENDATION [No. 71] CONCERNING EMPLOYMENT ORGANISATION IN THE TRANSITION FROM WAR TO PEACE.

La Conférence générale de l'Organisation internationale du Travail,

Convocée à Philadelphie par le Conseil d'administration du Bureau international du Travail, et s'y étant réunie le 20 avril 1944 en sa vingt-sixième session,
Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to the organisation of employment in the transition from war to peace which is the third item on the agenda of the Session, and having determined that these proposals shall take the form of a Recommendation, adopts, this twelfth day of May, of the year one thousand nine hundred and forty-four, the following Recommendation which may be cited as the Employment (Transition from War to Peace) Recommendation, 1944:

Whereas the promotion of full employment with a view to satisfying the vital needs of the population and raising the standard of living throughout the world is a primary objective of the International Labour Organisation;

Whereas in order to achieve full employment economic measures providing employment opportunities must be supplemented by effective organisation to help employers to secure the most suitable workers, to help workers to find the most suitable employment, and generally to ensure that, at any given moment, the necessary skills are available and are distributed satisfactorily among the various branches of production and the various areas; and

Whereas the character and magnitude of the employment adjustments required during the transition from war to peace will necessitate special action, more particularly for the purpose of facilitating the re-employment of demobilised members of the armed forces, discharged war workers, and all persons whose usual employment has been interrupted as a result of the war, enemy action, or resistance to the enemy or enemy-dominated authorities, by assisting the persons concerned to find without delay the most suitable employment;

The Conference recommends the Members of the Organisation to apply the following general principles, and in so doing to take into account, according to national conditions, the suggested methods of application, and to communicate information to the International Labour Office, as requested by the Governing Body, concerning the measures taken to give effect to these principles.

. GENERAL PRINCIPLES

I. Each Government should collect whatever information is necessary regard-
ing workers seeking or likely to be seeking employment and regarding prospective employment opportunities, with a view to ensuring the most rapid reabsorption or redistribution in suitable employment of all persons who desire to work.

II. The demobilisation of the armed forces and of assimilated services and the repatriation of prisoners of war, persons who have been deported, and others, should be planned with the objective of maximum fairness to individuals and maximum opportunities for satisfactory re-establishment in civil life.

III. National programmes for industrial demobilisation and reconversion should be planned, in co-operation with employers' and workers' organisations, and other adequate measures taken, in such manner as to facilitate the most rapid attainment of full employment for the production of needed goods and services.

IV. In the organisation of full employment in the transition period and thereafter, the widest possible use of employment service facilities by employers seeking workers and by workers seeking employment should be encouraged by the competent authorities and by employers' and workers' organisations.

V. Each Government should, to the maximum extent possible, provide public vocational guidance facilities, available to persons seeking work, with a view to assisting them to find the most suitable employment.

VI. Training and retraining programmes should be developed to the fullest possible extent in order to meet the needs of the workers who will have to be re-established in employment or provided with new employment.

VII. With a view to avoiding the need for excessive movements of workers from one area to another and preventing localised unemployment in particular areas, each Government should, in co-operation with employers' and workers' organisations, formulate a positive policy in regard to the location of industry and the diversification of economic activity. Governments should also take steps to facilitate any necessary mobility of labour, both occupational and geographical.
VIII. Efforts should be made during the transition period to provide the widest possible opportunities for acquiring skill for juveniles and young workers who were unable, because of the war, to undertake or to complete their training and efforts should also be made to improve the education and health supervision of young persons.

IX. The redistribution of women workers in each national economy should be carried out on the principle of complete equality of opportunity for men and women in respect of admission to employment on the basis of their individual merit, skill and experience, and steps should be taken to encourage the establishment of wage rates on the basis of job content, without regard to sex.

X. Disabled workers, whatever the origin of their disability, should be provided with full opportunities for rehabilitation, specialised vocational guidance, training and retraining, and employment on useful work.

XI. Measures should be taken to regularise employment within the industries and occupations in which work is irregular, in order to achieve full use of the capacities of the workers.

METHODS OF APPLICATION
I. ADVANCE COLLECTION OF INFORMATION

1. Each Government should arrange for the co-ordinated collection and utilisation of as complete and up-to-date information as possible on:

(a) the number, educational and occupational backgrounds, past and present skills, and occupational wishes of members of the armed forces and of assimilated services, and as far as possible of all persons whose usual employment has been interrupted as the result of enemy action or resistance to the enemy or enemy-dominated authorities;

(b) the number, location, industrial distribution, sex distribution, skills and occupational wishes of workers who will have to change their employment during the transition from war to peace; and

(c) the number and distribution of older workers, women and juveniles who are likely to withdraw from gainful employment after the war emergency and the number of juveniles who are likely to be seek-

IX. Les efforts devraient être faits dans la période de transition pour mettre les plus larges facilités d'acquérir une qualification à la disposition des adolescents et des jeunes travailleurs qui n'ont pu, en conséquence de la guerre, commencer ou achever leur formation, ainsi que pour améliorer l'instruction de la jeunesse et la protection de sa santé.

IX. Le reclassement des travailleuses dans l'économie de chaque pays devrait se faire selon le principe d'une complète égalité des hommes et des femmes pour l'accès à l'emploi, sur la base de leurs aptitudes, de leur habileté et de leur expérience individuelles. Des mesures devraient être prises pour encourager l'établissement de taux de salaires d'après le caractère du travail, sans distinction de sexe.

X. Les travailleurs invalides, quelle que soit l'origine de leur invalidité devraient disposer des plus larges facilités d'orientation professionnelle spécialisée, de formation professionnelle, de rééducation fonctionnelle et professionnelle et de placement dans un emploi utile.

XI. Des mesures devraient être prises pour régulariser l'emploi dans les industries ou professions où le travail est irrégulier en vue d'obtenir une pleine utilisation de la main d'œuvre.

METHODES D'APPLICATION
I. RÉUNION PRÉALABLE D'INFORMATIONS

1. Chaque gouvernement devrait prendre des dispositions pour assurer la réunion coordonnée et l'utilisation d'informations aussi complètes et à jour que possible concernant:

a) le nombre, l'instruction, la carrière, les qualifications passées et présentes et les aspirations professionnelles des membres des forces armées et services assimilés et, dans la mesure du possible, de toutes les personnes dont l'emploi habituel a été interrompu en conséquence de l'action de l'ennemi ou de la résistance à l'ennemi ou aux autorités dominées par l'ennemi;

b) le nombre, la distribution géographique et professionnelle, la répartition par sexe, les qualifications et aspirations professionnelles des travailleurs qui auront à changer d'emploi pendant la période de transition de la guerre à la paix;

c) le nombre et la répartition des travailleurs âgés, des femmes et des adolescents susceptibles de se retirer de tout emploi rétribué quand les circonstances exceptionnelles créées par la guerre auront pris fin et le
2. Comprehensive material on prospective labour requirements, showing the probable extent and timing of the demand for workers from each major industry, both in total and by major skills, should be collected and analysed before the end of the war.

(2) Where such information is in the possession of any administrative authority, it should be made available to the authorities primarily responsible for the collection or utilisation of advance information on labour supply and requirements.

(3) The material on labour requirements should cover more particularly:

(a) the probable contraction of labour requirements resulting from the closing of certain munitions undertakings;

(b) the probable rate of contraction of the armed forces and of assimilated services upon the termination of hostilities;

(c) probable fluctuations and changes by areas in the labour force of industries or undertakings which will, with or without a period of conversion, continue in operation to meet peacetime needs;

(d) probable labour requirements in industries which will be expanding to meet peacetime needs, in particular in industries the output of which is most urgently needed to improve the standard of living of the workers, and in public works, including works of a normal character and works held in reserve for the provision of supplementary employment in periods of declining economic activity; and

(e) the probable demand for workers in the main industries and occupations under conditions of full employment.

3. Prospective labour supply and demand in the various areas should be kept under constant review by the appropriate authorities, in order to show the effect of the war and the probable effect of the termination of hostilities on the employment situation in each of these areas.

4. Members should co-operate in collecting the information referred to in sub-paragraphs (a), (b) and (c) of paragraph 1 in respect of persons transferred number of adolescents susceptibles de chercher un emploi à la fin de leurs études.

2. 1) Il conviendrait de réunir et d’analyser, avant la fin de la guerre, des renseignements étendus concernant les besoins probables de main d’œuvre, en faisant ressortir le volume et le rythme probables de la demande de travailleurs, à la fois globalement et par grandes spécialisations dans chacune des principales industries.

2) Lorsqu’une administration publique est en mesure de fournir de tels renseignements, elle devrait les communiquer aux organes spécialement chargés de réunir ou d’utiliser les informations préalables sur les disponibilités et les besoins de main d’œuvre.

3) Les renseignements concernant les besoins de main d’œuvre devraient porter notamment sur:

a) la contraction probable des besoins de main d’œuvre résultant de la fermeture d'usines d'armement;

b) la proportion probable de la contraction des effectifs des forces armées et services assimilés après la cessation des hostilités;

c) les fluctuations et les changements probables, dans chaque région, de la composition des effectifs des industries ou entreprises qui continueront à travailler, sans interruption ou après une période de conversion, pour les besoins du temps de paix;

d) la demande probable de main d’œuvre des industries qui prendront de l’expansion pour faire face aux besoins du temps de paix, notamment des industries dont la production est la plus urgente pour élever le niveau de vie des travailleurs, et la demande probable de main d’œuvre pour les travaux publics, tant ceux d’un caractère normal que ceux réservés pour augmenter les possibilités de travail en période de déclin de l’activité économique;

e) la demande probable de main d’œuvre dans les principales industries et professions dans l’hypothèse du plein emploi.

3. Les disponibilités et les besoins de main d’œuvre probables dans les diverses régions devraient être étudiés continuellement par les autorités appropriées, afin de déterminer les répercussions de la guerre et les résultats probables de l’arrêt des hostilités sur la situation de l’emploi dans chacune de ces régions.

4. Les Membres devraient collaborer pour la réunion d’informations sur les questions mentionnées aux alinéas a), b) et c) du paragraphe 1) concernant les per-
II. DEMOBILISATION OF THE ARMED FORCES

5. Close contact should be organised and maintained between the employment service and the authorities responsible for the demobilisation of the armed forces and assimilated services and for the repatriation of prisoners of war and persons who have been deported, in order to ensure the speediest re-employment of the men and women concerned.

6. (1) The rate and order of demobilisation should be controlled according to clearly expressed principles which should be given wide publicity in order that they may be clearly understood.

   (2) In the process of demobilisation, which should in general be as rapid as military necessity and transportation facilities permit, consideration should be given to:

      (a) the desirability of regulating the rate and distributing the flow of demobilisation so as to avoid local concentrations of ex-service men and women disproportionate to the capacity of their community to provide opportunity for employment or training; and

      (b) the desirability of arranging, where necessary, for an early release of workers whose qualifications make them indispensable for urgent reconstruction work.

7. (1) Schemes for reinstating in their former employment persons whose usual employment has been interrupted by military mobilisation, enemy action, or resistance to the enemy or enemy-dominated authorities, should be adopted and carried out so far as changed post-war circumstances allow.

   (2) The fullest possible employment and advancement opportunities for these men and women, on the basis of their qualifications, should be assured through Government action and collective agreements.

   (3) Immediate alternative employment should be secured for the workers displaced by the operation of these schemes.

8. In addition to schemes for re-employment, immediate consideration should be given to schemes for re-employment of persons who have been deported, in order to ensure the speediest repatriation of the men and women concerned.
given to the provision, wherever justified by prospective opportunities to make a living, of adequate financial and other assistance to enable qualified demobilised persons to settle or re-settle on the land, to enter or re-enter a profession, or to take up other independent work.

III. INDUSTRIAL DEMOBILISATION AND CONVERSION

9. (1) Each Government should, in cooperation with employers' and workers' organisations, formulate a national industrial demobilisation and reconversion programme to facilitate the rapid and orderly conversion of the economy from wartime to peacetime requirements during the period of reconstruction, account being taken of the urgent need of countries devastated by the war, with a view to attaining full employment with the least possible delay. All information in regard to the demobilisation and reconversion programme should be made available to the authorities responsible for collecting advance information on labour supply and requirements.

(2) The co-operation of employers' and workers' organisations should be invited with a view to working out comprehensive industry and area demobilisation and reconversion programmes to facilitate the change-over from war to peace production in a manner that will minimise transitional unemployment.

10. (1) Each Government should, so far as possible before the end of the war, determine its policy in regard to the peacetime use of Government-owned war production capacity and equipment and in regard to the disposition of surplus materials.

(2) Special consideration should be given to the early release of factories and equipment urgently needed for peacetime production or training.

(3) In general, factories, equipment or materials should not be destroyed or kept out of use where human needs are unsatisfied or where no excess production would exist at reasonable prices under conditions of demand associated with full employment.

11. Each Government should, in formulating its policy and procedure for the termination or adjustment of war contracts, give special consideration to the possibilities of continued employment or rapid re-employment of the workers affected or of favourable opportunities for employment d'envisager immédiatement l'octroi—dans tous les cas où une telle mesure offre aux intéressés une possibilité de gagner leur vie—d'une assistance adéquate, financière ou autre, permettant aux démobilisés qualifiés de s'établir ou de se rétablir sur la terre, d'entrer ou de rentrer dans les professions libérales ou d'entreprendre quel que autre travail indépendant.

III. DÉMOLISATION ET CONVERSION DES INDUSTRIES

9. 1) Chaque gouvernement devrait formuler, en collaboration avec les organisations d'employeurs et de travailleurs, un programme national de démobilisation et de reconversion industrielles tendant à faciliter une conversion rapide et ordonnée de l'économie de guerre en fonction des besoins de la production de paix pendant la reconstruction, compte tenu des besoins urgents des pays dévastés par la guerre, de manière à atteindre le plein emploi dans le plus bref délai possible. Toutes informations concernant le programme de démobilisation et de reconversion devraient être mises à la disposition des autorités chargées de réunir des informations préalables sur l'offre et la demande de main d'œuvre.

2) Il conviendrait de faire appel à la collaboration des organisations d'employeurs et de travailleurs en vue d'établir pour certaines industries et régions des plans d'ensemble de démobilisation et de reconversion industrielles susceptibles de faciliter le passage de la production de guerre à la production de paix de façon à réduire au minimum le chômage de la période de transition.

10. 1) Chaque gouvernement devrait déterminer, autant que possible avant la fin des hostilités, sa politique concernant l'utilisation en temps de paix des moyens de production appartenant à l'Etat ainsi que l'utilisation des stocks en surplus.

2) Il devrait envisager spécialement la libération rapide des fabriques et du matériel qui seront nécessaires de manière urgente pour la production et la formation professionnelle en temps de paix.

3) D'une façon générale, il conviendrait, lorsqu'il existe des besoins de consommation non satisfaits, de ne pas détruire ou laisser inutilisés des usines, de l'équipement ou des matériels susceptibles de servir à la production de biens qui, à des prix raisonnables, trouveraient à s'écouler dans le cas d'une consommation correspondant au plein emploi.

11. Chaque gouvernement devrait, en formulant sa politique et la procédure à suivre pour la résiliation ou l'aménagement des contrats de guerre, prendre spécialement en considération les possibilités qui existent pour les travailleurs de conserver leur emploi ou d'obtenir rapide-
in other areas. Governments should also arrange for the prompt settlement of claims under terminated contracts, so that employment will not be held back by needless financial difficulties of contractors. Contractors in countries at present occupied who have worked voluntarily in the interest of the enemy should not be granted the benefit of such arrangements.

12. (1) Arrangements should be made to ensure that administrative authorities give information at the earliest possible moment to the employment service and contractors regarding any circumstances likely to cause dismissals or lay-offs.

(2) Procurement agencies should give contractors both at home and abroad and the employment service as long advance notice as possible of cut-backs in war orders. In no case should the notice given be less than two weeks.

(3) Employers should give the employment service at least two weeks' advance notice of proposed dismissals affecting more than a specified number of workers, in order to enable the employment service to make plans for alternative employment for the workers concerned.

(4) Employers should give the employment service at least two weeks' advance notice of proposed temporary lay-offs affecting more than a specified number of workers, together with information to show the probable duration of such lay-offs, in order to enable the employment service to find temporary public or private employment or training for the laid-off workers. Employers should so far as possible inform the laid-off workers of the expected duration of such lay-offs.

IV. APPLICATIONS FOR WORK AND FOR WORKERS

13. (1) Vacancies on public works and undertakings working on public orders to the extent of 75 per cent. or more of their operations should be filled through the employment service.

(2) Consideration should be given to the advisability of requiring employers in specified industries or areas to engage their workers through the employment service in order to facilitate the readjustment of employment.

ment un autre emploi, ou les occasions favorables qui s'offrent à eux de trouv e du travail dans d'autres régions. Les gouvernements devraient également prendre des dispositions pour le règlement rapide des demandes d'indemnités présentées aux termes de contrats résiliés, de sorte que l'ouverture d'emploi ne soit pas retardée inutilement par des difficultés financières que rencontrentaient les entrepreneurs. Dans les pays actuellement occupés, les entrepreneurs ayant travaillé volontairement dans l'intérêt de l'ennemi ne seront pas mis au bénéfice de tels arrangements.

12. 1) Des dispositions devraient être prises pour que les administrations publiques informent, aussi longtemps que possible à l'avance, le service de l'emploi et les entrepreneurs de toutes circonstances susceptibles de causer des mises à pied ou un arrêt du travail.

2) Les services de fourniture devraient notifier aussi longtemps que possible à l'avance aux entrepreneurs du pays et de l'étranger ainsi qu'au service de l'emploi, les réductions opérées dans les commandes de guerre. Dans aucun cas, le préavis ne devrait être inférieur à deux semaines.

3) Les employeurs devraient notifier au service de l'emploi, au moins deux semaines à l'avance, les licenciements envisagés qui affecteraient plus qu'un nombre spéci- fié de travailleurs afin de le mettre en mesure de trouver d'autres possibilités d'emploi pour les travailleurs licenciés.

4) Les employeurs devraient notifier au service de l'emploi, au moins deux semaines à l'avance, toutes suspensions temporelles envisagées qui affecteraient plus qu'un nombre spéci- fié de travailleurs afin de le mettre en mesure de trouver des possibilités d'emploi temporaire, public ou privé, ou des possibilités de formation professionnelle pour les travailleurs suspendus. Les employeurs devraient indiquer autant que possible à ces travailleurs la durée probable de la suspension.

IV. OFFRES ET DEMANDES D'EMPLOI

13. 1) Les emplois vacants dans les travaux publics et les entreprises qui travaillent dans une proportion d'au moins 75 pour cent pour l'exécution de commandes des autorités publiques devraient être pourvus par l'intermédiaire du service de l'emploi.

2) Il conviendrait d'envisager l'opportunité, dans des industries ou régions déterminées, d'obliger les employeurs à opé rer leurs embauchages par l'intermédiaire du service de l'emploi en vue de faciliter le rajeunissement du marché de l'emploi.
Appendix XII: Authentic texts—Recommendations

(3) Employers should be encouraged to give advance notice of their labour requirements to the employment service.

14. Persons applying for employment on Government-sponsored projects, as well as persons applying for publicly supported training programmes or transfer assistance, or claiming unemployment benefit or allowance, should be required to register with the employment service.

15. Special efforts should be made to assist demobilised members of the forces and war workers to find the most suitable work of which they are capable, making use wherever possible of the skills acquired by them during the war.

16. Every effort should be made, by the authorities, and in particular by the employment service, in co-operation with employers' and workers' organisations, to encourage as wide a use as possible of the employment service by employers and workers.

V. VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

17. Special and immediate attention should be given to the development of suitable methods and techniques of vocational guidance for adult workers.

18. In cases of prolonged unemployment, the use of vocational guidance facilities should be made a condition for the continued receipt of unemployment benefit or allowance.

19. The competent authorities should, in co-operation with the private bodies concerned, develop and maintain adequate training facilities for vocational guidance officers.

VI. TRAINING AND RETRAINING PROGRAMMES

20. On the basis of information concerning labour supply and demand in the post-war period, each Government should, in close co-operation with employers' and workers' organisations, formulate a national training and retraining programme, geared to the post-war needs of the economy and taking into account changes in the different skill requirements of each industry.

21. Every possible step should be taken to facilitate the occupational mobility necessary to adjust the supply of workers to present and prospective labour requirements.

22. Training and retraining programmes should be extended and adapted to meet new vocational demands.

V. ORIENTATION PROFESSIONNELLE

17. Il conviendrait de porter une attention particulière et immédiate au développement de méthodes et de techniques adaptées aux besoins de l'orientation des travailleurs adultes.

18. La continuation du droit aux indemnités ou aux allocations de chômage devrait, en cas de chômage prolongé, être subordonnée au recours aux services d'orientation professionnelle.

19. Les autorités compétentes devraient, en coopération avec les institutions privées, développer et entretenir des possibilités adéquates de formation de conseillers d'orientation.

VI. PROGRAMMES DE FORMATION ET DE RÉÉDUCATION PROFESSIONNELLES

20. Sur la base des informations concernant l'offre et la demande de main d'œuvre dans la période d'après-guerre, chaque gouvernement devrait élaborer, en association étroite avec les organisations d'employeurs et de travailleurs, un programme national de formation et de rééducation professionnelles, orienté vers les besoins d'après-guerre de l'économie et tenant compte des changements intervenus dans les différentes qualifications professionnelles requises pour chaque industrie.

21. Toutes les mesures devraient être prises en vue de faciliter la mobilité professionnelle nécessaire pour adapter les disponibilités de travailleurs aux besoins présents et futurs de main d'œuvre.

22. Les programmes de formation ou de rééducation professionnelles devraient être adaptés aux besoins de l'emploi.
to meet the needs of demobilised persons, discharged war workers, and all persons whose usual employment has been interrupted as the result of enemy action or resistance to the enemy or enemy-dominated authorities. Special emphasis should be placed on courses of training designed to fit the persons concerned for employment which offers a permanent career.

23. In addition to apprenticeship schemes, systematic methods of training, retraining and upgrading workers should be developed to meet post-war needs for the reconstitution and expansion of the skilled labour force.

24. Persons undertaking training should be paid, where necessary, remuneration or allowances which provide an inducement to undergo and continue training and are sufficient to maintain a reasonable standard of life.

25. Men and women whose higher training and education has been prevented or interrupted by war service, whether in a military or civilian capacity, or by enemy action, or by resistance to the enemy or enemy-dominated authorities, should be enabled to enter upon or resume and complete their training and education, subject to continued proof of merit and promise, and should be paid allowances during their training and education.

26. (1) Qualified vocational teachers and instructors who have been engaged in other work during the war should be encouraged to resume their previous occupation at the earliest possible moment.

(2) Refresher courses should be organised in case of need:
(a) for vocational instructors returning to their work after a lengthy absence; and
(b) for teaching new methods and techniques.

(3) Additional vocational teachers and instructors should be trained in the numbers required to meet the needs of the training and retraining programme.

(4) Members should co-operate, where necessary, in reconstituting and expanding vocational training and retraining, by such methods as:

(a) the provision in one country of training as instructors for persons from another country to enable them to acquire broader skill or training not available in their own country;
the loan of experienced vocational instructors and teachers from one country to help meet shortages of vocational training staff or new industrial needs in another country;

facilitating the return to the territories of Member countries of subjects thereof living in the territory of another Member country who are qualified for teaching and instructing in their home country; and

the provision of training handbooks and other equipment to assist instructors and persons in training.

Training and retraining services should be co-ordinated on a national, regional and local basis, and should be closely associated at all levels of operation with guidance work, with the placement work of the employment service, and with the training activities of employers' and workers' organisations.

VII. GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY

With a view to facilitating the necessary mobility of labour, the employment service should take action to overcome the obstacles to transfers from one area to another and to assist the movement of workers to areas needing labour, thereby helping to bring together available skills and available employment opportunities and thus preventing unemployment.

29. (1) Where a worker is transferred from one area to another on the initiative or with the consent of the employment service, arrangements should be made to grant travelling expenses and to assist the worker to meet initial expenses in the new place of work by granting or advancing him a specified amount, fixed according to the circumstances.

(2) Where a temporary transfer made through the employment service involves the separation of the head of the household from his family, arrangements should be made to grant an appropriate separation allowance to cover the added costs of maintaining double living quarters.

VIII. EMPLOYMENT OF YOUNG WORKERS

The policy of revising upward the school-leaving age and the age for admission to employment should be considered by all countries as a primary factor in planning employment policy for the transition period.
Appendix XII: Authentic texts—Recommendations

31. Student-aid programmes should be developed to enable young persons above the school-leaving age to continue their education in secondary schools or high schools, and for those beyond the secondary school level, subject to continued proof of merit, in technical or higher education schools or courses on a full-time basis.

32. (1) Vocational guidance services adapted to their needs should be available for all young persons, both prior to and at the time of leaving school, through the school or the employment service.

(2) Free pre-employment medical examination should be provided for all young persons. The results of this examination should be incorporated in a certificate to serve as a basis for periodic re-examinations during a period to be prescribed by national laws or regulations.

(3) In countries in which war conditions and enemy occupation have undermined the health of young persons, particular attention should be given to the health supervision of such persons from the time of their admission to employment through the period of adjustment to working life, and, where necessary, measures of physical rehabilitation should be adopted.

(4) Members should co-operate, when requested, in providing for the training of medical and nursing staff, and the loan of experienced doctors, surgeons, nursing personnel and appropriate equipment, in order to facilitate the physical rehabilitation of the young persons referred to in sub-paragraph (3) above.

33. (1) Young persons whose contracts of apprenticeship have been interrupted owing to the war should be entitled to resume apprenticeship on the termination of their war service.

(2) State aid should be made available to enable a person whose apprenticeship has been resumed in accordance with subparagraph (1) above to be assured of an income which is reasonable, having regard to his age and to the remuneration he would have been receiving had his apprenticeship not been interrupted.

(3) In all cases in which military service, raw material shortages, enemy action, or other war circumstances, have prevented young persons from entering or continuing apprenticeship, arrangements should be made to encourage them, as soon as circumstances permit, to resume their

2) Les autorités compétentes devraient accorder aux parents des allocations de subsistance dans la période durant laquelle la scolarité a été prolongée conformément à l’alinéa ci-dessus.

31. Des systèmes de bourses d’études devraient être institués pour permettre aux jeunes gens ayant dépassé l’âge de fin de scolarité obligatoire de continuer leur instruction à plein temps dans des écoles secondaires et ensuite, sous réserve qu’ils fassent preuve de capacité et de progrès continus, leurs études dans les écoles ou cours d’enseignement supérieur et technique.

32. 1) Des services d’orientation professionnelle adaptés à leurs besoins devraient être mis à la disposition de tous les jeunes gens, aussi bien pendant la durée qu’à la fin de leurs études, par l’intervention de l’école ou du service de l’emploi.

2) Un examen médical gratuit de pré-emploi devrait être prévu pour tous les adolescents. Les résultats de cet examen devraient être consignés dans un certificat susceptible de servir de base à des réexaminations périodiques de l’état de santé de l’adolescent durant une période à fixer par les lois et réglements nationaux.

3) Dans les pays où les conditions résultant de la guerre et de l’occupation enemie ont miné l’état de santé de la jeunesse, le contrôle médical des adolescents lors de leur entrée en emploi et durant la période d’adaptation au travail devrait être particulièrement attentif et s’accompagner, le cas échéant, de mesures de rétablissement physique.

4) Pour faciliter ce rétablissement physique, les Membres devraient coopérer, lorsqu’ils en sont priés, pour assurer la formation du personnel médical et infirmier ou le prêt de médecins, de chirurgiens et de personnel infirmier expérimentés, ainsi que la fourniture du matériel approprié.

33. 1) Les jeunes gens dont le contrat d’apprentissage a été interrompu par la guerre devraient être en droit de reprendre leur apprentissage à la fin de leur service de guerre.

2) Une assistance officielle devrait être accordée aux personnes qui reprennent leur apprentissage dans les conditions prévues à l’alinéa 1) ci-dessus, de manière à leur assurer un revenu raisonnable, compte tenu de leur âge et de la rémunération qu’ils auraient reçue si leur apprentissage n’avait pas été interrompu.

3) Dans tous les cas où le service militaire, la pénurie de matières premières, l’action de l’ennemi ou d’autres circonstances créées par la guerre ont empêché de jeunes travailleurs de commencer ou de continuer un apprentissage, il conviendrait d’encourager ces travailleurs, dès
apprenticeship or to learn a skilled trade.

(4) With a view to encouraging the resumption of interrupted apprenticeships, arrangements should be made to review the provisions of apprenticeship contracts and to vary them where this seems equitable to take account of training, skill or experience acquired during war service.

(5) Existing apprenticeship programmes should be re-examined, in collaboration with employers' and workers' organisations, with a view to giving wider opportunities to learn a skilled trade to the younger workers who have not been able, owing to the war, to enter apprenticeship. More particularly, consideration should be given to making arrangements for varying existing restrictions on admission to apprenticeship and for taking into account any training, skill or experience acquired during the war.

34. Employers should be encouraged to introduce programmes of systematic in-plant training to enable all the young workers employed in the undertaking to acquire training or to improve their skill and broaden their knowledge of the operations of the undertaking as a whole. Such programmes should be developed in cooperation with workers' organisations and should be adequately supervised.

35. In countries which have been invaded during the war, and in which there are young persons who have been compelled to abstain from work, or, without regard to their aptitudes or desires, to work for the enemy, special attention should be devoted to the readjustment of such young persons to work habits and to supplementing their vocational training.

IX. EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

36. The redistribution of women workers in the economy should be organised on the principle of complete equality of opportunity for men and women on the basis of their individual merit, skill and experience, without prejudice to the provisions of the International Labour Conventions and Recommendations concerning the employment of women.

37. (1) In order to place women on a basis of equality with men in the employment market, and thus to prevent competition among the available workers prejudicial to the interests of both men and women workers, steps should be taken to encourage the establishment of wage

que les circonstances le permettront, à apprendre un métier qualifié ou à reprendre leur apprentissage interrompu.

4) En vue d'encourager les jeunes gens à reprendre leur apprentissage, des arrangements devraient être pris pour ré-examiner les contrats d'apprentissage et en modifier les clauses lorsqu'une telle modification paraît équitable pour tenir compte de la formation professionnelle, des qualifications et de l'expérience acquises au cours du service de guerre.

5) Les programmes d'apprentissage existants devraient être réexaminés, en collaboration avec les organisations d'employeurs et de travailleurs, afin de donner aux jeunes travailleurs qui n'ont pas eu, en conséquence de la guerre, la possibilité d'entrer en apprentissage, de larges facilités pour apprendre un métier qualifié. Des arrangements devraient être pris notamment pour modifier les restrictions portées à l'entrée en apprentissage et, le cas échéant, pour prendre en considération la formation professionnelle, les qualifications ou l'expérience que les intéressés ont pu acquérir pendant la guerre.

34. Les employeurs devraient être encouragés à organiser des moyens systématiques de formation professionnelle dans le cadre de l'entreprise, afin d'offrir à tous les jeunes travailleurs qu'ils emploient la possibilité d'acquérir une formation ou de perfectionner leurs qualifications, ainsi que d'élargir leur connaissance des diverses opérations qui s'exécutent dans l'ensemble de l'entreprise. De tels systèmes devraient être institués avec la collaboration des organisations de travailleurs et être l'objet d'un contrôle adéquat.

35. Dans les pays qui ont été envahis durant la guerre et où des jeunes gens ont été forcés de renoncer à travailler ou de travailler pour l'ennemi sans considération pour leurs aptitudes et leurs goûts, il conviendrait de porter une attention particulière à réadapter ces jeunes gens au travail et à compléter leur formation professionnelle.

IX. EMPLOI DES FEMMES

36. Le reclassement des travailleuses dans l'économie de paix devrait se faire selon le principe d'une complète égalité des hommes et des femmes pour l'accès à l'emploi et sur la base de leurs aptitudes individuelles, de leur habileté et de leur expérience, sans préjudice des dispositions des conventions et recommandations internationales du travail concernant l'emploi des femmes.

37. 1) Afin de placer les femmes sur un pied d'égalité avec les hommes sur le marché de l'emploi et d'éviter ainsi entre les travailleurs disponibles une concurrence préjudiciable, pour tous, des mesures devraient être prises pour encourager l'établissement de taux de salaire fondés sur
Appendix XII: Authentic texts—Recommendations

le caractère du travail, sans distinction de sexe.

2) Des enquêtes devraient être menées, en collaboration avec les organisations d'employeurs et de travailleurs, en vue d'établir, pour la détermination du caractère du travail, des normes précises et objectives, sans considération du sexe du travailleur, pour servir de base à la fixation des taux de salaire.

38. Le placement des femmes dans les industries et services qui emploient traditionnellement une main d'œuvre féminine considérable devrait être facilité par des mesures tendant à élever le statut de ces professions et à y améliorer les conditions de travail et les méthodes de placement.

39. Le critère pour la formation professionnelle et le placement des travailleurs invalides devrait être la capacité de travail des intéressés, quelle que soit l'origine de l'invalidité.

40. La collaboration la plus étroite devrait exister entre les services médicaux pour invalides et les services de rééducation professionnelle et de placement.

41. Des possibilités d'orientation professionnelle spécialisée pour les invalides devraient être développées pour permettre de déterminer la capacité de travail de chaque invalide et de choisir le type d'emploi qui lui convient le mieux.

42. 1) Les travailleurs invalides devraient, dans toute la mesure du possible, être formés professionnellement en compagnie de travailleurs valides, dans les mêmes conditions et moyennant la même rémunération.

2) La formation professionnelle devrait être poussée jusqu'au point où l'invalide est en mesure de prendre un emploi comme travailleur pleinement capable dans le métier ou la profession pour lesquels il a reçu sa formation.

3) Des efforts devraient être faits, dans toute la mesure du possible, pour réduquer le travailleur invalide dans son ancienne profession ou dans une profession connexe où ses qualifications antérieures peuvent être utilisées.

4) Les employeurs qui disposent de moyens appropriés pour la formation professionnelle devraient être induits à former une proportion raisonnable de travailleurs invalides.

5) Des centres spéciaux de formation professionnelle, soumis à une inspection médicale appropriée, devraient être organisés pour les invalides qui requièrent une formation spéciale.

43. 1) Des mesures spéciales devraient être prises pour garantir aux travailleurs invalides l'égalité d'accès à l'emploi avec les autres travailleurs sur la base de leur capacité de travail. Les employeurs de-

rates based on job content, without regard to sex.

(2) Investigations should be conducted, in co-operation with employers' and workers' organisations, for the purpose of establishing precise and objective standards for determining job content, irrespective of the sex of the worker, as a basis for determining wage rates.

38. The employment of women in industries and occupations in which large numbers of women have traditionally been employed should be facilitated by action to raise the relative status of these industries and occupations and to improve conditions of work and methods of placement therein.

X. EMPLOYMENT OF DISABLED WORKERS

39. The criterion for the training and employment of disabled workers should be the employability of the worker, whatever the origin of the disability.

40. There should be the closest collaboration between medical services for the disabled and vocational rehabilitation and placement services.

41. Specialised vocational guidance for the disabled should be developed in order to make it possible to assess each disabled worker's capacity and to select the most appropriate form of employment for him.

42. (1) Wherever possible, disabled workers should receive training in company with able-bodied workers, under the same conditions and with the same pay.

(2) Training should be continued to the point where the disabled person is able to enter employment as an efficient worker in the trade or occupation for which he has been trained.

(3) Wherever practicable, efforts should be made to retrain disabled workers in their former occupations or in related occupations where their previous qualifications would be useful.

(4) Employers with suitable training facilities should be induced to train a reasonable proportion of disabled workers.

(5) Specialised training centres, with appropriate medical supervision, should be provided for those disabled persons who require such special training.

43. (1) Special measures should be taken to ensure equality of employment opportunity for disabled workers on the basis of their working capacity. Employers should be induced by wide publicity
and other means, and where necessary compelled, to employ a reasonable quota of disabled workers.

(2) In certain occupations particularly suitable for the employment of seriously-disabled workers, such workers should be given preference over all other workers.

(3) Efforts should be made, in close cooperation with employers’ and workers’ organisations, to overcome employment discriminations against disabled workers which are not related to their ability and job performance, and to overcome the obstacles to their employment including the possibility of increased liability in respect of workmen’s compensation.

(4) Employment on useful work in special centres under non-competitive conditions should be made available for all disabled workers who cannot be made fit for normal employment.

44. Information should be assembled by the employment service in regard to the occupations particularly suited to different disabilities and the size, location and employability of the disabled population.

XI. REGULARISATION OF EMPLOYMENT IN PARTICULAR INDUSTRIES

45. In industries in which operations are irregular, such as construction and port transport, the schemes for the regularisation of employment adopted or extended during the war by Member States should be maintained and adapted to peacetime conditions in consultation with the employers’ and workers’ organisations concerned.

RECOMMENDATION [No. 72] CONCERNING THE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE.

RECOMMANDATION [N° 72] CONCERNANT LE SERVICE DE L’EMPLOI.

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,

Having been convened at Philadelphia by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Twenty-sixth Session on 20 April 1944, and

vraient être induits par une large publicité ou par d’autres moyens et, s’il est nécessaire, être obligés à employer un contingent raisonnable de travailleurs invalides.

2) Dans certaines occupations qui se prêtent particulièrement à l’emploi de travailleurs atteints d’une invalidité grave, ces travailleurs devraient bénéficier d’un droit de priorité par rapport à tous les autres travailleurs.

3) Des efforts devraient être faits, en collaboration étroite avec les organisations d’employeurs et de travailleurs, pour protéger les travailleurs invalides contre toute discrimination qui serait sans rapport avec leur capacité de travail et leur rendement, ainsi que pour surmonter les obstacles qui s’opposent à leur embauche, notamment la possibilité de charges accrues du fait de la réparation d’accidents.

4) Des possibilités d’emploi, dans des centres spéciaux, pour un travail utile ne constituant pas une concurrence à l’emploi des autres travailleurs, devraient être mises à la disposition des travailleurs invalides qui ne peuvent être rééduqués pour un emploi normal.

44. Le service de l’emploi devrait réunir des informations concernant les professions qui conviennent particulièrement à différents types d’incapacités et concernant le nombre de ces travailleurs, leur distribution géographique et leur aptitude au travail.

XI. RÉGULARISATION DE L’EMPLOI DANS CERTAINES INDUSTRIES

45. Dans les industries, telles que la construction et la manutention dans les ports, où le travail est irrégulier, les systèmes qui ont été adoptés ou étendus par des États Membres pendant la guerre pour régulariser l’emploi devraient être maintenus et adaptés aux conditions du temps de paix, en consultation avec les organisations d’employeurs et de travailleurs intéressées.

La Conférence générale de l’Organisation internationale du Travail,

Convoquée à Philadelphie par le Conseil d’administration du Bureau international du Travail, et s’y étant réunie le 20 avril 1944 en sa vingtsixième session,
Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to the employment service, which is included in the third item on the agenda of the Session, and

Having determined that these proposals shall take the form of a Recommendation,

adopts, this twelfth day of May, of the year one thousand nine hundred and forty-four, the following Recommendation which may be cited as the Employment Service Recommendation, 1944:

Whereas the application of the Employment (Transition from War to Peace) Recommendation, 1944, requires the existence and development of an efficient employment service; and

Whereas the Unemployment Convention, 1919, provides for the establishment of a “system of free public employment agencies under the control of a central authority”; and

Whereas the fulfilment of the tasks enumerated in the Employment (Transition from War to Peace) Recommendation, 1944, involves a new and broader definition of the responsibilities, functions and methods of operation of the employment service; and

Whereas this broader conception is of importance in the formulation and application of a long-term full employment policy;

The Conference recommends the Members of the Organisation to apply the following general principles, and to report to the International Labour Office from time to time, as requested by the Governing Body, concerning the measures taken to give effect to these principles:

1. The essential duty of the employment service should be to ensure, in co-operation with other public and private bodies concerned, the best possible organisation of industrial, agricultural and other employment as an integral part of the national programme for the full use of productive resources.

2. (1) To fulfil this duty, steps should be taken to strengthen the employment service and related authorities.

(2) These services should be responsible for:

(a) collecting and making available information concerning labour supply, employment opportunities, the skills required to do particular jobs,
Appendix XII: Authentic texts—Recommendations

changes in skill requirements within the different industries, employment and unemployment trends, the regularisation of employment, and the causes of unemployment, and other information of value in promoting full employment;

(b) assisting workers to find suitable employment and employers to find suitable workers;

c) assisting in developing and in determining the content of training and retraining courses;

d) developing methods of facilitating the transference, where necessary, of workers from one occupation or area to another;

e) helping to achieve the best possible distribution of manpower within each industry and area;

(f) co-operating as may be required in the administration of unemployment insurance and assistance;

(g) assisting other public and private bodies in planning the location of industry, public works, housing projects, social amenities, and other social and economic measures.

3. The closest co-operation between the employment service and other authorities whose activities affect the employment situation, including authorities charged with responsibility for accelerating or slowing down public works in accordance with the current state of employment and unemployment, should be established at the national, regional and local levels.

4. 1) In addition to the joint advisory bodies provided for in Article 2 of the Unemployment Convention, 1919, the employment service should co-operate closely with employers' and workers' organisations. Appropriate machinery should be devised to enable these organisations to assist in the formulation and carrying out of employment policy.

(2) The employment service should co-operate with any joint industry committees which may be set up to facilitate the solution of the special problems of the industries concerned.

occurrences particulières, les changements qui interviennent dans les qualifications requises dans les différentes industries, les tendances du marché de l’emploi, la régularisation de l’emploi et les causes du chômage, ainsi que toutes autres informations utiles pour la poursuite d’une politique de plein emploi;

b) aider les travailleurs à trouver des emplois convenables et les employeurs à trouver des travailleurs convenant à leurs besoins;

c) aider à développer des cours de formation et de rééducation professionnelles et à en établir les programmes;

d) élaborer des méthodes susceptibles de faciliter, le cas échéant, le transfert de travailleurs d’une occupation ou d’une région à une autre;

e) aider à assurer la meilleure distribution de la main d’œuvre au sein de chaque industrie et de chaque région;

f) coopérer, selon les besoins, à l’administration de l’assurance et de l’assistance-chômage;

g) aider d’autres organismes publics et privés à préparer des programmes visant la distribution géographique des entreprises industrielles, les travaux publics, la construction de logements, les services sociaux et les autres mesures sociales et économiques.

3. La collaboration la plus étroite devrait être organisée sur le plan national, régional et local, entre le service de l’emploi et les autres autorités dont l’activité affecte la situation de l’emploi, y compris les autorités chargées d’accélérer ou de ralentir le rythme des travaux publics en rapport avec les fluctuations de l’emploi et du chômage.

4. 1) En plus des comités mixtes consultatifs prévus à l’article 2 de la convention sur le chômage, 1919, le service de l’emploi devrait maintenir une collaboration étroite avec les organisations d’employeurs et de travailleurs. Des organismes appropriés devraient être institués pour permettre à ces organisations de participer à l’élaboration et à l’exécution de mesures visant l’organisation de l’emploi.

2) Le service de l’emploi devrait collaborer avec toutes commissions mixtes d’industrie qui seraient instituées pour faciliter la solution des problèmes spéciaux des industries intéressées.
RECOMMENDATION [No. 73] CONCERNING THE NATIONAL PLANNING OF PUBLIC WORKS.

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,
Having been convened at Philadelphia by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, and having met in its Twenty-sixth Session on 20 April 1944, and
Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to the national planning of public works, which is included in the third item on the agenda of the Session, and
Having determined that these proposals shall take the form of a Recommendation,
adopts, this twelfth day of May, of the year one thousand nine hundred and forty-four, the following Recommendation which may be cited as the Public Works (National Planning) Recommendation, 1944:

Whereas the Public Works (National Planning) Recommendation, 1937, recommends that all works undertaken or financed by public authorities should be timed in such a way as to reduce industrial fluctuations as far as possible, and that special consideration should be given to the financing by loan in periods of depression of works likely to stimulate economic recovery and to the application of a monetary policy which will make possible the expansion of credit required for the speeding up of such works and ensure the lowest possible rate of interest on the loans; and

Whereas at the end of the war public authorities will be faced with the great need to repair the damage caused by the war, to restore and replace existing public works, and to provide new public works and services; and

Whereas public works constitute a large element in the economic life of all nations, and public works programmes are an important method by which levels of productivity can be increased, and by which levels of living of all peoples can be raised; and

Whereas it is important in the transition from war to peace that public and private enterprise should be co-ordinated to assure the prompt and orderly use of human and material resources, avoiding on the one hand rush demands for mate-
The Conference recommends the Members of the Organisation to apply the following general principles, and to communicate information to the International Labour Office, as requested by the Governing Body, concerning the measures taken to give effect to these principles:

1. Each Member should prepare a long-term development programme which can be accelerated or slowed down in accordance with the employment situation in different parts of the country.

2. Special attention should be paid to the importance of timing the execution of the works and the ordering of supplies, so as to limit the demand for labour at a time when there is already full employment and to increase it at a time when there is unemployment.

3. In applying this policy, consideration should be given not only to the employment situation in the country as a whole but also to the situation in each area and to the particular types of skill available in the area concerned.

4. Local authorities and others responsible for framing schemes for employment should be informed by their central authorities at the earliest possible moment what financial support will be forthcoming, so that the local authorities and technical services may proceed without further delay to prepare plans and to make such practical preparation as would enable large numbers of demobilised soldiers to be absorbed as soon as they are available.
APPENDIX XIII

Declaration adopted by the Conference
(Authentic text)

DECLARATION CONCERNING THE AIMS AND PURPOSES OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION.

DECLARATION CONCERNANT LES BUTS ET OBJECTIFS DE L'ORGANISATION INTERNATIONALE DU TRAVAIL.

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

I

The Conference reaffirms the fundamental principles on which the Organisation is based and, in particular, that:

(a) labour is not a commodity;

(b) freedom of expression and of association are essential to sustained progress;

(c) poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere;

(d) the war against want requires to be carried on with unrelenting vigour within each nation, and by continuous and concerted international effort in which the representatives of workers and employers, enjoying equal status with those of Governments, join with them in free discussion and democratic decision with a view to the promotion of the common welfare.

La Conférence générale de l'Organisation internationale du Travail, réunie à Philadelphie en sa vingt-sixième session, adopte, ce dixième jour de mai 1944, la présente Déclaration des buts et objectifs de l'Organisation internationale du Travail, ainsi que des principes dont devrait s'inspirer la politique de ses Membres.

I

La Conférence affirme à nouveau les principes fondamentaux sur lesquels est fondée l'Organisation, à savoir notamment:

a) le travail n'est pas une marchandise;

b) la liberté d'expression et d'association est une condition indispensable d'un progrès soutenu;

c) la pauvreté, où qu'elle existe, constitue un danger pour la prospérité de tous;

d) la lutte contre le besoin doit être menée avec une inlassable énergie au sein de chaque nation, et par un effort international continu et concerté dans lequel les représentants des travailleurs et des employeurs, coopérant sur un pied d'égalité avec ceux des gouvernements, participent à de libres discussions et à des décisions de caractère démocratique en vue de promouvoir le bien commun.
II

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

(a) all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity;

(b) the attainment of the conditions in which this shall be possible must constitute the central aim of national and international policy;

(c) all national and international policies and measures, in particular those of an economic and financial character, should be judged in this light and accepted only in so far as they may be held to promote and not to hinder the achievement of this fundamental objective;

(d) it is a responsibility of the International Labour Organisation to examine and consider all international economic and financial policies and measures in the light of this fundamental objective;

(e) in discharging the tasks entrusted to it the International Labour Organisation, having considered all relevant economic and financial factors, may include in its decisions and recommendations any provisions which it considers appropriate.

III

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

(a) full employment and the raising of standards of living;

(b) the employment of workers in the occupations in which they can have the satisfaction of giving the fullest measure of their skill and attainments and make their greatest contribution to the common well-being;

(c) the provision, as a means to the attainment of this end and under adequate guarantees for all concerned, of facilities for training and the transfer of labour, including migration for employment and settlement;

(d) policies in regard to wages and earnings, hours and other conditions of
work calculated to ensure a just share of the fruits of progress to all, and a minimum living wage to all employed and in need of such protection;

(e) the effective recognition of the right of collective bargaining, the co-operation of management and labour in the continuous improvement of productive efficiency, and the collaboration of workers and employers in the preparation and application of social and economic measures;

(f) the extension of social security measures to provide a basic income to all in need of such protection and comprehensive medical care;

(g) adequate protection for the life and health of workers in all occupations;

(h) provision for child welfare and maternity protection;

(i) the provision of adequate nutrition, housing and facilities for recreation and culture;

(j) the assurance of equality of educational and vocational opportunity.

IV

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

V

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

en matière de salaires et de gains, de durée du travail et autres conditions de travail, et un salaire minimum vital pour tous ceux qui ont un emploi et ont besoin d'une telle protection;

e) reconnaissance effective du droit de négociation collective et la coopération des employeurs et de la main d'œuvre pour l'amélioration continue de l'organisation de la production, ainsi que la collaboration des travailleurs et des employeurs à l'élaboration et à l'application de la politique sociale et économique;

f) l'extension des mesures de sécurité sociale en vue d'assurer un revenu de base à tous ceux qui ont besoin d'une telle protection, ainsi que des soins médicaux complets;

g) une protection adéquate de la vie et de la santé des travailleurs dans toutes les occupations;

h) la protection de l'enfance et de la maternité;

i) un niveau adéquat d'alimentation, de logement, et de moyens de récréation et de culture;

j) la garantie de chances égales dans le domaine éducatif et professionnel.

IV

Convaincue qu'une utilisation plus complète et plus large des ressources productives du monde, nécessaire à l'accomplissement des objectifs énumérés dans la présente Déclaration, peut être assurée par une action efficace sur le plan international et national, et notamment par des mesures tendant à promouvoir l'expansion de la production et de la consommation, à éviter des fluctuations économiques graves, à réaliser l'avancement économique et social des régions dont la mise en valeur est peu avancée, à assurer une plus grande stabilité des prix mondiaux des matières premières et denrées, et à promouvoir un commerce international de volume élevé et constant, la Conférence promet l'entière collaboration de l'Organisation internationale du Travail avec tous organismes internationaux auxquels pourra être confiée une part de responsabilité dans cette grande tâche, ainsi que dans l'amélioration de la santé, de l'éducation et du bien-être de tous les peuples.

V

La Conférence affirme que les principes énoncés dans la présente Déclaration sont pleinement applicables à tous les peuples du monde, et que, si, dans les modalités de leur application, il doit être dûment tenu compte du degré de développement social et économique de chaque peuple, leur application progressive aux peuples qui sont encore dépendants, aussi bien qu'à ceux qui ont atteint le stade où ils se gouvernent eux-mêmes, intéresse l'ensemble du monde civilisé.
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